

\*CARDINAL WOLSEY.



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# BRITISH BIOGRAPHY;

OR.

An ACCURATE and IMPARTIAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIVES and WRITINGS

OF

# Eminent Persons,

IN

GREAT BRITAIN and IRELAND

From WICKLIFF, who began the REFORMATION by his WRITINGS, to the PRESENT TIME:

WHETHER

STATESMEN, PATRIOTS, GENERALS, ADMIRALS, Philosophers, Poets, Lawyers, or Divines.

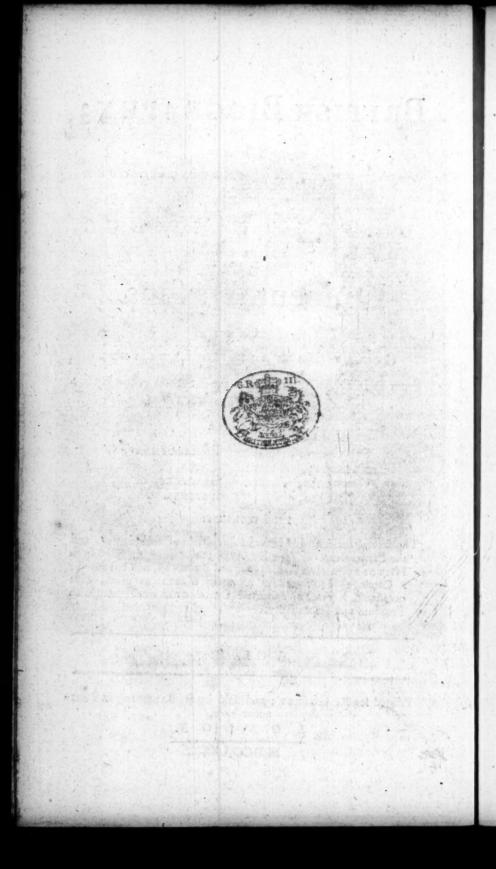
### IN WHICH

The feveral Incidents and remarkable Actions of their LIVES, and the Particularities of their DEATHS, that can be collected from HISTORY, FAMILY MEMOIRS, and RECORDS, will be related; a Catalogue and Specimen of their WRITINGS given, with occasional Remarks; and their CHARACTERS delineated with Freedom and Impartiality.

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## BRITISH BIOGRAPHY.

## The Life of THOMAS WOLSEY, Cardinal, and Archbishop of York.

HOMAS WOLSEY was born at Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, in March, 1471. The general opinion has been, that his father was a butcher, and in mean circumstances. But some modern writers have endeavoured to make it appear, that his father was a man possessed of some considerable property, and not a butcher, but a grazier: and the Author of Wolsey's article in the Biographia Britannica, intimates, that the matter may be compromised, by supposing him to have been both a grazier and butcher, as is common at this day. But whether Wolsey's father was a butcher, or grazier, or both, is not worth a dispute (d). However, in whatever situation his father was, young Wolsey gave the earliest indications of his possessing an excellent capacity; and being first sent to a grammar-school, was afterwards (e). He here made so quick and considerable a progress in learning,

(d) "A bass relief of the Cardinal's head in profile is carved, with a butcher's knife by the side, on the central board of the arch of the gateway into the butchery at Ipswich. There is a tradition that it was built by the Cardinal; and it appears now to be very old, and being a timber building, may undoubtedly have stood from the Cardinal's time."

(e) "By means of his parents, and other his good friends, he was maintained at the University of Oxford." So it stands in the common printed editions of the life of Cardinal Wolfey, by Sir William Cavendish, who was his Gentleman-Usher. See P. 1. of the edition printed in 1708, and the copy in Grove's life of the Cardinal, P. 3. But in an antient

that at fifteen years of age he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts; and from thence was diftinguished by the title of the BOY-BACHELOR. And he gained much reputation in the Univerfity by his skill in logic and philosophy, as well as in divinity. As to his knowledge in the latter, we are told, that he principally acquired it by reading the works of Thomas Aquinas. He might have derived it, indeed, from a much better source; but we ought not to censure Wolsey, for not being, in his youth, wifer than his

cotemporaries.

Having thus successfully proceeded in his studies, he was elected Fellow of his College; and having commenced Master of Arts, was appointed mafter of the grammar-school, belonging and adjoining to Magdalen College. It happened that at this time, the Marquis of Dorfet had three fons in this school; and his Lordship committed, not only their ordinary education, but the entire care of them, to the new mafter, Wolfey. And when they had been fome time under his tuition, the Marquis sending for his sons to keep their Christmas with him at his seat, gave their master also an invitation to accompany them, which he accordingly did. And his Lordship was so well pleased with the proficiency which his sons had made in learning, during the time they had been under Wolfey's care, that at his departure he presented him with a benefice which he had in his gift, and which then happened to be vacant. This was the Rectorship of Lymington, in Somersetshire; to which he was instituted on the 10th of October, 1500, being then in the twenty-ninth year of his age; and at which time he was Burfer of Magdalen College. He left the University to take possession of his benefice; but during the time of his refidence at Oxford, we are told, that he cultivated an acquaintance with Erasmus, and did, in conjunction with him, promote and encourage the study of the Greek language and learning there.

Wolfey having taken possession of his living at Lymington, repaired and beautified his parsonage-house there, and also the church; in which, it is said, there are still remains of his works, and in the windows particularly, the initial letters of his name. An incident, however, happened, which made his present situation very disagreeable to him. Wolfey was, we are told, of a free and sociable temper, and lived in a friendly and open communication with his neighbours and parishioners. He

once

tient manuscript copy of Cavendish's book, the passage just quoted, stands thus: "By the means of his parents, or of his good friends and masters, he was conveyed to the University of Oxford," The manuscript we allude to is in the British Muleum, under the following title: "The Discourse of the Lysse and Deathe of Cardynalle Woolsey,&c."

Harleian MSS. No. 428. This copy was bought of Mr. Strype, and is larger, and more correct, than the printed editions. We shall fometimes, therefore, refer to it in the course of this life; and be guided by it in some particulars in which we may differ from the common accounts,

once went, therefore, with some of these to a fair in a neighbouring town, where it is said he drank too much, and occasioned
some disorder. Upon which Sir Amias Pawlet, a Justice of the
peace in that part of the country, who had conceived some disgust
against Wolsey, laid hold of this occasion to set him in the stocks.
This insult, so dishonourable to a man of his character, Wolsey's
situation and circumstances obliged him at that time to put up with;
but he neither forgot, nor sorgave, either the affront, or the author
of it, but carefully treasured up both in his remembrance.

Wolfey, however, began now to be defirous of changing the place of his residence; and more particularly because he had lost his patron, the Marquis of Dorset, who died about this time at his feat in Essex. But soon after Dr. Dean, Archbishop of Canterbury, appointed Wolfey to be one of his domestic Chaplains; and he so much ingratiated himself with the Archbishop, that he procured him a dispensation from the Pope to enable him to hold two benefices. But he did not long enjoy his new patron, Archbishop Dean dying in 1503. But foon after, Sir John Nephant, or Nanfant, who was Treasurer of Calais, and very much in favour with Henry VII. appointed Wolfey to be his Chaplain, and took him with him in his retinue to Calais. And he had not been long in this gentleman's family, before he so much ingratiated himself with him, that he committed to his care the entire charge and management of his office. And this trust Wolfey fo well discharged. that he gave great fatisfaction both to the Knight his mafter, and to those who had occasion to transact any business with him. But shortly after, King Henry discharged Sir John Nephant from his office. in confideration of his great age; upon which he, together with his Chaplain Wolfey, returned again into England. But the old Knight, after his return, so warmly recommended Wolfey to the King's favour, that his Majesty appointed him to be one of his own Chaplains.

This was what Wolfey had long wished for. We are told, that he would frequently fay, "If he could but fet one foot in the Court, he did not doubt but to obtain any thing he could wish for." Having now, therefore, got into the road of promotion, he made the best use of his favourable situation. He had occasion to be daily in the sight of the King, as he said mass before him in his closet. But when that service was over, he was far from trisling away the remainder of his time; but would very diligently attend upon those whom he thought to have most weight in the Council, and to be most in favour with the King. By these means he particularly ingratiated himself with Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord-Privy-Seal, and Sir Thomas Lovel, Master of the Wards, and Constable of the Tower; and they began to consider him as a man of ability, and one who was well qualished to be employed in affairs of im-

portance.

It happened about this time, that King Henry had refolved to enter into a fecret negociation with the Emperor Maximilian, who was then at Bruges in Flanders, in order to fettle some points previous to a marriage which he had projected with Margaret, Dutchess Dowager of Savoy, the Emperor's only daughter, and fifter to Philip, King of Castile. And the Bishop of Winchester, and Sir Thomas Lovel, having been in confultation upon the subject of the intended embaffy, thought this would be a favourable opportunity of ferving their friend the Chaplain. They, therefore, recommended Wolfey to the King, as a person of excellent parts, and of great eloquence and learning, and well qualified for fuch an employment. Henry, who was a very penetrating Prince, defired the Chaplain might be introduced to him; which being done accordingly, he proposed several questions to Wolsey, relative to affairs of State, which he answered in a manner so much to the King's satisfaction, that he determined to employ him in the intended negociation; and accordingly commanded him immediately to prepare for his journey.

During the time that his instructions were drawing up, Wolsey had frequent access to the King and Council, to whom he gave fresh proofs of his capacity for political affairs. But having received his dispatches on a Sunday, about four in the afternoon, he set out from Richmond, where the Court then was, and foon came to London, where he found a barge ready to carry him to Gravesend. He arrived there in less than three hours, and immediately took post-horses, and reached Dover the next morning. And the passage-boat being just going off for Calais, he was so fortunate as to get thither before noon, and from thence he got to Bruges on Tuesday morning. The Emperor, having notice that a Minister was arrived, charged with a commission from the King of England, instantly gave him audience; and Wolsey having opened his credentials, and delivered them in form, requested that his return might be expedited; to which request the Emperor was so favourable, that the same night he received his answer, wherein every thing he had proposed on the part of his master was agreed to. Upon this, early on Wednesday morning, he took post for Calais, where he came at the opening of the gates, and found the passage-boat ready to put to sea. Accordingly he embarked therein, and in a short time landed at Dover; where taking post-horses, he arrived fafe that night at Richmond, where he reposed himself after his journey. On Thursday morning he attended at Court; and, as foon as he faw his Majesty, threw himself at his feet. Henry not expecting to see him there, and supposing he had protracted his departure, began to reprove him for the dilatory execution of his orders. On which Wolfey, to the King's great surprize, addressed himself to his Majesty in the following words: " May it please " your Highness, I have already been with the Emperor, and " dispatched your affairs; and, I trust, to your Grace's contentment;" and then he presented his letters of credence. The King, diffembling for the present his admiration at his extraordinary dispatch, and quick return, told him, that on second thoughts, he had found that somewhat was omitted in his orders, and had therefore fent a messenger after him with fuller instructions; and he asked him, whether he had received those orders. " I met the messenger (replied Wolfey) on the road in my return; but having re-" flected on that omission, I ventured of myself to execute what I \* knew must be absolutely necessary to your Majesty's service, prefuming to supply the defect of my dispatches in that particular, " and I humbly ask pardon for having exceeded my commission." Henry, who was well pleased with the expedient, and in general with the fuccess of the negociation, did not only readily excuse Wolfey, but gave him his Royal thanks for the fervice he had done; and afterwards dismissed him for the present, but commanded him to attend again after dinner.

At the time appointed, Wolsey attended the King in Council, and related to him the several particulars of his Embassy in so graceful a manner, and with so much eloquence, that all who were present applauded his address and abilities, and declared him a man sit to be intrusted with the management of affairs of importance. And on the 2d of February, 1508, the King gave him the Deanery of Lincoln; soon after which he resigned the Rectorship of Lymington. The beginning of the following year he had also conferred upon him the Prebend of Walton Brinhold, and the Prebend of Stow. And he had also not only acquired a great degree of the King's favour, but also very much conciliated the regard of Henry, Prince of Wales; who was much pleased with his company; and Wolsey was extremely expert in all those arts which are practisfed in Courts, and such as were best calculated to procure the favour of a young Prince.

In 1509, King Henry VII. died, and was succeeded by his son Henry VIII. who was only eighteen years of age. Wolsey continued to pay his Court to young Henry with the utmost assiduity. And Fox, Bishop of Winchester, did all he could to increase Wolsey's interest with the King, in hopes by that means to lessen Henry's attachment to the Earl of Surry, who was very much in his savour; at which Fox was much chagrined, as he found, in consequence of it, that the influence which he had maintained in the cabinet in the preceding reign, was very much diminished in the present.

As a proof of Wolfey's advancement in the Royal favour, he was, foon after Henry's accession, appointed his Majesly's Almoner; and on the conviction of Sir Richard Empson of high treafon, he gave him that rapacious Minister's house, which was near his own palace of Bridewell, in Fleet-street, London. In November, 1510, he was admitted a Member of the King's Privy Council, and appointed Reporter of the proceedings in the Star-Chamber:

Chamber; and on the 29th of the same month, the King presented him to the Rectory of Torrington, in the Diocese of Exeter; and on the 17th of February following, he was made Caron of Windfor, and Register of the Order of the Garter. In November, 1512, he was collated to the Prebend of Bugthorp, in the Church of York; and upon the death of the Dean soon after, he succeeded

him in the Deanery of that church.

The young King, who had been kept under much restraint during the life of his father, was now greatly disposed to give a loose to pleasure, and to follow his princely appetite and desire, as Cavendish expresses it. His old and more faithful Counsellors would, however, fometimes advise him to attend a little more to the public concerns of his kingdom, and to the duties of his regal character. But the artful Wolfey, on the contrary, in order to ingratiate himfelf still more with the young King, gave him that advice which he knew would be the most agreeable to him. He persuaded him to continue to indulge himself in his pleasures; and exhorted him not to fatigue his Royal person with the public business, nor to give himself any concern or uneasiness about it; affuring him, that if he would but invest him with proper authority, every thing should be managed in that manner which should be most agreeable to his Majesty's will and pleasure; and he, at the same time, be at full liberty to follow the bent of his own inclinations (f). This behaviour of Wolfey greatly increased Henry's affection towards him; and " in especial," says Cavendish, " for that he was most earnest 44 and readiest in all the Council, to advance the King's only will " and pleasure, having no respect to the case." Much has been faid by some writers concerning the virtue and probity of Wolfey; but what real virtue, or probity, could that man have, who, to anfwer his own ends, could perfuade and encourage his Prince to indulge himself in luxurious pleasures, and to neglect the duties incumbent upon him as a Sovereign; and who, to gain and to preferve that Prince's favour, made it a rule to concur implicitly in, and to be the instrument of, his will and pleasure, without any regard to the nature of the case?

In

(f) "The Almoner took upon him to discharge the King of the burthen of so weighty and trouble-some business, putting the King in comfort, that he should not need to spare any time of his pleasure, for any business that should happen in the Council, so long as he should be there; who having his Grace's authority, and by his commandment, doubted not to see all things well and sufficiently perfected, making his Grace privy hist of all such matters, before he would proceed to the ac-

complifting of the same, whose mind and pleasure he would have and follow to the uttermost: wherewith the King was wonderfully pleased.

the King was wonderfully pleafed.

"And whereas the other antient Counfellors would, according to the office of good Counfellors, divers times perluade the King to have recourse sometimes into the Council, there to hear what was done in weighty matters, therewith the King was pleafed nothing at all. For he loved nothing worse, than to be confirmed to do any thing contrary to

In 1513, King Henry having entered into a war with France, and come to a resolution of invading it himself in person, committed to Wolfey the care of making the necessary preparations for his intended expedition. It has been conjectured, that Wolfey was the person who principally urged the King to this undertaking; " and the motives (fays Fiddes) which induced him to advise it, are supposed to have been, a defire of shewing his zeal for the Church, and the honour and interests of the Papal See, and by that means of recommending himself to the good graces of the Court at Rome (g), where he was already known, and looked upon as a person of great weight and authority. Besides the ends of his ambition on that fide, he might reasonably hope, while he attended upon the King's person, and was entrusted with so confiderable an employment, he should, more ways than one, find his own account in the progress, but especially in a successful issue of this expedition." However, Wolfey exerted himself in such a manner in ordering and preparing every thing necessary for Henry's intended expedition, that he gained his entire approbation; and Vol. II. 1.

his pleafure. And that knew the Almoner very well, having a fecret intelligence of the King's natural inclination. And as fast as the other Counsellors counselled the King to leave his pleasure, and to attend to his affairs, fo bufily did the Almoner persuade him to the contrary: which delighted him much, and caused him to have the greater affection and love to the Almoner. Thus the Almoner ruled all them that before ruled him: fuch did his policy and wit bring to pals. Who was now in high favour, but Mr. Almoner? Who had all the fuits, but Mr. Almoner? And who ruled all under the King, but Mr. Almoner?"

Vid. the manuscript of Cavendish in the British Museum, as before re-

ferred to, Fol. 4.

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il, in ng he nto his (g) Henry was earnessly solicited by Pope Julius II. to enter into a war with France. That quarrelsome Pontiff, who, as one of the Papal historians hath observed, was of a disposition fitter for the sword than the crosier, having himself declared war against the French King, (Lewis XII.) was desirous of engaging the King of England in his quarrel, under the pretence of protecting the Church of Christ from oppression.

And in order to engage Henry to his interest, his Holiness had, soon after his accession, sent him a golden rose, anointed with the holy chrism, sprinkled with odoriferous musk, and blessed with his facred hands, together with his apostolical bene-diction. And the Pope afterwards also promised Henry, to annex to his other titles that of Most Christian, which he was to transfer from the King of France. But Henry was further induced to enter into this war, by a view to the old claim of the Kings of England upon the Crown of France.

In 1510, this pious head of the Church, Julius II. befieged the city of Mirandola in person, and made himself master of it. Upon which Monstrelet makes the following remark: " Julius abandoned St. Pe-ter's chair, to assume the title of Mars, the God of war, to display his three crowns in the field, and to fleep in a watch-tower; and GoD knows what a charming figure thefe mitres, croffes, and crofiers made, fluttering up and down the fields. The Devil was not fo filly as to be there, for benedictions were too cheap."

the King conferred on him the Deanery of Hereford, and made

him Chancellor of the Order of the Garter.

Wolfey having finished his preparations for the King's expedition, his Majesty set fail from Dover, (leaving Queen Catherine Regent of the kingdom during his absence), accompanied by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Effex, Charles Brandon, Vifcount Lisle, Fox, Bishop of Winchester, his Almoner Wolsey, and many other persons of distinction, and arrived at Calais on the 30th of June, 1513. The best part of Henry's troops had landed in France before him, and were employed in besieging the town of Terouenne. He stayed a short time at Calais, till his provisions and another body of troops were landed, and then fet out himfelf with them for Terouenne. And the day after he arrived before that city, he mustered all his troops, which amounted in the whole to twenty-fix thousand; foon after which, news arrived at the English camp, that the French army was in full march to engage the English. During the siege, the Emperor Maximilian arrived in the English camp with a considerable reinforcement, and entered himself into Henry's service, wearing the cross of St. George, and a party-coloured rose. He was lodged in a rich tent, and received one hundred crowns a day for his pay (b). Soon after, a council of war was held, at which the Emperor affifted, in which the storming of the town, and the preventing of the besieged from receiving any supplies were debated; and it was determined to prepare sive bridges to be laid over the river Lys, for the English army to pass over, that they might encamp on the other fide of the river, next the town. The English passed over these bridges the next day, and part of them fell in ith a large convoy of provisions and succours for the use of the belieged, guarded by the whole French army. Henry immediately attacked the convoy, fo that a fierce and general engagement enfued, in which the Emperor was present, and in which the French were totally deseated, and their General, the Duke of Longueville, taken prisoner. This engagement was called THE BAT-TLE OF THE SPURS, on account of the consernation and disorder which the French fled in, they making more use of their spurs than of their swords. In consequence of this battle, the town furrendered to Henry, who entered it in triumph, accompanied by the Emperor. And Maximilian prevailed upon Henry to deliver the town into his hands; and he ordered the walls to be razed to the foundation, that the dominions of his grandfon, Charles of Austria, might not be exposed to insults from the garrison of this fortress.

Henry

<sup>(</sup>h) Henry had, some time before, Spain, and the Archduke, Charles of entered into a league with the Pope, Austria, to carry on a war against the Emperor, Ferdinand, King of France.

Henry then marched to Tournay, which he laid fiege to, and the city furrendered to him in feven or eight days. But instead of razing the fortifications, he secured the place with a good garrison, though it lay at a greater distance from Calais than Terouenne, which he had demolished. But he was on this occasion, we are told, influenced by the counsel of Wolsey, who had cast his eyes on the Bishopric of Tournay. However, it is certain that Henry did confer the Bishopric upon Wolfey, considering the See as a vacant one, under pretence that the Bishop had refused to take the oath of allegiance to the King of England (i). But Wolfey met with great difficulties in holding this Bishopric; the French Bishop appointing officers to collect the revenues of it as well as Wolfey; however, he held it about five years; at the end of which time, the city being delivered up to the French King, that Monarch's Ambassadors in England gave their master's letters patent, whereby he bound himself to pay Wolsey an annual pension of twelve thousand livres Tournoise, as a compensation for the loss of the Bishoprick.

Soon after the reduction of Tournay, Henry concluded a new treaty with the Emperor Maximilian, which was ratified at Lisle; after which he returned to England, where he arrived on the 24th of October, 1513, attended by Wolfey, who continued daily to advance in the King's favour. And accordingly, on the 26th of March, in the following year, he was confecrated Bishop of Lincoln; and did, indeed, in consequence of the great influence which he had obtained over the King, engross the sole administration of government, And on the death of Cardinal Bainbridge, which happened this year, he was, on the 5th of August, promoted to the See of York.

As foon as Wolfey was confecrated Archbishop of York, he took possession of York Place, the usual residence of the Archbishops of that See, when in London. But as this episcopal palace was in a ruinous condition, he caused one part to be repaired,

(i) Dr. Fiddes himself cannot to have been preserved, notwithst and help condemning Wolsey for his acceptance of this Bishopric. After having observed, that reasons might be alledged for the preservation of Tournay, he says, "It feems more difficult to justify the Almoner, either for soliciting or accepting that Bishopric, which in right appears to have belonged to another person. For I do not see what power con-quest could give the King of England to break in upon the rules of the Church, or to dissolve the union between the other Bishop and his flock. This spiritual relation might, and, in my humble opinion, ought

cal order of the Church should be disturbed, because Princes think fit to disseize one another of their tem-poral domains." Vid. Fiddes's Life of the Cardinal, P. 62, 63. If Wolfey had been only guilty of a breach of the laws of justice or humanity, the Doctor could have found fomewhat to have faid in his excuse, or, at least, in extenuation of his fault. But a violation of the rights of the Church was too bad a thing to be defended.

paired, and the other to be pulled down, and rebuilt. And foon after, he set on foot another building at Hampton-Court, which was carried on in fo elegant a taste, that it drew persons from all.

parts to view it.

This year the King of France made overtures of peace to Henry, by means of the Duke of Longueville, who had been taken prisoner in the battle of the Spurs. That Nobleman acted as a private Ambassador; and, in order to promote the success of his negociation, laboured to convince Henry of the infincerity of his former allies. And he also demanded Henry's fister, the Princess Mary, in marriage for Lewis, that Prince having loft his wife, Anne of Brittany, in the beginning of the preceding year. No Englishman was privy to this negociation, but the King himself. and Wolsey, who is said to have been largely bribed by Lewis on this occasion (k), till both parties had agreed to almost all the articles proposed. Wolsey affected this great secresy, we are told, not only because it excluded any other Minister from receiving advantage from the event, but because it flattered Henry with the high opinion of his own abilities, and thereby facilitated the progress of the accommodation. For though Wolfey guided every part of the negociation by his influence over Henry, yet he made Henry believe that he acted only in obedience to his will, and in conformity to his pleasure.

Whilst this negociation was upon the carpet, a cessation of arms took place; and the proposed marriage, and a treaty of peace, was at length agreed upon. The marriage was consummated the 9th of October the same year; but the young Queen did not long enjoy her new dignity, her husband, Lewis XII, dying within three months. As he died without iffue, he was fucceeded by Francis, Duke of Valois; but the young Queen Dowager, Mary, did not long remain without a husband. In the third month of her widowhood, she married Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk (1), a Nobleman who had before captivated: her heart. Henry at first expressed great indignation against his

(h) Vid. Guthrie's History of

England, Vol. 11. P. 889.

(1) This Nobleman was a great favourite of King Henry VIII. He was fon to Sir William Brandon, flandard-bearer to King Henry VII. and who died in his fervice at Bof-worth-field. He was the companion of Henry VIII, in his pleasures, when a youth; and "there was a sympathy (says David Lloyd) be-aween their active sprints, which improved the familiarity of their tender years to a firm friendship in their age." He was a very comely perfon, and of great courage, and so acceptable to the King, especially in all his youthful exercises and recreations, that he foon attained great advance-ment, both in titles of honour, and otherwise. In the first year of Henry the VIIIth's reign, he was made one of the Esquires of his body, and Chamberlain of the principality of Wales. He was prefent in the fea-fight off Brest in 1512; and the next year he attended King Henry in his expedition into France, being previously created Viscount Lifle. He diffinguished himself at

fifter and the Duke, on account of this marriage, but was foon re-

conciled to both, and re-admitted them into his favour. The French King, Francis I. foon after his accession entered Italy, and made himself master of the Dutchy of Milan; which accession of power gave some umbrage to the King of England. And Henry was particularly infligated against Francis by Wolfey, who was much incenfed against the French King, on account of that Monarch having done him ill offices with the Pope concerning the Bishopric of Tournay. Wolsey had desired Francis to bestow another Diocese upon Lewis Guillard, the former Bishop of that See; and the French King had promised to gratify him in that particular; but, instead of fulfilling his promise, he solicited the Pope to re-establish Guillard in the Bishopric of Tournay, who accordingly obtained a Bull for that purpose. This Papal mandate gave great umbrage both to Henry and his favourite; but the French Monarch, in order to pacify Wolfey, promifed to use his interest, in order to obtain for him a Cardinal's hat, which was now the chief object of his ambition. Wolfey had already employed Cardinal Adrian, Bishop of Bath, and the Pope's Collector in England, to folicit that honour for him at the Court of Rome. But Adrian did not act with fincerity in this negociation; and Wolfey, receiving intelligence that he had betrayed his cause,

He attended in France at the Co-ronation of Queen Mary, whom he afterwards married; and he greatly fignalized himself in a tournament there, which was appointed in ho-nour of the occasion. In these justs, which continued three days, the Duke of Suffolk hurt one gentleman very dangerously, and overthrew another, both horse and arms. Fran-cis, Duke of Valois, afterwards King of France, being hurt, defired the Duke of Suffolk, and the Marquis of Dorfet, to fight at barriers, who accordingly took the first place against all comers. In the mean while, Francis, intending, as it was thought, an affront to the Duke of caused a German, the strongest person in all the Court, to be armed fecretly, and present himself at barriers. They both, we are told, did well; yet the Duke of Suffolk at last, with the but-end of his spear, struck the German till he staggered, and so the rail was let fall. The Marquis of Dorset also

the fiege of Tournay, and was foon foiled another Frenchman; after after created Duke of Suffolk, which they took some breath, and returned to fight again; when the Duke of Suffolk fo belaboured the German about the head, that the blood gushed from his nose; which being done, the German was con-veyed away secretly.

Some time after his marriage with the Queen-Dowager of France, he returned into England. He was af-terwards present at the interview between the Kings of England and France, near Ardres, in Picardy. He was one of the aiders on the English fide in the tournaments there. And in 1523, joining with the Count de Bure, the Emperor's General, took Roye, Montdidier, and Bray, and advancing within eleven leagues of Paris, put that city into a terrible consternation; but towards the end of December in that year, was recalled. Shortly after this, being made a Knight of the Order of St. Michael, he was constituted chief Justice in Eyre of all the King's forests. In the 28th of Henry VIII. upon the infurrection in Lincolnwas greatly irritated against him, and prevailed upon the King to write a letter with his own hand to the Pope, defiring he would appoint another Collector in the room of Adrian. He also seized upon fome pretext to cause Polydore Virgil, who was Cardinal Adrian's Deputy Collector in England, and who is faid to have written letters to Rome against Wolsey, to be committed to the Tower. The Pope complied with Henry's request, with respect to removing Adrian from the Collectorship; but his Holiness, together with Cardinal Julio de Medicis, warmly folicited the enlargement of Polydore Virgil (m); and this request of the Pope's was at length complied with, and Polydore was fet at liberty.

Wolfey's

shire, and that in Yorkshire, called lar; his pliant temper kept him a The Pilgrimage of Grace, he was improved to suppress them. In 1544, favour of his Prince; though, as as General of the English army, he besieged Bulloigne, which he took, and was the first man that entered it. He was very active in the measures which were taken for the abolishing of the Pope's power in England. He died in 1545, and was buried in St. George's chapel at Windfor, at the King's expence. His two fons, Henry and Charles, both died within twelve hours of each other at Cam-bridge, of the sweating sickness, in

He was faid to be a better Courtier, than a Statesman; yet he used his Prince's favours with such moderation, that he disobliged none. " He made (we are told) no pretenfions to oratory, or a florid way of discoursing; and yet always talked fo much to the purpose, that his plain words, and unaffected dialect, left a deeper impression upon men's minds, than the artificial and studied harangues of others."-" He made (fays Lloyd) provident, yet moderate use of his master's favours: thereby obliging others, and fecuring him felf; being above mercenary inclinations as much in his thoughts, as in his fortune. He was neither too near the King, left he were weary of him; nor too far off, left he forgot him, or thought himself neglected by him. His intermissions of attendance gave others no advantage, but rendered him more gracious: he neither engrolled, nor confined, his master's affection.—His familiarity, and the eafy access to him, made him popuCardinal Pole observed, they who were highest in the King's favour, had their heads nearest danger." "He had a becoming bluntness, (fays another writer), not unlike his master's, and likeness always creates and continues friendship. This fimilitude possibly might beget affection in the Prince, but 'twas his bounty, humility, valour, and the height of all noble virtues, such as a calm greatness, an honest heart, a clear virtue, and a brave foul in a well-proportioned body, that gave him the love and lasting esteem of Prince and people."
(m) POLYDORE VIRGIL was

born at Urbino in Italy in the fif-teenth century. The first work he published was a Collection of Proverbs, in 1498. He was the first among the moderns who published any book of that kind; and he appears to have been a little vain upon it; for when Erasmus afterwards published his Adagia, and did not take notice of his work, he re-proached him for it in an uncivil manner, in the preface to his book Dererum inventoribus. Their friendship, however, does not feem to have been much interrupted by it; and Virgil, at the instigation of Erasmus, left the passage out in the later edi-tions. These Adages of Polydore Virgil were printed three or four times in a very short space; and this fuccess encouraged him to undertake a more difficult work. This was his book Dezerum inventoribus, printed in

Wolfey's application for a Cardinal's hat had met with much opposition; however, he was at length honoured with the Purple, being created, on the 7th of September, 1515, Cardinal of St. Cecile, beyond the Tiber. When he was informed that the meffenger with the hat was arrived in England, and that he was a person of no character or distinction, and made but a despicable appearance, Wolfey thinking it a diminution of the honour done to him, that fo rich and important a prefent should be so meanly introduced, he ordered the messenger to be stopped, that he might be better arrayed and attended; and accordingly he was met upon Black Heath by a great number of Prelates and gentlemen, especially those of Kent, who conducted him in great pomp and triumph to London, and through Cheapside to Westminster; the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and the respective Companies of the city of London, attending in their stands during the procession. At Westminster-abbey eight Abbots, in their proper habits, received the facred hat with great folemnity, and conveyed it to the high altar, whereon it was fet. And on the 18th of November, being Sunday, Wolfey repaired to Westminster-abbey, accompanied by the principal Nobility and Gentry, and kneeling before the high altar, with his hood over his face, whilst the benediction and prayers concerning the creation of a Cardinal were read to him, the Archbishop of Canterbury placed the hat on his head. This ceremony being ended, the new-made Cardinal, with a most magnificent train, returned to his palace at Charing Cross, where a fumptuous entertainment was provided; and at which were prefent the King, the Queen, the Queen of Scotland, the Queen-Dowager of France, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Winchester, Durham, and Rochester, the Dukes of Norfolk and

1499. After this, he was fent into fure for the manifest want of regard England by Pope Alexander VI. to to truth, and to impartiality. collect the Papal tribute called Peter-He recommended himself so effectually to the people in power in this country, and was fo well pleafed with it, that having obtained the dignity of Archdeacon in the church of Wells, he refolved to fpend the re-mainder of his life in England, Here he undertook to write an History of England, at the command of Henry VII. a work upon which he fpent above twelve years. He dedicated it, in 1533, to Henry VIII. This work, however, is not much esteemed. Polydore's history is like that of some modern English historians; worthy of approbation for the elegance of the style, but very deserving of cen-

to truth, and to impartiality.
"Polydore Virgil (fays Bishop Nicholson) was the most accomplished writer for elegancy and clearnels of style, that his age afforded. So much Leland, the severest enemy he had, has acknowledged of him; and, on this fcore alone, fome have unreasonably extolled him. But there is so little of the other more necessary qualification of a good hiftorian, truth and fair dealing, in all his twenty-fix books, that he has been juftly condemned by our criof them have expressed an indigna-tion suitable to the abuses put upon their country." And John Caius, in his book De Antiquitatibus CantaSuffolk, Sir John Fineux, Lord Chief Justice of England (n), the

other Judges and Serjeants, and many other persons of distinction.

Before Wolsey was dignified with the Purple, he had engrossed the fole administration of affairs. " He so absolutely governed " the King, (fays Rapin), that he turned him which way he pleaf-" ed; but he managed fo artfully, that the King always fancied " he took his own course when he only followed the suggestions " of his Minister." Rapin further observes, that Wolsey " no " fooner faw himfelf fixed in his master's favour, but he fought " means to remove from Court all those that could give him any er jealousy, by the King's esteem for them. Fox, Bishop of Win-" chefter, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, who had been most " in favour, received fo many mortifications from this imperious " Prelate, that at length they quitted the Court, not to be exposed to his infults." It is faid that when Fox, who had greatly contributed towards Wolfey's rife, retired from Court in difgust, he defired of the King, " that he would not fuffer the fervant to be " greater than his master." To which the King replied, that " it " should be his care, that those who were his subjects should obey, " and not command."

Archbishop Warham, who now held the post of Chancellor, being a Prelate of a moderate and peaceable temper, chose rather to retire from public bufiness, than to maintain an unequal contest with Wolsey; accordingly he resigned the Seals on the 22d day of December this year, 1515, and two days after Cardihal Wolfey was appointed Lord Chancellor. And these accesfions of dignity, his being made Cardinal and Chancellor, confiderably augmented Wolfey's pride and arrogance, which were

brigia, mentions it as a thing, " not only reported, but even certainly known, that Polydore Virgil, to preyent the discovery of the faults in his history, most wickedly committed as many of our antient and manuscript histories to the flames, as a waggon could hold."

Polydore Virgil left England in 1550, his advanced age then re-quiring a warmer and more fou-therly climate. He was permitted to enjoy the income of his benefices, which were the Archdeaconry of Wells, and Prebend of Nonnington, during his absence. He died at Urbino, in the year 1555. He is very fevere upon Cardinal Wolfey's memory in his history.

(n) Sir JOHN FINEUX was a

Judge of great reputation in his own time. He was born at Swinkfield in the county of Kent. Lloyd remarks of him, that he was twenty-

eight years of age when he first ap-plied himself to the study of the law, and that he practifed the law twenty-eight years before he was made a Judge, which office he held twentyeight years more. He was indefa-tigably laborious in his profession; and left behind him twenty-three folio volumes of notes. He vigoroufly opposed the proceedings of Empson and Dudley. He was a very able and eloquent pleader; and a person of great piety, though of a very chearful temper and conversation. He was very hospitable, generous, and humane; but remarkably frugal of his time. He used to say, "That we should not complain we have little time; but that we spend much either in doing nothing, or doing evil, or in doing nothing to the purpose." He died in 1526, aged eighty-four.

before sufficiently exorbitant. He assumed a greater degree of pomp and magnificence, than any churchman in England had ever done before him. His train, we are told, confifted of eight hundred fervants (o), many of whom were Knights and gen-And Cavendish tells us, that he had nine or ten Lords among his attendants, one of whom was the Earl of Derby. His equipages, his furniture, the embroidery of his liveries, and his own apparel, were uncommonly fplendid and fuperb (p). He is faid to have been the first Clergyman in England who were filk and gold, not only on his habit, but also on his faddles, and the trappings of his horses and mules. Even the principal cook of his privy kitchen, we are informed by Cavendish, was daily clothed in fattin or velvet, and wore also a

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When he appeared in public, he caused his Cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a person of rank; and when he came to the King's chapel, he would permit it to be laid upon no place but Two Priests, the tallest and comeliest that could be met with, carried before him two crosses, one as Cardinal, and the other as Archbishop of York. The people would sometimes make merry with the Cardinal's two crosses; and observe, that they were convinced one cross alone was not sufficient for the expiation of his fins and offences. Besides his crosses, two gentlemen carried before him also two pillars of filver, as a kind of maces, and another carried the Great Seal before him. Four footmen also attended with gilt pole-axes in their hands, besides a numerous train of other attendants. Most of his attendants rode on horseback, but he himself rode upon a mule, the trappings of which were of crimson velvet, with a saddle of the fame, and gilt flirrups. Every Sunday he resorted to the Court at Greenwich, from his house at Charing-Cross, with all this pomp and parade, not forgetting either his crosses, his silver pillars, his hat, or his Great Seal. As to his own house, it was reforted to by Nobility, Gentry, and people of all ranks, like

the palace of a Sovereign Prince.
Wolfey created himself many enemies by his pride and often-But he executed the office of Chancellor with great ability. He administered justice in that high and important post Vol. II. 1.

Cavendish, after the several officers of Wolsey's houshold are enumerated, it is faid, "Here is an end of his houshold, the number of persons in the cheyne were eight hundred persons." But in the manuscript we have before referred to, fol. 8. it is,

(6) In the printed editions of enumerates near three hundred of his attendants, exclusive of the officers

of his chapel.

(p) "That outward appearance that he delighted to shew himself to the world in, bespeaks the intolerable lostiness and vanity of his mind. For besides all the state and magnifi-The number of the persons in his cence of his house and officers, check roll were one hundred and eighty." But this appears to be a mistake; for Cavendish particularly lt was great; that his upper vesture was with the utmost impartiality; and he discovered in his decisions the most penetrating judgment, and the most comprehensive knowledge of law, and of equity. He very much protected the common people from the oppressions of the Great; and he was a great patron of literature, and was particularly liberal to seve-

ral learned foreigners.

In 1516, Cardinal Wolfey received a commission from the Pope, appointing him Legate A LATERE. And having received this new dignity, he made a new display of that pomp and parade to which he was so much addicted. On solemn feast-days, he was not content without faying mass after the manner of the Pope himself; and not only had Bishops and Abbots to serve him, but even engaged the first Nobility to give him water and the towel. To support his magnificent manner of living, befides the profits of the office of Chancellor, and the revenues of the Archbishopric of York, and the Bishopric of Tournay, he got possession, at very low leases, of the revenues of Bath, Worcester, and Hereford, Bishoprics filled by Italians, who were allowed to reside abroad, and who were glad to compound for this indulgence, by parting with a considerable share of their profits. He had also about this time a pension of three thousand livres granted to him by Charles, King of Spain, having before obtained the conditional grant of a pension of ten thousand ducats out of the Dutchy of Milan. And it was computed that his whole revenues, with the pensions and numerous presents that he received from abroad, annually exceeded the revenues of the Crown. But though Wolfey thus engrossed such prodigious revenues, ecclesiastical and civil, yet Anthony Wood tells us, that " he was the most difinterested Clergyman of that age !"

Surrounded as Wolfey was with pomp and dignity, he remembered the affront which he had received from Sir Amias Pawlet. The Cardinal and Chancellor could not forgive the infult which had been offered to the Rector of Lymington. He fent for Pawlet; and after a fevere exposulation with him, concerning the treatment which he had formerly received at his hands, he strictly enjoined him not to go out of town without special licence. And for five or fix years the Knight was confined by the Cardinal's order in the Temple; where he fought

was all of scarlet, or else of fine crimson taffata, or crimson fattin ingrained; that he wore red gloves, as well as a red hat. But greater still; that he wore shoes of silver gilt, set with pearls and precious stones, having two crosses of silver, and two pole-axes, and pillars of silver and gilt, and golden cushions carried before him; which, however the Cardinal prided himself in, the people, it feems, had never the better opinion

of him for. For I find one Richard Byfield (afterwards a martyr) about the year 1527, using these words to one Peerson, a Priest: "My Lord "Cardinal is no persect nor good man; for Christ never taught him to sollow riches, nor to seek for promotions. Christ neverstaught him to wear shoes of sil"taught him to wear shoes of sil"ver and gilt, &c." Strype's Mem, Vol, I. P. 120, 121,

to mitigate Wolfey's refentment by adorning the gate-house next to the street with his arms, his hat, and other badges of distinction, proper to him as Cardinal. Sir Amias Pawlet was after some years confinement discharged; but it appears evidently that the Cardinal, in this affair, acted in an arbitrary and ille-

gal manner.

The Cardinal, in consequence of his being invested with legantine power, erected an office which he called the Legantine Court. And as he was now, by means of the Pope's commission, and the favour of the King, invested with all power, both ecclesiastical and civil, no man knew what bounds were to be set to this new tribunal. He conferred on it a species of inquisitorial and censorial powers even over the Laity; and directed it to enquire into all matters of conscience, and into all conduct which had given scandal. Great offence was taken at this tribunal, the power of which was unbounded; and the people were the more difgusted, when they saw a person, who indulged himfelf in luxury and pleasure, and who was charged with private vices, so severe in punishing the least appearance of immorality in others. Some writers are indeed of opinion, that Wolfey really intended to promote the reformation of manners, and especially that of the Clergy. " He had certainly (fays Bishop Bur-" net) a vast mind; and he saw the corruptions of the Clergy " gave fo great scandal, and their ignorance was fo profound, " that unless some effectual ways were taken for correcting " these, they must needs fall into great disesteem with the peo-" ple: for though he took great liberties himself, and perhaps according to the maxims of the Canonists, he judged Cardi-" nals, as Princes of the Church, were not comprehended " within ordinary ecclefiaftical laws; yet he feemed to have " defigned the reformation of the inferior Clergy, by all the " means he could think of, except the giving them a good ex-" ample (q)."

But the Cardinal made his legantine court the more obnoxious, by appointing one John Allen the Jadge of it; a perfon who, it is faid, was of a fcandalous life, and who had been
himself condemned by Wolsey, as Chancellor, for perjury.
And as this man exacted fines from every one whom he was
pleased to find guilty, or took bribes to stop prosecution, many
concluded that he shared with the Cardinal those wages of iniquity. Lord Herbert, speaking of Cardinal Wolsey's legantine
court, says that "all manner of rapines and extortions were
"committed there. For making enquiry into the life of every
body, no offence escaped censure and punishment, unless pri"vately they gave money;" and "as the rules of conscience
"are in many cases of a greater extent than those of the law,
fo he found means to search into their secretest corners."

<sup>2</sup> Wolfey

<sup>(9)</sup> Vid. Hift. of the Reformation, Vol. I, P. 20, Edit. 1679.

Wolfey also assumed the power of all the Bishops courts, particularly that of judging of wills and testaments, and his decifions in those important points were sometimes not a little arbitrary; as if he himself were Pope, and as if the Pope could dispose absolutely of every ecclesiastical establishment, he prefented to whatever Priories or benefices he pleafed, without regard to the right of election in the Monks, or of patronage in the Nobility and Gentry.

Archbishop Warham took the liberty of complaining to the King of these transactions of Wolsey; upon which Henry directed Warham to tell Wolfey, that he should amend what was amis (r). This, however, had little effect. "But shortly af-" ter (fays Lord Herbert) his Agent John Allen being accused " by one John London, a Priest, it appeared sufficiently that all " the former allegations against Wolfey were true; which " made the King rebuke the Cardinal fo fharply, that after that " time he became, if not better, yet more wary than before."

The French King, who had been some time extremely desirous of recovering possession of the city of Tournay, was now convinced that he should not be able to carry his point, without gaining over Cardinal Wolfey to his interest. The Cardinal had hitherto detached Henry from the interest of Francis, and engaged him to enter into treaties with his enemies, in refentment for the French Monarch's former behaviour with respect to the Bishopric of Tournay. And though Francis had used great interest at the Court of Rome, to procure Wolfey his Cardinal's hat, yet that did not pacify the haughty Prelate, who wanted to flew that even Sovereigns should not offend him with impunity. But, in 1518, Francis fent a solemn Embaffy to England, consisting of Bonnivet, Admiral of France, the Archbishop of Paris, and Villeroy, Secretary of State. Bonnivet was directed to employ all his infinuation and address, qualities which he possessed in an eminent degree, to procure himself a place in the good graces of the Cardinal. After the Ambaliador had fucceeded in his purpole, he took an opportunity of expressing the King his malter's regret, that, by mistakes and misapprehensions, he had been so unfortunate as to lose a friendship, which he so much valued as that of his Eminence. Wolfey was not, we are told, deaf to these honourable advances from so great a Monarch; and he was from that time observed to express himself, on all occasions, in favour of the French alhance.

The more to engage him in his interests, Francis lost no occafion which prefented itself of offering incense to the Cardinal's vanity. He shewed the greatest descrence and regard to him, continually by letters, or special messengers, faluting him by the name of Father, or some other honorary, or most respectful ap-

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pellation. And he would ask his advice, even in the most secret affairs; and in all difficult emergencies had recourse to him, as to an oracle of wisdom and profound policy. The Cardinal made no secret to the King of this private correspondence; and Henry was so prepossessed in favour of the great capacity of his Minister, that, he said, he verily believed he would govern Francis as well as himself. Matters appearing thus to be sufficiently prepared, Bonnivet opened to the Cardinal his master's defire of recovering Tournay; and Wolsey engaged to effectuate his purpose. He represented to Henry, that the possession of Tournay was precarious, expensive, and useless; and accordingly a treaty was entered into for the delivering up of that city, and which was foon concluded. It was agreed, that the Dauphin and the Princess Mary, both of them infants, should be betrothed, and that this city should be considered as the dowry of the Princels. But as Henry had been at a confiderable expence in building a citadel at Tournay, Francis agreed to pay him fix hundred thousand crowns at twelve yearly But that Wolfey might not think himself neglected payments. in these stipulations, Francis's Ambassadors brought over letters patent, by which he obliged himself to pay to his dear friend the Cardinal of York, a pension of twelve thousand livres, in return for his giving up the Bishopric of Tournay. It was also stipulated, that there should be an interview between the two Monarchs, in the village of Sandenfelt, near Ardres, in Picardy; and the French King referred the regulation of this interview, as to the time and manner of it, entirely to Wolfey.

This year the Cardinal accompanied the King and Queen to Abingdon; where, the day after their arrival, a folemn deputation of the principal heads of the University of Oxford was fent, to pay their duty to their Majesties, when they were likewife introduced to the Cardinal. And the Queen took that opportunity to visit Oxford, attended by the Cardinal, who was received at the University in the most honourable manner. And the Cardinal, after he had entered the convocation, and received the congratulatory addresses of the University, made a speech in return, in which he declared, how much he had the interest of the University at heart, and how desirous he was of doing it service. He also acquainted them with his design of founding several public lectures, and which he soon afterwards carried into execution. These lectures were seven in number, on Theology, Civil Law, Physic, Philosophy, Mathematics, the Greek language, and Rhetoric. The Cardinal, however, though he paid falaries to the several lecturers in his own time, yet never settled any estate upon the lectureships by deed; and, therefore, there are now no remains of them. About this time, the Cardinal was also very instrumental in procuring the establishment of the College of Physicians.

This year also the Cardinal received two grants from the King of an extraordinary nature. These were dated May the 6th. By the first he was impowered to grant letters patents of denizenation to be made out, under the Great Seal, to such person or persons as should at any time sue to him for the same, without any other warrant. By the other he was authorized to make out letters patents under the Great Seal, of all Conge D'Elires, Royal assents, and restitutions of Temporalities, as well of Archbishoprics, Monasteries, Abbies, Priories, as of all other religious houses, in England and Wales, to such persons as should afterwards in due form sue for the same. And the Cardinal was also authorized by the same powers, to cause from time to time to be made out commissions, and writs of DEDIMUS POTESTATEM, to such as should think convenient, to take the homages and fealty of all manner of persons, as well Archbishops and Bishops as other persons, due unto the Crown

for the faid Temporalities.

Pope Leo X. had now been for some time soliciting the Powers of Christendom to join in a league against the Turks, and which had been already concluded between the Emperor, and the Kings of France and Spain. In this treaty a place was left for King Henry of England; and accordingly the Pope appointed Cardinal Campejus his Legate, with directions to folicit Henry to enter into the league. Wolfey being informed of this appointment, fent one of his confidents to Rome, with a remonstrance to his Holiness, importing, that the nomination of another Legate, while he resided Cardinal in England, was such an affront as would destroy his credit and influence, and render him incapable of serving the Holy See effectually. Upon which the Pope, being unwilling to disoblige so powerful a Minister, joined him in the legation with Campejus, whom Wolfey found means to detain at Boulogne, until he received Leo's answer. When Campejus arrived in England, it appeared that his whole commission was to effectuate three points. The first was, to prevail upon Henry to enter into the league against the Turks; the second, to procure an aid of money from the Clergy; and the third, to visit the Monasteries of England. Wolfey was the Pope's secret enemy in every one of these matters. He knew what great sums his Holiness would draw from England, if Campejus was suffered to have any sway with the Clergy; befides, he himself having been before ap-pointed collector and manager of the tenths for the Pope, he looked upon the other Legate's commission as an affront upon himself. Wolsey, therefore, managed it so, that the Clergy gave a flat denial to the Pope's demand. As to the project of the league, Wolfey reprefented it to Henry in its just light, that of a stale expedient, always practifed upon Princes for squeezing from them subsidies to the See of Rome. Henry, therefore, declined all fuch engagements. With respect to the third part of

the Legate's bufiness, Wolsey immediately dispatched Dr. Clark to Rome, to solicit, or rather to demand, from the Pope, a revocation of Campejus's powers, and a commission vesting the sole right of visiting English Monasteries in the person of Wolsey, As to Campejus himself, Wolsey treated him with politeness, and even with generosity. He furnished him with equipages, presented him with money, introduced him in a very handsome manner to the King, and promised him his interest for the See of Salisbury, as soon as it should be vacant; and, at last, obligingly dismissed him. And Clark, Wolsey's Agent at the Court of Rome, obtained a Bull from the Pope, impowering Wolsey not only to visit Monasteries, and all the Clergy of England, but to dispense with the laws of the Church for the term of a year, from the date of his commission.

At the beginning of the year 1519, the Emperor Maximilian died; upon which the Kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves competitors for the Imperial Throne. The King of England was inclined to have offered himself as a candidate, but he was too late in his application; and Charles, King of Spain, was elected Emperor. The new Emperor, and the King of France, had several other causes of contention and rivalship; and they were both very desirous of bringing over the King of England to favour their respective interests. And, for this purpose, they both cultivated, with the utmost assiduity, the friendship of Wolsey. Besides presents and pensions, they vied with each other who should cares him most, stiling him in their letters, their friend, their patron, and their father; and extolling to the skies his virtue, prudence, and capacity. And Wolfey artfully made use of these testimonies, not only to slatter his master's vanity, by representing to him how formidable he must be to those two Potentates, when they thus earnestly solicited the friendship of his Minister; but also to enhance his own merit in the opinion of Henry, who could not help observing, that Wolfey's abilities must be greatly superior to those of all other Ministers, when they were thus acknowledged by the greatest Princes of Europe.

The Cardinal having regulated the ceremonial of the intended interview between the Kings of England and France, Henry repaired to Canterbury in the latter end of May, 1520, in order to pass his Whitsuntide in that city, and from thence proceed to Calais; but the next day he was informed that the Emperor of Germany had landed at Dover. The King was much surprized at the arrival of Charles, which had been pre-concerted between that Prince and Wolsey, to whom he had promised his influence with the Pope, towards procuring for him the Bishopric of Bajadox. The Cardinal was sent to compliment the Emperor at Dover, where the King met him next day, and conducted him to Canterbury. The Emperor's design in this voyage was to divert Henry from his intended interview with Francis; and accord-

ingly, with great earnestness, he requested the English Monarch to put it off; but Henry told him, that he had gone too far to retract; but at the same time he assured the Emperor, that nothing should pass between him and Francis to his prejudice. His Imperial Majesty renewed a treaty of commerce with Eagland; and, during his stay, he paid great court to Wolsey; and engaged him in his interests, by promising to use his utmost endeavours towards raising him to the Papacy. And after having been magnificently entertained by Henry, the Emperor took his

leave, and embarked at Sandwich for Flanders.

The fame day King Henry failed from Dover to Calais, attended by Queen Catherine, the Queen-Dowager of France, Cardinal Wolfey, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Dukes of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Buckingham, the Marquis of Dorfet, and many other Noblemen, and Prelates, and Gentry of both fexes, to the number in the whole of more than four thousand persons. Before the two Monarchs met, Cardinal Wolfey waited upon the French King with some proposals concerning the late treaty of alliance between Henry and Francis. Several particulars were accordingly agreed to, after some conferences between Wolsey and Chancellor Du Pratt, who managed the affairs of France. Among other things, it was agreed, that the differences between England and Scotland should be referred to the arbitration of Louisa of Savoy, mother to the King of France, and Cardinal Wolfey. The interview between the two Kings, which was on the seventh of June, in the valley of Arden, was uncommonly magnificent. The whole folemnity was regulated by Wolfey. On the eleventh day of the month, the justs and tournaments began in fight of the Ladies, for whom scaffolds were erected. Both the Kings entered the lifts, and behaved with great dexterity; but Henry bore away the honour of the field. Thefe exercifes being ended, the two Kings regaled each other with fplendid entertainments, balls, and masquerades. And fo much pomp and magnificence attended this interview, that the place of it was filed, THE FIELD OF CHOTH OF GOLD. At length, the two Kings parted on the twenty-fourth of June; and Henry, with his train, returned to Calais. He afterwards paid a vifit to the Emperor Charles and his aunt Margaret at Gravelines, who accompanied him back to Calais; after which he failed with his retinue for England.

About this time the Pope granted Wolfey a pension of two thousand ducats upon the Bishopric of Placentia, and constituted him perpetual Administrator of the See of Bajadox. And this year an account was taken, by the Cardinal's order, of the several parishes in England; and by this account there appeared to be nine thousand four hundred and seven churches at that time in the kingdom. The beginning of the following year, 1521, in an assembly of Prelates and Clergy, which was held at Wolsey's own house, the doctrines of Luther were condemned. Forty-two

of his errors were enumerated. The Cardinal also published the Pope's Bull against Luther, and ordered it to be every where published. He likewise required all persons, under pain of excommunication, to bring in all the books of Luther that were in their hands. " This (tays Bishop Rurnet) shews the apprehensions " they were under of the spreading of Luther's books and doc-" trine. All people were fo sensible at this time of the corruptions, " that every motion towards a reformation was readily hearkened " to every where. Corruption was the common subject of complaint; and in the commission given to those whom the King " fent to represent himself and his Church in the Council of La-" teran, the reformation of the Head and Members is mentioned as " that which was expected from that Council. This was so much " at that time in all men's mouths, that one of the best men in " that age, Coler, dean of St. Paul's, being to open the convoca-" tion with a fermon, made that the subject of it all (s)." But though Wolfey was concerned in causing the doctrines of Luther to be condemned, yet we must, in justice to him, observe, that he was by no means eager in the profecution of Heretics. And it is " justly observed by the learned Dr. Jortin, that " one of the " most favourable things that can be alledged for Wolfey, is con-" tained in an article of his impeachment, namely, that he was " remiss in hunting and punishing Heretics, and rather disposed " to screen them, by means of which connivance Lutheranism " had got ground."

The great study of Wolfey was to preserve his influence over Henry, and to find means to remove from Court all those who might rival him in the King's favour. His great arrogance, and his affecting much contempt even for the Nobility, created him many enemies; but his great power prevented most of them from openly declaring themselves to be such. One, however, of his most open enemies, was Edward Statford, Duke of Buckingham. This Nobleman was one of the greatest subjects in England, both by birth and possessions; and being a man of warm passions, and somewhat imprudent, had very freely expressed his indignation at the Cardinal's pride, stateliness, and unbounded power (t). For some time this Nobleman and Wolsey had lived in a declared animofity with one another; but before the Cardinal would directly attack him, he found means to deprive him of his two best friends; the Earl of Northumberland, his father-in-law, who was committed to the Tower, on the pretence of his claiming some wards to which he had no title; and Vol. II. 1.

tracts from, this fermon, Vol. I. P.

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(t) "He could by no means bear with the intolerable pride of the Cardinal, whose hatred not impro-

(s) Vid. our account of, and ex- than did the King's displeasure: for many times Princes are with less danger offended than their minions. There goes a tale, that the Duke once holding the balon to the King, the Cardinal, when the King had bably proved fatal unto him, rather done, presently dipped his hands in

his fon-in-law, the Earl of Surrey, who was appointed Governor of Ireland, that he might be at a distance from London, Buckingham had been so unguarded as to say, in a private company, that should the King die without issue, he would lay claim to the Crown as the descendant of Anne of Gloucester, grand-daughter to Edward III. and that, should he ever ascend the throne, he would punish Wolsey according to his demerit. This expression being reported to the Cardinal, we are told, he forthwith devoted the Duke to destruction; and bribed some of his domestics to betray the private life and conversation of their master. From this information Wolfey learnt, that Buckingham corresponded with one Hopkins, a Monk, who pretended to the gift of Prophecy, and flattered the Duke with affurances of his succeeding to the Throne of England, Wolfey, having thus collected matter for an impeachment, and deprived Buckingham of his two principal supports, Northumberland and Surrey, he was arrested, and accused of hightreason. And accordingly he was tried before the Dake of Norfolk, appointed High-Steward for the occasion, by one Duke, one Marquis, seven Earls, and twelve Barons; and being by them found guilty, was beheaded on the 13th of May. This Noblefound guilty, was beheaded on the 13th of May. man was very popular; and his death was univerfally regretted, and brought a great odium upon Wolsey, who was considered as the author of it; and the people openly libelled him as the fon of a butcher, who delighted in blood.

At this period a war had broken out between the Emperor Charles and the French King; and though these Princes were committing hostilities on each other in every part of Europe, they still made professions of the strongest desire of peace; and both of them appealed to the King of England, as to the umpire between them. Henry, who appeared neutral, engaged them to send their Plenipotentiaries to Calais, where he proposed to send Cardinal Wolsey, vested with full power to act in his name, as mediator. Accordingly the Cardinal being appointed,

the fame water: the Duke, disdaining to debase himself to the service of a Priest, shed the water in his shoes. The Cardinal therewith incensed, threatened him, that he would sit upon his skirts. The Duke, to shew that he slighted his threats, and withal that the King might take notice of the Cardinal's malice, came the next day to Court, richly (as he usually was) apparelled, but without skirts to his doublet. The King and many others demanding what he meant by that strange sathion, he answered readily, That it was done by way of prevention, for the Cardinal should not now

fit upon his fiirts. He thought he had put a jest upon the Cardinal; to whose informations, as proceeding from envy and spleen, he hoped the King would hereaster give the less credit. But he missed his mark: for most men were of opinion, that the Cardinal's malice crushed him, rather than did the weight of his own offences. It was the saying of Charles the Emperor, upon the report of his death, That the butcher's dog had hilled the fairest hart of England."—Bishop Godwin's Annals of Hen. VIII. P. 46, 47. Edit. 1630.

pointed, by special commission, the King's Lieutenant, proceeded through London in great state, attended by the Earl of Worcester, the Lords St. John, Ferrers, and Herbert, the Bishops of Durham and Ely, the Primate of Armagh, and many other persons of distinction, and a numerous train of fervants, and arrived at Calais on the 10th of July. The conferences were opened on the 4th, of August, when the Cardinal appeared with all the pomp of a Sovereign. He was possessed of the Great Seal of England, and vested with ample power to terminate the quarrel between the two parties. To renew the alliance between England and France, and to conclude any other league that should be for his master's interest. Wolsey was now entirely in the interest of the Emperor, on account of the affurances which he had given him, that he would use his interest towards procuring him the Papacy; and as the Emperor was well acquainted with the Cardinal's partiality towards him, his demands in the conferences were very unreasonable. On the French King's rejecting the Emperor's terms, the Congress at Calais broke up, and Wolfey took a journey to Bruges, where he met with the Emperor (u). He was received with as much state, respect, and magnificence, as if he had himself been King of England; and he concluded in his master's name an offensive alliance with the Pope and Emperor against France. He engaged that England should in the following summer, invade that kingdom with forty thousand men; and he betrothed to Charles the Princess Mary, the King's only child, who had now some prospect of inheriting the Crown. "This extravagant alliance (says Mr. Hume), which was prejudicial to the interests, and might have proved fatal to the liberty and independence of the kingdom, was the refult of the humours and prejudices of the King, and the private views and expectations of the Cardinal."

Wolfey returned to England in November; and he this year obtained the rich Abbey of St. Alban's in commendam. He also received a Bull from the Pope, which prolonged his Legateship for two years; and another which impowered him to create fifty Knights, as many Counts Palatine, the like number of Acolytes

(u) Before the Cardinal left Calais, he concluded a treaty with the Ministers of the Emperor and the French King, importing, that the two contending Monarchs should command their subjects not to pursue the ships or vessels of either party into the ports of England, nor commit any hostilities within the territories of the King thereof, during the war: that the Ministers of each party that composed the congress, should freely retire with their train, without receiving any injury from

the troops of the parties engaged in the war: and that the King of England, and the Cardinal Legate, his lieutenant, should be the Confervators of these articles. Upon this treaty Rapin makes the following remark: "We have here (says he) a very sensible proof of the Cardinal's insoluence, who, in a treaty drawn by himself, presumed thus to set himself on a level with his master, by being declared Confervator with the King."

and Chaplains, and forty apostolical Notaries; and to legitimate baftards, and grant the Doctor's degree in all the faculties, as well as all forts of dispensations. At the close of the year Pope Leo X. died; upon which Wolsey dispatched Pace to Rome to manage his interest there. But it appeared upon this occasion, that the Emperor had been infincere in his promises to the Cardinal; for he used his influence not in favour of Wolsey, but of Cardinal Adrian Florentius. However, Charles had taken his measures with so much art and address, that Adrian was unanimously chosen Pope in the conclave, without the Emperor's appearing to intermeddle And Wolfey did not shew any refentment on acin the affair. count of his disappointment, probably thinking it more eligible to conceal it, that he might stand the fairer for the next vacancy; which, as the new Pope was both old and infirm, seemed not to be

at any great distance.

The French King having been informed of what had passed between the Emperor and Wolfey at Bruges, fent letters to Henry, in which he inferted the article of the treaty of London, obliging them to give each other mutual affiftance. He then recapitulated the measures which the Emperor had taken against him, and summoned the King of England to execute the treaty. Henry affirmed, that the French King was the first aggressor, and immediately de-clared war against him, as a disturber of the peace of Europe. The Emperor being at this time extremely desirous of keeping up a friendly correspondence with Wolsey, without which he knew he could not be upon amicable terms with Henry, paid a new visit to England, and landed at Dover on the 26th of May, 1522. The Cardinal there received him with a magnificent retinue; and the King in person repairing to the same place, conducted him to Greenwich. From thence they went together to London, where they were entertained with great splendor; and on Whitsunday the Cardinal celebrated high mass at St. Paul's, with all the pomp of a Sovereign Pontiff, Dukes and other Lords of the first distinction holding water to him, the Emperor and the King being present. Henry afterwards invited the Emperor to Windsor, where he was installed in the Order of the Garter, after which they ratified the treaty of Bruges. And Charles engaged, by letters patent, to pay Wolfey a pention of nine thousand crowns of gold, and took every method to secure his friendship, repeating the promises which he had before made him, of using his interest towards procuring him the Papacy. The Emperor left England in July, being convoyed to Spain by a fleet commanded by the Earl of Surrey.

In order to maintain the war, which was entered into with France, the King, by the advice of Wolfey, issued warrants to all Sheriffs and Constables, to number the people, from the age of fixteen upwards, and specify the effects of each individual, that he might borrow a tenth of the Laity, and a fourth of the Clergy, befides twenty thousand pounds, which he exacted by

way of loan from the city of London. " This general loan (fays " Rapin) made a great noise all over the kingdom, and every one openly exclaimed against the Cardinal, who was the author; " but he little regarded the people's clamours, because he was sup-" ported by the King (w). However, though at first he had it given orders to exact loans with the same rigour as if they had " been a tax imposed by the Parliament, he met with so many ob-" flacles, that he was apprehensive of raising commotions in the " kingdom, not to be appealed at his pleasure; so the tax was

" levied much more gently than at first intended."

In 1523, the Cardinal refigned the Administration of Bath and Wells, upon being made Bishop of Durham, on the death of Dr. Ruthal, Bishop of that See. We are told, that this Prelate was defired by Henry VIII. to write his opinion of the state of the kingdom in general, and more especially that part of it which more immediately concerned the Crown. And accordingly Bishop Ruthal obeyed the King's command, writing his opinion in a fair hand, and having it bound up in a volume. As he was thus employed at the King's defire to state the condition of the kingdom, he bethought himself of looking into the state of his own concerns, and got a fecond volume bound up in the fame manner as the first, wherein he wrote an exact inventory of all his estates, both real and personal; which, it is faid, amounted to no less a fum than an hundred thousand pounds sterling. The King sent to the Bishop for his book, which his Majesty was very impatient to fee; but, by a fatal mistake, Ruthal delivered the book containing the inventory of his own estate, instead of that he had written by the King's order. Cardinal Wolsey upon this carried the book to the King, and told his Majesty, that though he would not meet with the account he expected, yet he would find the particulars of Bishop Ruthal's estate, and where to apply for money in case he wanted. It does not appear whether the King took any advantage of this information; but Bishop Godwin observes, that the mistake fell so heavy on the Bishop's spirits, that it hastened his death. Upon this incident Dr. Jortin makes the following remark: "Whilft " we detest (says he) the treachery of the Cardinal, we cannot " afford much pity to the Bishop with his hundred thousand or pounds. If he had made a wife use of them, like Arch-" bishop

(w) It is no unusual thing with the favourites of Princes to affect to despile and difregard the complaints and murmurs of the people. The event, however, generally demonstrates, that this conduct is at once bad Minister, supported by Regal fa- people WILL be heard.

your, may be able to fland against the indignation of an injured nation. But this, in a country where a fense of liberty is predominant, cannot be of any long dura ion. The time must come, which will convince both iniquitous and weak. For a time a the Prince and the favourite, that the bishop Warham (x), who had the honour and the glory to live and die poor, they would have been beyond the reach of the King and Cardinal,

" Extra fortunam est quicquid donatur amicis, 
" Quas dederis solas semper habebis opes.

" Even a Pagan could fay this."

The Cardinal having met with much opposition to his late method of raising money, advised the King to convoke a Parliament. It accordingly affembled on the 15th of April, and a convocation met at the same time. And Wolsey having undertaken to manage the Clergy, determined to use all his high legantine and ministerial powers, to prevail upon them to fet a complying example to the Laity. And, therefore, he issued out a mandate to remove the convocation held at St. Paul's, at the Archbishop of Canterbury's call, and summoned the Archbishop and Clergy to meet at Westminster, a proceeding which was altogether unprecedented. But this removal of the convocation by the Cardinal was thought fo irregular a step, that it would render all the proceedings of the affembly invalid; and, therefore, they did not fit many days before they returned to St. Paul's. However, Wolsey demanded of the Clergy a subsidy of half their revenues, payable in five years; though this demand was opposed, as exorbitant, by Fox, Bishop of Winchester, and Fisher, Bishop of Rochester. "But the Car-" dinal (fays Lord Herbert) filencing some, and causing others to " absent themselves, prevailed at last." The Cardinal afterwards demanded a grant of eight hundred thousand pounds of the Commons, divided into four yearly payments. This demand met with great opposition; and, after obstinate debates, the Commons granted only a part of the fum demanded. Wolfey, incensed at their rejecting his proposal, repaired to the House, and defired to hear their reasons for refusing his demands : but they gave him to understand, that they never argued in the prefence of strangers; and he at length thought proper to retire, though extremely chagfined at his repulse. The Commons,

(x) One of the writers of Wolfey's life, Grove, being full of zeal for the honour of the Cardinal's memory, and displeased with Warham for having opposed him, gives the Archbishop this character: "Warham (says he) was an old subtle Minister, and a great lover of money, which he collected toge therto enrich his private family only. But it happens a little unfortunately that this character is the very reverse of the truth. For the fact is, that Arch-

bishop Washam was one of the most generous men of his time, and remarkable for his liberality; and the he was for many years Archbishop of Canterbury and Lord-Chancellor, left no more behind him, than was fufficient to pay his debts and funeral charges. And yet Mr. Grove informs us, that he was a great lover and hoarder of money!—Vid. Hist. of the Life and Times of Cardinal Wolfey, Vol. III. P. 94.

however, to manifest their zeal for the King's service, voted a confiderable addition to the subsidy (y). During these transactions, Pope Adrian died; but the Cardinal was again disappointed in his expectations of the Papacy, Clement VII. being elected, and with the concurrence of the Emperor's adherents. Some of the reasons which Wolsey's agents at Rome gave why he was not elected, were, that it was supposed that he would never go to Rome in person, and that he was considered as too young, and too powerful. Wolsey bore his disappointment with a good grace, though he was now convinced of the Emperor's infincerity; but he dissembled his resentment, and after congratulating the new Pope upon his promotion, obtained in 1524, a perpetual grant of the legantine power; which, it is said, had never before been con-

ferred for life upon any other person.

In the course of the war with France, the Earl of Surrey, who commanded the joint fleets of England and Flanders, made two descents upon the coast of France, from whence he carried off a confiderable booty. On his return from this expedition, the fame Nobleman was fent over to Calais with a body of forces, to join the Imperial General; and they having in conjunction ravaged part of Picardy, undertook the flege of Hesden, which, however, they could not reduce. They then attacked Dourlens, which they took and burned, together with Marquife, and some other places; but the winter approaching, and dissension prevailing between the Generals, the Earl of Surrey withdrew his troops to Calais, and returned to England. The command of the English forces was afterwards given to the Duke of Suffolk, who, joining the Imperial General, made a confiderable progress in France, taking several places, and advancing within eleven leagues of Paris, and threw that city into great consternation, till the Dake of Vendome hastened with some forces to its relief;

(y) A letter written at that time to a noble Lord, which is flill extant, gives a good idea of the fense of the nation with respect to these subsidies. "I have heard no man in my life, stay the writer) that can remember, that ever there was given to any one of the King's ancestors half so much at one grant: nor, I think, there was never such a precedent seen before this time. I befeech Almighty Go not may be well and peaceably sevied, and surely passed unto the King's Grace, without grudge; and especially without losing the good will and true hearts of his subjects; which I reckon is far greater treasure for the King, than gold or silver. And the gentlemen that must take pains to levy this money among the King's

fuhjects, I think, shall have no little buliness about the same. My Lord Cardinal hath promised, on his faith, that the two shillings of the pound of loan-money shall be paid with a good will, and with thanks, but no day is appointed thereof, &c."

This writer also gives the following account of the Cardinal's proceedings with the convocation: "The convocation also (says he) among the Priests, the day of their appearance, as soon as mass of the Holy Ghost at Paul's was done, my Lord Cardinal cited them to appear also before his convocation at Westminster, which they so did; and there was another mass of the Holy Ghost. And within six or seven days the Priests proved, that all that

relief; upon which the confederated army thought proper to re-

tire, and the Duke of Suffolk repaired to Calais.

At the opening of the year 1525, money being wanted for the purposes of Henry and his Minister, Wolsey, who was no friend to Parliaments, iffued commissions in the King's name, to levy throughout the whole kingdom one fixth part of every layman's goods, and one fourth of those of the Clergy. This rigorous proceeding, after the great fums which the people had lately advanced, and the payment of which had been anticipated by the Cardinal, almost threw The people were enraged, not only at the nation into a flame. the demand itself, but at the illegality of it; and justly considered it as a flagrant violation of Magna Charta, and the laws of the kingdom. And Commissioners being sent down to the Clergy, in the different counties, and the Clergy called before them at fixed places, where a fourth part of their revenues and moveables was demanded, the Clergy answered the Commissioners " That they "would pay nothing, except it was granted by the convocation."
And fome of them did not scruple to say, "That the Cardinal, " and all the doers thereof, were enemies to the King and Com-" monwealth." Nay, the Clergy even complained of it in their pulpits; and the Commissioners found the Laity as refractory as the Clergy. Grafton fays, "The poor curfed, the rich re-" pugned, the light wits railed, and all curfed the Cardinal and " his adherents, as the subverters of the laws and liberties of " England." And the people also said, " That if men should " give their goods by a commission, then were it worse than the " taxes

my Lord Cardinal's convocation should do would be void, because that their summons was to appear before my Lord of Canterbury. Which thing so espied, my Lord Cardinal hath addressed a new citation into every country, commanding the Priess to appear before eight days after the ascension. And then, I think, they shall have the third mass of the Holy Ghost. I pray God, the Holy Ghost be among them, and us both. I do tremble to remember the end of all these high and new enterprizes. For oftenumes it hath been seen, that to a new enterprize there solloweth a new manner, and strange sequel.—Vid. Fiddes's Collections, at the end of his life of Wolsey, P. 115.

P. 115.
It is faid, that when King Henry heard that the Commons made a great difficulty of granting the supply which was required of them, he was so provoked, that he sent for Edward

Montagu, one of the Members, who had a considerable influence in the House; and he being introduced to his Majesty, had the mortification to hear him speak in these words, Hod man! will they not fuffer my bill to pass? And laving his hand on Montagu's head, who was then on his knees before him, said, Get my bill passed by to-morrow, or else to-morrow this head of your's shall be off. And we are told by Hall, that Cardinal Wolsey endeavoured to terrify the citizens of London into the general loan, exacted in 1525, and told them plainly, that "it were better that some should fuffer indigence, than that the King at this time should lack; and therefore beware and resist not, nor russle not in this case; for it may fortune to cost some people their heads." Such was the stile employed by the King and his Minister.—Vid.Hume's Hist. Vol. IV. P. 51.

" taxes in France, and fo England should be bond, and not

King Henry being informed of the violent opposition which was made to this taxation, and the commotions which it occafioned, publickly disavowed the proceeding of his Minister, and declared by writs, throughout all the counties of England, that he would require nothing of his people but what they would voluntarily contribute by way of BENEVOLENCE. The Cardinal, on this occasion, endeavoured to screen himself from the public censure, by alledging, that he had done nothing in this affair, but what had been approved and affented to by the Council and the Judges. But his excuse was by no means admitted among the people; who took it for granted, that the Council had been governed by him in giving their opinions, and that they were no other than his tools, to give a feeming fanction to a manifest act of oppression. It was, nowever, remarked, that the King shewed, on this occasion, a greater indifference about vindicating the character of his favourite and Minister, Wolsey, than he had ever done before; and even seemed, by his behaviour, tacitly to condemn the Cardinal; which encouraged Wolfey's enemies to hope, that means might be found to disposses him of

the King's favour.

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The proposal of collecting money from the people by way of BENEVOLENCE, was, however, very disagreeable to the people, as well as the former method: for it was no other than an artifice to extort, under another name, what the subjects refused to give under that of a decree or commission. And when it was agreed by the Common Council of the city of London, that each Alderman should sit in his ward, and summon the citizens before them, to acquaint them with the King's pleasure in regard to the benevolence, and which was accordingly done, the citizens openly refused to give any thing, faying, "That they "had paid enough before." Upon this the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, with the city Counsel, waited upon Cardinal Wolfey, and acquainted him with the minds of the citizens. The Cardinal acquainted him with the minds of the citizens. dinal was himself Commissioner for the city of London, and therefore he took that opportunity of faying to them, " As I am " your Commissioner, I shall take the liberty to examine you, one by one, and try how well you fland affected to your "Prince. And I now ask of you a benevolence in his Ma-i jefty's name." To which one of the city Counfel answered, "jesty's name." To which one of the city Counsel answered,
"That it was contrary to the statute made in the first year of
Richard III. for by that law no such benevolence should be
asked, nor any man examined in relation to it." To shis the
Cardinal rejoined, "Sir, I marvel that you speak of Richard the IIId, who was an usurper, and a murderer of his own ne-phews. How can so evil a man's acts be good?"---" May it please your Grace, (said the Lawyer), although he did evil, many good acts were made not by him only, but by the con" fent of the Body of the Realm, which is the PARLIAMENT." The Mayor then kneeled to the Cardinal, and defired that he would permit them to try the citizens once more. "Well, " (faid Wolfey), I am content; however, as you are here, I thall proceed thus fair to afk, What you will feverally give the "King?" "I pray you pardon me, (faid the Mayor), if I "should grant any thing, it might cost me my life." The Cardinal replied, "That was strange, for the King would sup-" port him; and if any of you (said he) be grieved in this matter, come to me, and I shall so treat you as to give you no cause of complaint; and with this you may acquaint your neighbours." The Mayor and Aldermen then returned into the city, when the Common-Council fet afide the order which had been made, for every Alderman to fit in his ward to raise the BENEVOLENCE, declaring it to be contrary to law. The Commiffioners in the country also, who were employed to raise the Duke of Suffolk by fair words prevailed upon the clothiers in Suffolk to grant a benevolence to the King, but they immediately also have also been expensed to the King, but they immediately also have a suffolk to grant a benevolence to the King, but they immediately also have a suffolk to grant a benevolence to the King, but they immediately also have a suffolk to grant a benevolence to the King, but they immediately also have a suffolk to grant a suffolk to ately discharged all their workmen; upon which an insurrection enflied, and in a fhort time above four thousand men were afsembled together, who declared that they would kill the Commissioners employed to collect the benevolence. These people were, however, difperied by the Dukes of Suffolk and Norfolk; but fuch a spirit was excited in the nation, and there appeared so much danger of a civil war, that the project of the benevo-lence was obliged to be entirely laid aside.

This year, 1525, the Cardinal laid the first stone of a magnificent structure at Oxford, which he intended to erect under the name of Cardinal College. He had procured the dissolution of the Priory of St. Frideswide at Oxford; which being accordingly surrendered into the King's hands, Henry immediately gave the same to the Cardinal, for the building of his intended College. And he soon obtained Bulls from the Pope, to support and confirm what the King had granted; and he also procured the dissolution of several small Monasteries, situated in different parts of England, in order to apply their respective revenues for the support and maintenance of his College. But Wolfey's administration, and even his proceedings with respective to his College, were consured with so much freedom by the people, that it reached the ears of the King himself. In a letter to the Cardinal, still extant, Henry writes thus: "As touching the help of religious houses to the building of your College, I would it were more, so it be lawfully; for my intent is none, but that it should so appear to all the world, and the occasion of all their mumbling might be secluded and put away; for, surely, there is great murmuring of it, throughout all the realm, both good and bad. They say not that all that is ill-gotten, is bestowed upon the College; but that the

College is the cloak for covering all mischiefs. This griev-"eth me, I affure you, to hear it spoken by him, which I so entirely love. Wherefore, methought I could do no less than thus friendly to admonish you. One thing more I perceive by " your one letter, which a little methinketh toucheth confci-" ence; and that is, that you have received money of the ex-" empts for having of their old visitors. Surely, this can " hardly be with good conscience. For, and they were good, " why should you take money? and if they were ill, it were a si finful act. Howbeit your legacy herein might, peradventure, " APUD HOMINES, be a cloak, but not APUD DEUM. Where-" fore you, thus monished by him who so entirely loveth you, I " doubt not, will defift, not only from this, (if confcience will not " bear it), but from all other things, which should tangle the " fame ; and, in fo doing, we will fing, TE LAUDANT ANGELT " ATQUE ARCHANGELI, TE LAUDAT OMNIS SPIRITUS (2)." About this time the Cardinal made the King a prefent of his magnificent palace at Hampton-Court; and Henry gave him in return Richmond palace to reside in. And still further to ingraciate himself with his Majesty, and with a view of preventing any unfavourable reprefentations of his conduct from weakening Henry's attachment to him, he produced his will, in which he had made Henry his fole heir.

At this period, Francis I. King of France, was taken prisoner by the troops of the Emperor at the battle of Pavia; some time before which it appears, that a person sent by the Countess of Angoulesme, mother to the French King, had long and frequent conferences with Wolfey. The Cardinal, having been twice disappointed by the Emperor, in the expectations of the Papacy, was now defirous of engaging Henry to abandon his cause, and engage in a league with the French King. It is, indeed, alledged, in behalf of Wolsey, that the Emperor was now become fo formidable, that it was the interest of the other Princes of Europe to endeavour to counterpoise his greatness; and that, therefore, we are not obliged in this affair to suppose the Car-dinal actuated chiefly by his private resentments. However, on the 30th of August, this year, Wolsey concluded five separate treaties with the Ambassadors sent over for that purpose from France. And the Regent of France obliged herself to pay the arrears of the pension, which had been settled upon the Cardinal instead of the revenues of the Bishopric of Tournay; and the also promised to gratify him with one hundred thousand crowns of gold. Shortly after the French King concluded alfo a treaty with the Emperor at Madrid, upon which he was fet at liberty, and returned to his dominions. He immediately ratified the treaties which had been concluded with the King of Eng-E 2 land;

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<sup>(</sup> z) Vid. Lord Herbert's Life and Reign of King Henry VIII. Edit. 1683.

land; but he renounced that of Madrid, as the effect of com-

pulfion.

In 1526, Cardinal Wolfey drew up fome regulations with refpect to the economy of the Royal Houshold; and which, from the place where they were composed, were called the Statutes of Eltham, where Henry's Court was then held. And it being now observed, that considerable quantities of silver were carried out of the kingdom, the King granted to the Cardinal a discretional power to alter the valuation thereof from time to time, as he should see sit. And the Cardinal erected two mints for coining of money, one at York, and the other at Durham. Dr. Fiddes has exhibited, at the end of the introduction to his life of the Cardinal, prints of certain coins from Wolfey's different presses, each of which bear the Cardinal's

hat, with the initial letters of his name.

In 1527, King Henry began to revive his old scruples concerning the lawfulness of his marriage with Queen Catherine (a); and made some application to the Pope for a divorce from that Princess. It is faid that Wolsey endeavoured to increase Henry's inclination for a divorce, partly with a view of promoting a total breach with the Emperor, Catherine's nephew, and partly from a defire of connecting the King more closely with the French Monarch, by marrying him to the Dutchess of Alencon, that Prince's fifter: and it is also intimated, that Wolsey was influenced by his aversion to Queen Catherine, who had expressed her disapprobation of his loose and irregular life (b). It was not long after Henry had begun to folicit his divorce at the Court of Rome, that he became enamoured with Anne Boleyn. This Lady was daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been upon several Embassies in France, and was now created Viscount Rochford, and afterwards, in his mother's right, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond. His daughter, the Lady Anne, had her education at the French Court, and was very agreeable in her perfon, and mistress of all the accomplishments of the Ladies of those times. After her return from France, she became one of the Maids of Honour to Queen Catherine; and in this fituation was courted by Lord Piercy, fon to the Earl of Northumber-land, who lived in the Cardinal's family. This amour was, however, put a stop to by Wolsey, at the instance, as it is said, of the King himself; and it was this incident, according to Cavendish, which first excited in Anne Boleyn an aversion to the However, she now obtained a lover of a much higher rank; and Henry's passion for this Lady made him the more eager to haften the business of the divorce.

On

<sup>1 (</sup>a) Vid. Vol. I. P. 320, 321.
(b) Vid. Hume's Hift. Vol. IV.

Syo. Ed. P. 86. Smollet's Hift.

On the 3d of July, this year, the Cardinal set out from London on an Embassy to France; it being agreed that he should confer with the French King in person at Amiens. He was attended by Dr. Tonstall, Bishop of London, the Earl of Derby, Lord Sands, the Master of the Rolls, Sir Thomas More, Garter, King at Arms, and a most splendid train of other Knights and gentlemen, to the number of twelve hundred (c). arrived at Calais, he committed the custody of the Great Seal, which he carried with him out of England, into the hands of Dr. John Taylor, Master of the Rolls, until he should return to Calais (d). Before the Cardinal reached Boulogne, he was met by the Cardinal of Lorrain, fix Prelates, and forty gentle-men, who complimented him in the French King's name. And Francis, to do honour to Wolfey, empowered him to release the prisoners in every place through which he should pass. From Boulogne he proceeded to Abbeville; and there, as well as in every place he came to, was received with great magnificence and folemnity. He remained at Abbeville some days, until the King of France arrived at Amiens, where he was to meet him.

account of the Cardinal's pompous After obmanner of travelling. ferving, that he had finished the neceffary preparations for his journey, he fays, "Then marched he forward from his own house at Westminster through all London, over London-bridge, having with him of gemlemen a great number, three in a rank, with velvet coats, and the most part of them chains of gold about their necks. And all his yeomen followed him, with Noblemen's and gentlemen's fervants, all in orange-tawny coats, with the Cardinal's hat, and a T. and C. for Thomas, Cardinal, embroidered upon all the coats, as well his own fervants, as all the rest of the gentlemen's fervants; and his fumpter mules, which were twenty or more in number : and all his carriage of carts, and other of his train, were paffed before. He rode, like a Cardinal, very fumptuoufly, on his mule, with his spare mule and spare horse, trapped in crimson velvet, and gilt stirrups, following him. And before him he had his two great croffes of filver, his two great pillars of filver, the King's broad Seal of England, and his Cardinal's hat, and a gentleman carrying his valance, otherwise called his cloak bag, which

(c) Cavendish gives the following count of the Cardinal's pompous arner of travelling. After obving, that he had finished the neffary preparations for his journey, as fays, "Then marched he formard from his own house at West-inster through all London, over pared lodging for his train." — Vid. the Manuscript before referred to,

Fol. 17.

(d) During the Cardinal's flay at

(d) During the Cardinal's flay at and attendants together, and gave them fome instructions concerning their behaviour while they remained in France. And as to the degree of respect which they were to pay to him, he expressed himself thus; " You shall understand (said he) that the King's Majesty, for certain weighty affairs of his Grace, hath, for the advancement of his Royal dignity, affigned me to be in this journey his Lieutenant; and what reverence belongeth to the fame, I will tell you. For my part, I must, by virtue of my commission and Lieutenantship, assume and take upon me to be effeemed in all honour and degrees of service, as to his Highnes's presence is meet and due; and that by me nothing be neglected, that to his Royal estate is due and appertinent : and, for my part, you shall fee

Cavendish relates the particulars of their meeting, which was between Amiens and Abbeville. " By the time (fays he) that " the Cardinal was mounted after a gorgeous fort, the King " was come very near, within less than a quarter of an English " mile, mustering upon an hill, his guards standing in array " upon the top of the fame hill, expecting my Lord's coming. "To whom my Lord made as much hafte as he conveniently " might, until he came within a pair of butt lengths, and there " he stayed. The King perceiving that, having two worthy young gentlemen with him, the one called Monsieur Vadase mount, and the other Monsieur de Gines, both brethren to " the Cardinal of Lorrain, and to the Duke of Lorrain ;--- the se King caused Monsieur Vadamount to iffue from him, and to si ride to my Lord Cardinal, to know the cause of his tarrying. 4. And this Monfieur being mounted upon a fair white gennet, so took his race with his horse until he came even unto my Lord. And then he caused his horse to come aloft, twice or " thrice, so nigh my Lord's mule, that he was in doubt of his " horse; and with that he alighted, and doing humble reveof rence, did his message to my Lord. And that done, he " mounted again, and made his horse to do the same at his deso parting as he did before; and so repaired again unto the

that I will not omit one jot thereof. Therefore, that you should not be ignorant of your duties in this case, is one of the chief causes of your affembly: willing you, as you would have my favour, and also charging you all in the King's name, that you do not forget the same, that you do not forget the same, the you do observe your duties to me, according as you will at your return avoid the King's indignation, or obtain and deserve his Highness's thanks; the which I will set forth as each of you shall deserve."

He then made fome observations on the national character of the French, and on the manner in which they should behave to them. "The nature of Frenchmen (faid he) is fucl, that at their first meeting they will be as familiar with you, as if they had been acquainted with you long before: and will commune with you in the French tongue, as though you understood every word; therefore, use you them in like manner, and be as samiliar with them as they shall be with you. And if they shall be with you. And if they speak to you in their natural tongue, speak you to them again the English

tongue; for if you understand not them, no more shall they you." The Cardinal then merrily addressed himfelf to a Welch gentleman who was present. "Rice, (said he), speak thou Welch to them; and I doubt not but thy speech shall be more difficult to them, than their French shall be to thee." He then exhorted them all to behave with politeness and civility, that they might do honour to themselves, their King, their master, and their country.

When the Cardinal proceeded out of Calais with his train, it was, Cavendish says, "with such a number of black velvet coats, as hath been seldom seen with an Ambassador; for all the spears of Calais and Guynes, with other gentlemen, besides his train, were garnished with black velvet coats, and chains of gold. Thus passed he forward with his train of gentlemen before him, three in a rank, which by supposal extended three quarters of a mile in tength, having his crosses, and all other his accustomed ornaments and glorious surrouture, carried before him."—"Id, M.S. as before, Fol. 18, 19.

King. And his answer ended unto the King, the King ad-" vanced forwards : that feeing, my Lord he did the like ( ); and in the midway they met, embracing each other with maniable countenance and entertainment. Then drew into " the place all Noblemen and gentlemen, on both parts, with wonderful cheer made one to another, as though they had " been of an old acquaintance .-- And the King, and my Lord " Cardinal on his right hand, rode forth towards Amiens, every " Englishman accompanied with one other of France. The " train of these two Princes endured two long English miles; "that is to fay, from the place of the encounter unto Amiens; where they were very nobly received with thot of guns, and " costly pageants, until the King had brought my Lord unto his " lodging (f)."

The Cardinal continued with the French King fourteen days at Amiens, after which they removed to Compeigne, where they both lodged in the castle (g), and had frequent conferences together. And in the course of the Cardinal's negociations with the French Ministers, Cavendish informs us, that he had a great mifunderstanding with the Chancellor of France; with whom he represents Wolfey as being so much incensed, as to be with difficulty appealed. " I heard (fays he) and faw my Lord fall out with

What was the cause of the Cardinal's Stopping, nor with the purport of his answer to the King's message; but from the circum(tances, and from this 'expression, " that seeing, my Lord hie did the like;" it appears as if the Cardinal had taken some umbrage at the King's staying upon the hill, and not continuing to advance towards him; and, therefore, when he faw the King move towards him, he likewife went forward.

(f) Vid. M.S. as before, Fol. 20,

(b) Cavendifth attended the Cardi-mal in this Embaffy; and he relates an adventure which happened to him, at the time the Cardinal was about to remove from Amiens, which thews with how much respect even Wolfey's attendants were treated in France. \* I was fent (fays he) to prepare my Lord's lodging; and as I fode dn my journey, being on a Friday, my horfe caft a shoe, in a little village where there stood a fair teaftle. And as it chanced, there

(4) Cavendish does not inform us horse was shoeing, there came to me what was the cause of the Cardinal's a servant of the castle, perceiving me to be an Englishman, and one of my Lord Legate's fervants, as they then called my Lord, requiring me to go to the calle to my Lord his maller, whom he thought would be very glad of my company.—So I went with him, who conducted me into the castle; and at my first entry, I was among the watchmen that kept the first ward, being very tall men, and comely persons. They saluted me very reverently, and knowing the cause of my coming, defined me to their Lord and mafter. And to I did, and incontinent the Lord of the castle came out, who was called Monfigur Crocque, a Nohleman born, and nigh of King Lewis's blood, which was the Laft King before King Franwas the left king before king trancis that then reigned. And at my
to prepare my Lord's lodging; and as
T fode dn my journey, being on a
Friday, iny horfe caft a shoe, in a
little village where there stood a fair
teastle. And as it chanced, there
dwelt a smith, to whom I commanded
my servant to repair, to shoe my
horse. And standing by while my

was the left king before king trancis that then reigned. And at my
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then reigned. And at my
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the Chancellor of France, laying to his charge, that he went about to hinder the league, which was before his (the Chancel-" lor's) coming, concluded between the King our Sovereign Lord, " and the French King his master. Infomuch that my Lord sto-" macked him floutly, and told him, that it should not lie in his power to infringe the amiable friendship between them con-cluded. And that if the King his Master, being there pre-fent, would follow his counsel, he should not fail, shortly after " his return, to feel the smart, and to know what it is to main-" tain war against the King of England; and thereof he shall " be well affured. So that his flout countenance, and bold words, made them all in doubt how to quiet him, and revoke him again to the Council, who was then departed in a great There was fending, there was coming, there was in-" treating, and there was great submission and intercession made " unto him, to reduce him to the former communication, and " conclusion ; who would in no wife relent, until Madam Regent (the King's mother) came to him herself, and handled the matter in such wise, that she brought him again to his former estate of communication. And by this means he brought other things to pass, that before he could not attain " unto. Which was more for fear, than for any affection to the matter. And thus he had all their heads under his girdle (b). On the 18th of August, the Cardinal concluded three treaties with the French King; by the first of which it was agreed, that the Duke of Orleans should espouse the Princess Mary, and that

could fo intreat them. Then took he me by the hand, and most genteely led me into his castle, through another ward; and being once entered into the castle, within a court, I saw all his family and servants in goodly order.—Then we entered into a fair parlour, which was hanged with fair cloth of fine old arrafs; and being there but a while, communing together of my Lord of Suffolk, how he was there to have befieged the same, his servants brought in unto him bread and wine of divers forts. And after we had drank the same, I will (said he) shew you the strength of my house, and how hard it would have been for my Lord of Suffolk to have won it." Cavendish then goes on to describe the castle; after which he proceeds, Mons. Crocque took his leave of me, and commanded his Steward, and other of his gentlemen, to attend upon me, and to conduct me to my Lady his wife to dinner."——He

was then introduced to the Lady, who, (fays he), " received me very genteely, according to her noble estate, having a train of twelve gentlewomen. And when she and her train were come all out, she said unto me, Forasmuch as you be an Englishman, whose custom is to kiss all Ladies and gentlewomen in your country waithout effence, although it be not so with us in this realth, yet I will be so bold as to kis you, and so shall you do all my maids. Whereupon I incontinently killed her, and all her maids. Then went she to her dinner, being as nobly served as I have seen any other of late here in England, having all the dinner time pleasant communication of the usage of our Ladies and Noblemen in England; and commended the behaviour of them right excellently.—To be short, after dinner, pausing a little, I took my leave, and so departed on my journey."—MS. Fol. 21, 22.

(b) Vid. MS. Fol. 22, 23.

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he treaty of alliance concluded in England, in 1525, should remain in full force. The fecond treaty related to trade, and specified certain privileges, which Francis granted to the English Merchants. In the third, the two Kings agreed, that the would never confent to the convocation of a general Council, during the Pope's captivity (i); and that they would receive no Bull, Brief, or Mandate, from his Holiness, until he should be fet at liberty; but, in the mean time, punctually execute every thing that should be determined in England by the Cardinal-Legate, with the concurrence of the Clergy; and, in France, by the principal Members of the Gallican Church. Wolfey appears also to have made some attempts to get his legantine power extended over France and Germany, as well as England; but in these he did not succeed.

On the 16th of September the Cardinal fet out from Abbeville, being conducted out of town by the French King, the King of Navarre, and all the Nobility of the French Court; but about a mile from the town the King halted, and the Cardinal and he took a folemn leave of each other. When Wolfey arrived at Calais, he opened a mart there for the English Merchants; that is, Henry's trading subjects at that place were allowed the same privileges they had enjoyed in the Low Countries; and the subjects of France were also permitted to trade

with Calais.

It appears that before the Cardinal left France, he received very great prefents, both from the French Monarch and his mother. He arrived in England on the 30th of September, and was very graciously received by the King. And his Majesty appointed a public thanksgiving for the success of the Cardinal's Embassy, at which Henry and his whole Court assisted. And in the beginning of Michaelmas term, the Cardinal assembled in the Star-Chamber all the Nobility, with the Judges, and the Justices of the Peace of every shire throughout England, and made a long oration to them, concerning the causes, and the confequences of his Embassy.

In 1528, on the death of Fox, Bishop of Winchester, the Cardinal was translated to that See, upon which he refigned the Bishopric of Durham. And this year he was appointed by the Pope, to determine the affair of the King's divorce, in conjunction with Cardinal Campejus, who was fent over into England Vol. II. 1.

bon, who had entered into engage—it. The Pope himfelf, Clement VII.
ments with the Emperor, marched to
Rome, with a large body of troops,
caftle of St. Angelo, in which fitua-Spaniards, and besteged the city.

Bourbon was killed in the affault; castle in disguise the following year, but the Prince of Orange, who succeeded to the command, made him-

(i) This year the Duke of Bour- felf mafter of Rome, and plundered

for this purpose. But the Pope, who was extremely unwilling to give any umbrage to the Emperor, Queen Catherine's nephew, was desirous of protracting the business of the divorce as much as possible; and, therefore, he directed his Legate Campejus to take every method of spinning out the affair, and to forbear giving sentence of divorce, until he should receive new orders from his Holiness.

The first step which Campejus took after his arrival, was to exhort the King to live in good understanding with Catherine, and to defift from the profecution of his divorce; and finding this counsel ill received, he pretended to persuade the Queen to consent to the separation. But Catherine told the Legate, that she was the King's lawful wife, and would so continue, until she should be declared otherwise by the Pope's sentence. Campejus then declared, that he would proceed no further without new orders; and fix months elapsed before these could be obtained.

Cardinal Wolfey also made application to the Queen, in order to prevail upon her to submit to the King's pleasure. But the manner in which she received his advice, and her sentiments concerning the Cardinal himself, sufficiently appear in the short speech which she made to him on this occasion. " Of these my " miseries (said she) I can accuse none but you, my Lord of "York; because I could not away with your monstrous pride, " excessive riot, whoredom, and intolerable oppression, therefore " do I now fuffer: and because my nephew the Emperor did not " gratify your infatiable ambition, to advance you to the Pa-" pacy, you threatened to be revenged on him and his friends. " And you have performed your promise. You have been the " plotter of the wars against him, and raised this doubt against " me."

On the 31st of May, 1529, the two Legates opened their court at Black Friars, and cited the King and Queen to appear before them, on the 18th day of June. Wolfey, in order to shew his impartiality, yielded the chair of prefidency to Campejus, though the latter was the younger Cardinal. When the appointed day - arrived, the Queen's Agents excepted to the authority of the Legates; but their exceptions were over-ruled, and the King and Queen personally appeared on the 21st day of the mouth. Henry, when called upon, answered to his name; but the Queen, instead of answering to her's, rose from her seat, and throwing herself at the King's feet, made a very pathetic speech, in which she told him, that she was a stranger in his dominions, without protection, or affistance, and exposed to all the injustice which her enemies were pleased to impose on her. She had been his wife, she said, during the space of twenty years, and would now appeal to him, whether her affectionate submission to his will had not merited other treatment, than to be thus, after fo long a time, thrown from him with fo much indignity. She referred it to his own conscience, whether she had not come a virgin to his bed ; bed; and observed, that it was not to be expected that her Council could speak for her with freedom, as they were to speak against their Sovereign Lord; and, therefore, she declined the authority of the Court, till she could have advice from Spain. When she had ended her speech, she arose, and making the King a low reverence, departed from the Court, and never would

again appear in it.

After the Queen's departure, Henry declared, that she had always been a true and obedient wife, and was possessed of many excellent qualities; but he infifted on his own scruples, with respect to the lawfulness of their marriage; and he explained the nature of those doubts by which he had been so long and so violently agitated. Wolfey then applied to Henry, desiring that he would clear him from the imputation which had been thrown on him by his enemies, as if he had been the first who excited him to folicit the divorce; upon which the King readily acquitted the Cardinal of having any hand in encouraging his scruples; and he defired a sentence of the Court, agreeable to the justice of his cause.

The Legates cited the Queen again to appear before them, but she refused, and appealed to the Pope, and was thereupon pronounced contumacious. The Court then proceeded to the examination of the cause; and the first point which came before them, was, the proof of Prince Arthur's consummation of his marriage with Catherine; and the evidence afforded some very strong presumptions, that Prince Arthur had carnally known the Queen. This trial was spun out till the 23d of July, and the business then seemed to be drawing near to a period, and the King was in expectation of a sentence in his favour; when, to his great surprize, Campejus, upon very frivolous pretences, pro-

rogued the Court till the 1st of October.

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Upon this adjournment, the Duke of Suffolk stood up, and vehemently exclaimed, that it had never been well in England, fince there had been Cardinals in it. To this Wolfey made a reply, in which he charged the Duke with ingratitude, and told him, that of all men in the world, he had the least reason to revile Cardinals; " for if I (faid he) poor Cardinal had not been, " you should have had at present no head upon your shoul-" ders (k)." Wolfey then vindicated the proceedings of himself, and his brother Legate Campejus, alledging that their commissions did not warrant them in proceeding further in so difficult a case, without the consent and approbation of the Pope.

Whether Wolsey was at first really inclined to promote the divorce, or not, he appears, at least by his public behaviour, to have been by no means very defirous of doing it at this time.

<sup>(</sup>A) It cannot now be determined with any certainty what it is to which the Cardinal here alludes.

For he made no objection to Campejus's proposal of proroguing the Court, though he must have known how extremely disagreeable it would be to Henry; and in his reply to Suffolk, he affirmed the necessity there was of applying to the Court of Rome, before they could pronounce any difinitive fentence in the affair. It is certain, that if he had ever any defire of bringing about Catherine's divorce from Henry, he had no wish to see Anne Boleyn raised to the Throne; and that, he now plainly faw, would be the consequence of Henry's succeeding in the bu-

finess of the divorce.

Soon after the prorogation of the Legantine Court, the Pope issued forth a brief of avocation of the cause from England to the Confistorial Court of Rome. Henry was sufficiently irri-tated at the delays which had been made by the Legantine Court; but the avocation of his cause to Rome still more inflamed him. In one of the intervals of time, whill the Legantine Court was fitting, he fent for Wolfey, who repaired to him at his palace of Bridewell, and continued with him upwards of an hour. The Cardinal then went on board his barge at Black Friars, in order to go to his house at Westminster, attended by the Bishop of Carlisle. And whilst they were in the barge, the Bishop observed, that it was a very hot day. "Yes, my Lord, "(said the Cardinal); if you had been as well chased as I have 4 been within this hour, you would then fay, that it were in-" deed very hot."

Anne Boleyn had been removed from Court by her father, during the process of the divorce; but now the commission of the Legates was vacated, by the removal of the cause to Rome, the returned at the King's defire. And as the imputed the mifcarriage of the divorce to the backwardness with which Wolfey had acted in the affair, her old resentment revived, and she became greatly disposed to prejudice the King against him (f). And as Wolfey's enemies were very numerous, they were also extremely ready to co-operate with her in any measures that

(f) It appears by several letters still extant from Anne Boleyn to Wolfey, that before the fitting of the Legantine Court, the was upon very good terms with the Cardinal; or, if the did then entertain any refent-ment against him, the very artfully dissembled it. One of these letters is as follows:

ANNE BOLEYN to Cardinal WOLSEY.

" My Lord,

IN my most humble wife that

trouble you with my fimple and rude writing, efteening it to pro-ceed from her, that is much deffrous to know that your Grace does well, as I perceive by this bearer that you do. The which I pray Gop long to continue, as I am most bound to pray; for I do know the great pains and troubles that you have taken for me, both day and night, is never like to be recompensed on my part, but only in loving you, next unto the King's Grace, above all creatures living.
And I do not doubt, but the daily my heart can think, I defire you to And I do not doubt, but the daily pardon me that I am so bold, to proofs of my deeds shall manifestly 4 declare might be taken, which appeared to have any tendency to ruin

him with the King.

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Henry being very impatient under his disappointment concerning the divorce, fet out upon a journey into the country, in order to divert his chagrin, attended by Anne Boleyn. Being arrived at Grafton in Northamptonshire, the two Cardinals, Campejus and Wolfey, repaired to the Court there. But Wolfey met with a colder reception than he had ever experienced before; though some marks of distinction were shewn to Campejus, as being a stranger. Wolsey, having waited on his brother Legate to his apartment, and intending to go directly to his own, was told by one of the officers, "That no provision for his re"ception had been made in the Court." This greatly furprized him, as he had never before been treated near the King's person with such neglect. But there was such a general perfuation among the Courtiers, that the Cardinal had highly incurred the King's displeasure, that many wagers were laid, that his Majesty would not even speak to him. However, though no provision had been made for the Cardinal's reception, Sir Henry Norris, Groom of the Stole, made him an offer of his own lodgings, which the Cardinal accepted.

Notwithstanding these unfavourable circumstances, the King gave both Wolsey and Campejus a gracious reception, and he conversed some time with Wolsey (1); after which he went to dine with Anne Boleyn, who said many things to prejudice the

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declare and affirm my writing to be true, and I do trust you do think the same. My Lord, I do affure you, I do long to hear from you news of the Legate; for I do hope; and they come from you; they shall be very good, and I am sure you defire it as much as I, and more, and it were possible, as I know it is not: and thus, romaining in a stedisst hope, I make an end of my letter, written with the hand of her that is most bound to be,

' Your bumble Servant,
' ANNE BOLEYN.'

## Poffcript by King HENRY.

The writer of this letter would not ceafe, till the had caufed m likewife to fet my hand, defiring you, though it be thort, to take in good part. I affire you there is neither of us but that greatly defire to fee you, so much more joyous to hear that you have escaped this plague so well, trusting the sury

thereof to be passed, especially with them that keep a good diet, as I trust you do. The not hearing of the Legate's arrival in France, causeth us somewhat to muse, notwithstanding we trust by your disligence and vigilancy, with the assistance of Almighty God, shortly to be eased out of that trouble. No more to you at this time, but that I pray God send you as good health and prosperity as the writer would.

By your leving Sourcign and Friend, HENRY R.

Vid: Harleian Miscellany, Vol. IIIs

P. 59, 60.

(1) Cavendish says, according to the common printed editions, speaking of this conversation of the King and Wolfey, "The King was in earnest discourse with him, insomuch that I could hear the King say, How can this be? is not this your hand? and pulled a letter out of his own besom, and shewed the same to my Lord.

King against the Cardinal (m). In the afternoon Henry had some further discourse with him, for a considerable time, and told him, he would talk further with him in the morning. But when the Cardinal came in the morning, the King was just ready to mount his horse, and, without taking further notice of him, in a cool manner, ordered him to consult with the Lords of the Council. His Majesty then rode out with Anne Boleyn, who, with a view of preventing the King from conferring again with the Cardinal, found means, according to Cavendish, to detain him till the afternoon, when Wolfey was obliged, agreeable to the King's command, to attend Campejus to London, he having taken leave of the King, in order to depart the kingdom (n).

When Wolsey had taken leave of Campejus, he repaired to his house at Westminster; where, on the 16th of October, the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk came to him, and in the King's.

Lord. And as I perceived, my Lord ' hath he wrought within this realm, fo answered the same, that the King had no more to say." But in the manuscript which we have frequently referred to, this passage stands thus: " The King was in earnest and long communication with him, infomuch that I might hear the King fay, How can that be? Is not that their own bands? and pulled a letter or writing out of his bosom, and shewed the same to my Lord, And as I perceived, my Lord answered the same, that the King had no more to say."

Vid. MS. Fol. 37.
(m) " I heard it reported (fays Cavendish) by them that waited on the King at dinner, that Mrs. Anne Boleyn was much offended, so far as the durst, that the King did so gently entertain my Lord Cardinal. Saying, as the fat with the King at dinner, in communication of my Lord, 'Sir, (quoth (he), is it not a marvellous thing, to fee what debt and danger he hath brought you in with all your subjects?' 'How so, sweet-heart? (quoth the King),' 'Forfooth, Sir, (quoth she), there is not a man within all your realm, worth '5/. but he hath indebted you to him;' meaning a loan, which the King had of his fubjects. 'Well, (quoth the King), as for that, there was in him no blame; for I know that matter better than you, or any other.' Nay, Sir, (quoth she), besides that, what things I pray you

to your great flander? There is never a Nobleman, that if he had done but half fo much as he hath done, he were worthy to lose his head. And if my Lord of Norfolk, my Lord of Suffolk, my Lord my father, or any other Nobleman within your realm, had done much lefs than he, they should have lost their heads e're this.' 'Then I perceive, (quoth the Kings, you are not the Cardinal's friend.' Why, Sir, (quoth fhe), I have no cause, nor any that loveth you : no more hath your Grace, if you confider well his doings. By this time the waiters had taken up the table, and fo their communication ended."-Vid. MS. Fol. 37, 38.

(n) Cavendish says, that it was hinted to the King, that Campejus had taken with him a confiderable quantity of treasure belonging to Wolfey, it being suspected that the latter had a design to retire privately out of the kingdom, and to repair to Rome. And, therefore, just as Campejus was going to embark, the cuf-tom-house officers searched all his baggage, under pretence of looking for contraband goods: but their fearch was without effect. Some writers have affigned motives for the fearch of Campejus's baggage, different from that of Cavendish. However, Campejus complained loudly of the infult, and wrote to the King to

name demanded of him the Great Seal of England. But the Cardinal refused to deliver it up, unless they could shew him a written order, signed by the King; and surther added, that he held the post of Chancellor by patent for life. Upon this the two Noblemen returned to the King, who was at Windsor, and acquainted him with the Cardinal's refusal; and Henry sent them back again the next day, with an order in writing under his own hand. Wolfey seeing the King's hand to the paper, immediately delivered up the Seal; and they also acquainted him, that it was the King's pleasure, that he should immediately depart from his palace, called York-House, and retire to Esher, a country-seat near Hampton-Court, which he held as Bishop of Winchester. The Great Seal was soon after delivered to Sir Thomas More.

It now feemed evident, that the King's disappointment in the affair of the divorce, aided by the infinuations of Anne Boleyn, and the other enemies of the Cardinal, had so far weakened the King's attachment to him, which was his only support, that his ruin must be the consequence. And before the Cardinal left his palace, he called his servants and officers together, and took an account of all the jewels, plate, and other things of value, which were severally committed to their charge, and gave directions that the whole should be delivered up to the King. The furniture and effects in this palace of the Cardinal's, were of animmense value. The walls of his gallery were hung with cloth of gold, silver, and tissue. He had a prodigious quantity of velvet, sattin, damask, taffata, sarcenet, and silk of all colours, with a thousand pieces of fine holland. And besides much valuable plate in other parts of the palace, there was in a room called the Gilt Chamber, gilt plate, and vessels of gold, to an incredible amount.

When the Cardinal had made every thing ready for his departure, and was about to fet out, Sir William Gascoigne, his Treasurer, came to him, and said, "Sir, I am forry for your "Grace, for I am informed that you must straightway go to the Tower." "Is this (said the Cardinal) the best comfort and counsel which you can give to your master in adversity? You have always, Sir William, been too credulous; but I would have you, and all who have raised this report, know, that it is untrue.

demand fatisfaction for such an affront offered to the Legate of the Holy See. But Henry coldly answered, that his custom-house officers had done their duty in executing the orders long since established with regard to persons going out of the kingdom. That he was surprized at his assuming the character of Legate, after his power and commission had

been revoked; and much more that, being Bishop of Salisbury, he should be so far ignorant of the laws of the land, as to dare to take upon him that title without the King's permission. Campejus, intimidated by this answer, thought himself very happy in being suffered to depart without further molestation.

" untrue. For I never deserved to come there, although it hath " pleased the King to take my house ready furnished for his pleasure. And I would have all the world know, that as I pleasure. And I would have all the world know, that as I " have nothing but what I have received from the King, fo it is

" but reasonable that I should chearfully surrender the same to

" him again."

The Cardinal then, attended by his train of gentlemen and yeomen, which were a confiderable number, and taking with him some furniture and provisions, went on board his barge, and directed his course towards Putney. Upon this occasion, the Thames was crowded with spectators on both sides, and a vast number of boats appeared on the river, in expectation of feeing the Cardinal carried to the Tower; and in the hopes of which the people expressed great joy. The Cardinal being landed at Putney, immediately mounted his mule, his servants and attendants being on horfeback. But he was scarcely got to the foot of the hill, on the other fide Putney, when he was overtaken by Sir John Norris, one of the gentlemen of the King's bed-chamber, who dismounted his horse, and saluting the Cardinal in his Majesty's name, acquainted him, that he was still in the King's favour as much as ever, and would continue fo, notwithstanding his present behaviour towards him. He also presented him with a ring in the King's name. Wolfey, who discovered as much meanness of spirit in advertity, as he had pride and arrogance in prosperity, immediately got off his mule, and fell down upon his knees in the mire, in order to return thanks for these joyful sidings (0). The Cardinal then proceeded to Esser, where he was in a very uncomfortable situation, being in want of common conveniencies. Cavendish says, the Cardinal and his family continued here "for the space of three or four weeks, without the state had these table slother or disher their meets in " either beds, sheets, table-cloths, or dishes to eat their meat in, or wherewith to buy any. Howbest, there was good provision

" of all kind of victuals, and of drink, as beer and wine, " whereof there was sufficient and plenty enough. And my

" Lord was compelled of necessity to borrow of Mr. Arundel, and of the Bishop of Carlisle, plate and dishes, both to drink

" in, and also to eat his meat in."

While

( o ) The account which Cavendish gives of this transaction, and which is entirely omitted in the printed editions, is as follows: "When he was with all his train arrived at Puthis mule, and every man took his horfe, and riding not past a pair of bott lengths, he espied a gentleman come riding post down the hill in Putney town, and demanding of his gentlemen about him, what he was shat came riding down to faft, ' For-

footh, Sir, (quoth they), it is Mr. Norris, as it feemeth to us. And bye and bye he came to my Lord, faluting him, and faid, Sir, (quoth the), the King's Majefty recommendeth him unto you; and com. f manded me to flew you, that you be as much in his favour as ever you were, and shall be fo. Therefore, he would that you mould be of good chear, and take no thought, for you shall not lack. And although he hash done this unkindly \* towards

While the Cardinal continued at Esher, Thomas Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, but who was now in Wolsey's service, took an opportunity of representing to him, that he ought to consider, that scarce any provision had been made for many of his servants, who had been very true and faithful to him, and had not forsaken him, as he expressed it, "neither in weal, nor in woe." And he advised him to assemble his servants together, and to make some acknowledgment to them of his sense of their services, which, he said, would be a great encouragement to them. "Alas! Thomas, (said the Cardinal), you know I have nothing to give them, and words without deeds be not oft well taken. For if I had as I but late had, I would part Vol. II. 2.

towards you, it is more for the fatisfying of some, than of any in-dignation. And yet you know well, that he is able to recompense you again, and restore you to twice fo much. And thus he bad me that I should shew you, and willed to bid you take all this matter in s patience. And, Sir, for my part, I trust to see you in better estate, than ever you were.' But when he had heard Mr. Norris report the good and comfortable words of the King, he quickly alighted from his mule, all alone, as though he had been the youngest amongst us, and incontinent kneeled down in the dirt, upon both his knees, holding up his hands for joy of the King's comfortable meffage. Mr. Norris alighted alfo, and espying him so soon upon his knees, holding up his hands, kneeled by him, and took him in his arms, and afked him how he did, calling upon him to credit his message. Norris, (quoth he), when I confider the joyful news that you have brought me, I could do no less than greatly rejoice. Your words pierced fo my heart, that the sudden joy surmounteth my memory, having no regard or respect to the place; but I thought it my duty, that in the same place where I received this comfort, to laud and \* praise Goo upon my knees, and most humbly to render to my Sovereign Lord, my hearty thanks for the fame. And as he was talking thus upon his knees to Mr. Norris, he would have pulled off a velvet night cap, which he wore under his black hat, and fearlet cap, but he

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could not undo the knot under his chin; wherefore with violence he rent the laces from his cap, and pulled his faid cap from his head, and kneeled bare headed. And this done, he rose up, and mounted again upon his mule, and fo rode further up the highway in the town, talking with And when he came Mr. Norris. upon Putney heath, where Mr. Norris should depart from him, Mr. Norris gave him a ring of gold with a stone, and said unto him, that the King fent him the same, for a token of his good will; " which ring (quoth he) the King fayeth you know very well; for it was the privy token between the King a: d when the King would have any especial thing speeded at his hands. Then faid he to Mr. Norris, ' If I were Lord of a realm, the one half thereof were too fmall a reward to give you, for your pains and good news. But good Mr. Norris, con-fider that I have nothing left me, but my clothes upon my back. Wherefore I shall defire you to take this small reward at my hands:' the which was a little chain of gold made like a bottle chain, with a cross of gold, wherein was a piece of the holy crofs, which he continually ware about his neck, next his body; and faid furthermore, ' Mr. Norris I affure you, when I was in profperity, although it feem but small in value, yet I would not gladly
have departed with the same for a
thousand pounds. Therefore, I shall require you to take it in good worth, and to wear it about your neck continually for my fake; and " with them in such a manner, that they should have no reason to complain. But nothing hath no favour: and I am both " ashamed, and also forry, that I am not able to requite their " faithful fervice. And although I do rejoice, as I may, to " consider the sidelity that I see in the number of my servants, " who will not forfake me in my miserable estate, but be as di-" ligent and as ferviceable about me, as they were in my great " triumph and glory; yet I do lament again as vehemently the " want of substance to distribute amongst them (p)." In anfwer to which, Cromwell observed to him, that he had a number of Chaplains, who had been promoted by him to benefices, fome of them to the amount of one thousand pounds a year, others five hundred marks, and none less than three hundred. These (said Cromwell) " have had all the profit and gains at " your hands, and your other fervants nothing; and yet have " your poor servants taken much more pains in one day, than " all your idle Chaplains have done in a year. Therefore, if " they will not freely and frankly confider your liberality, and " distribute to you of the same goods gotten in your service, " now in your great indigence and necessity, it is pity that they ilive, and all the world will have them in indignation and " hatred, for their ingratitude to their master."

In the afternoon of the same day in which the Cardinal had this conversation with Cromwell, he caused all his domestics to be affembled together; and when he came out to them, and beheld (fays Cavendish) " this goodly number of his servants, " he could not speak unto them, until the tears ran down his " cheeks; which few tears perceived by his fervants, caused " great fountains of water to gush out of their faithful eyes, in " fuch fort as it would cause the most cruel heart to lament."

The

to remember me to the King, when you shall see opportunity, unto whose Highness I shall most in-stantly require you to have me most humbly commended, for whose charitable disposition towhose charitable disposition wards me, I can but pray for the preservation of his Royal estate. I am his obedient subject, his poor Chaplain and Bedefman, and fo will be during my life, accounting my felf nothing, nor to have any thing, but only of him, and by him, whom I have juftly and truly ferved, to the best of my gross wit. And with that he took Mr. Norris by the hand, bare-headed, and for departed. And when he was gone but a small distance, he returned again, and caused Mr. Norris to be called unto him again, When Mr.

Norris was returned, he faid unto him, 'I am forry (quoth he) that I have no token to fend to the King; but if you will at my request prefent the King with this poor fool, I trust he will accept him; for he is for a Nobleman's pleasure for sooth worth a thousand pounds.' So Mr. Norris took the fool, with whom my Lord was fain to fend fix of his tallest yeomen to help him to convey the fool to the Court. For the poor fool took on like a tyrant, for that he fhould depart from my Lord. Not-withstanding, they conveyed him away, and so brought him to the Court, where the King received him very gladly." Vid. MS. as before, Fol. 40, 41.
(p) Vid. the MS. of Cavendish,

as before, Fol. 42.

The Cardinal then made a very pathetic speech to them, in which he told them, that he had nothing left to distribute among them, besides the garments he wore; which, he said, he was ready to strip himself of, and divide among them, if they would be of any service to them. However, he advised them, for a time, to repair to their wives or relations; upon which Cromwell observed, that some of the servants were ready to obey the Cardinal's commands in this respect, but wanted money for the purpose. He, therefore, proposed a contribution, which he particularly recommended to the Chaplains, and encouraged them by his own example; and some money being raised by that means, the Cardinal was thereby enabled to discharge his servants, and allow them several months subsistence; some of whom accordingly returned to their families or friends, but others staid with the Cardinal, to see the issue of the smissfortunes.

The next day Cromwell set out for London, to attend his master's and his own affairs, having sirst declared he would MAKEALL, OR MAR ALL, which was his usual phrase. About twelve at night, after Cromwell had left Esher, Sir John Russel arrived there, being sent privately by the King, to assure the Cardinal that he was still in his Majesty's favour, who in token thereof sont him another sine set with a Turkish there

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But notwithstanding these kind messages, it does not appear that the King had any real intentions of restoring the Cardinal again to favour; at least, if he had, Wolsey's enemies, particularly Anne Boleyn, and the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, exerted all their influence over Henry, in order to complete the Cardinal's ruin. And accordingly a bill of indictment was preferred against him, by Hales, the Attorney-General, upon the statute of Premunire. It was alledged against him, that he had obtained certain Bulls from Pope Clement VII. by virtue of which, he had exercifed jurisdiction and authority-legatine, to the deprivation of the King's power established in his courts of justice; to the prejudice of both secular and ecclesiastical perfons; and to the contempt of the King and his Crown, and contrary to the statute passed in the 16th of King Richard the Second. This mode of profecution against the Cardinal was thought fevere, as that was now imputed to him as a crime, which he had long and openly practifed, with the consent and approbation of the King, and the acquiescence of the Parliament; and it is faid that he had obtained the King's license in the most formal manner, for the exercise of his legatine powers, However, the Cardinal chose to submit; and therefore, by his Attorney, confessed the facts which were laid in the indictment, but pleaded ignorance of the statute. Upon which the Court gave sentence, "That he was out of the King's protection, and " his lands, goods, and chattels, forfeited; and that his person " might be feized upon." G 2 The

The Cardinal being thus legally deprived of his estate and effects, and even liable to imprisonment, was in a calamitous fituation. However, the King granted him his Royal license and protection, and he had also some of his furniture and plate restored to him. But Henry sent Shelley, one of the Judges, with a message to the Cardinal, requiring that he should surrender York-House into his Majesty's hands, and acknowledge the right thereof to belong to the King and his successors. fey had fitted up and repaired this palace with a magnificence which few Royal buildings in Europe could equal; and, as it belonged to the Archbishopric of York, it could not legally be forfeited in the same manner as the rest of his estate. The Cardinal, therefore, made great opposition to this order of the King's, which he confidered as facrilegious; however, he at length complied, though with much reluctance; and at parting with the Judge, he requested him to tell the King, that he defired his Majesty, "to remember, that there was both Heaven and Hell." The Cardinal also signed a resignation of the gifts of all benefices and offices within his diocese of Winchester.

Cavendish informs us, that the King also sent a message to the Cardinal by the Duke of Norfolk; but what was the purport of it, he has not informed us. 'My Lord (fays he) being advertised that my Lord of Norfolk was coming, even at hand, he caused all his gentlemen to wait upon him down through the hall, into the base court, to receive the Duke at the gates, and commanded all his yeomen to stand in order in the hall. And he himself, with his gentlemen, went to the gates, where he received my Lord of Norfolk, bare-headed, who embraced each other, and so led him by the arm through his hall into his chamber. And when the Duke had passed through unto the upper end of the hall, regarding the number of tall yeoe men that stood on the side thereof, he turned again to the yeae men, and faid, " Sirs, your diligent and faithful service unto " men, and taid, "Sirs, your diligent and faithful fervice unto your mafter in this his calamity, hath purchased you of all men, noble and ignoble, much praise. Insomuch, that the "King commanded me to say unto you, in his name, that for your true and loving service that you have done to your mafter, his Highness will see you all at any time furnished with service according to your merits." With that my Lord put off his cap, and said to my Lord of Norfolk, "Sir, "(quoth he), these men be all approved men; wherefore it were pity they should want any service. And for that I am not able to do for them as my heart wisheth, for the which I " not able to do for them as my heart wisheth, for the which I " am right forry: I will therefore require you, my good Lord, to be a good Lord unto them, and extend your charity unto them, when and where you shall see occasion at any time here-after, and that you will recommend their diligence and faith-" ful service unto the King." The Duke of Norfolk promised the Cardinal that he would comply with his request; after which they went to dinner together, when the Cardinal ' faid to the Duke, " My Lord, of all other Noblemen I have most cause to thank you, for your noble and gentle heart, the " which you have shewed me behind my back, as my servant Mr. "Cromwell hath reported unto me. But even as you be a Nobleman in deed, so have you shewed yourself no less to all " men in calamity, and in especial to me, whom you have " brought down from my high estate; but now again, being in "this my miserable estate, you have extended your favour most honourably, with great charity. You do right well deserve " to bear in your arms the noble and gentle lion, having the " very property of the lion; whose natural property is, when " he hath vanquished a cruel beast, and feeth him yielded, lying " proftrate before him, under his feet, then he will be merciful " unto him, and do him no more hurt, nor fuffer any ravenous " beaft to devour him; whose natural inclination you have, " wherefore I may fay these verses in your commendation:

" Parcere prostratis, scit nobilis ira Leonis.

" Tu quoque fac simile, quisquis regnabis in orbe (q)."

On the 3d of November the Parliament affembled, and foon after the House of Lords voted a long charge against the Cardinal, confifting of forty-four articles. In these articles it was alledged against him, that he had abused his legatine power; that he had expedited orders of the greatest importance, and executed treaties, without the King's knowledge and concurrence; that he had sought to equal himself to his Majesty, by writing in orders and instructions, Ego ET REX MEUS; that he had endangered the King's health by breathing upon him, and whispering in his ear, when he knew himself to be deeply infected with the venereal distemper; that he had caused all foreign letters and dispatches to be first conveyed to his hands, and all Ambassadors to be first introduced to him alone, so that neither the King, nor Council, were made acquainted with any matters, but such as he thought proper; that he had endeavoured to fow diffension among the Nobility; that it was his custom to behave himself in a most arrogant and arbitrary manner at the Council table, fuffering scarce any of the Counsellors to speak but himfelf, and endeavouring to brow-beat and intimidate all those who gave any opinion contrary to his own; and that when matters had been nearly brought to an iffue by process at common law, he had not only given and fent injunctions to the parties, but also sent to the Judge, and threatened and commanded them to defer the judgment, to the evident subversion of the laws. These articles having passed the Lords, were sent down to the

<sup>(9)</sup> Vid. MS. Fol. 45, 46. This is entirely omitted in the printed copies of Cayendiffs.

House of Commons; but Cromwell, having found means to get himself elected a Member of that House, defended his master with so much eloquence and address, and laboured so earnestly to make it appear that the articles did not amount to treason, that

they were thrown out by the Commons.

But notwithstanding this, the disgrace which the Cardinal was fallen into, and the many mortifications which he had received, made fo much impression upon his spirits, as to throw him at length into a dangerous illness. The King being informed of this, feemed to relent, and to be much concerned for the Cardinal's indisposition; for he sent his own physician, Dr. Butts, to enquire into his fituation. The Doctor found the Cardinal extremely ill; and upon his return to Court informed the King, that if he did not receive some comfort from his Majesty, he would be a dead man in four days. " Marry, (faid the King), "Gop forbid that he should die. I pray you, Mr. Butts, go " again unto him, and do your care upon him; for I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds." "Then must your "Grace (faid the Doctor) fend him some comfortable message, as " fpeedily as you can." " That I will," faid the King; and upon that he took a ring from his finger, upon which his own picture was engraved, and commanded the Doctor to deliver it to him; and " tell him (faid Henry) that I am not offended with " him in my heart, nothing at all, and that shall he know " fhortly. Therefore, bid him pluck up his heart, and be of " good comfort. And I charge you come not from him, till you " have brought him out of the danger of death." The King also prevailed upon Anne Boleyn to fend the Cardinal a token of her favour; and Dr. Butts returning to him, was followed by three other physicians, who were also sent by Henry to the Cardinal; who was in confequence foon after greatly recovered from his diforder (r).

The King shortly after, on the 12th of February, 1530, granted the Cardinal a full and general pardon. It has been observed by Sir Edward Coke, that this pardon of Wolsey's, and that of William of Wykeham, were the two most learned and beneficial pardons which he had ever read. The King also gave him some further marks of his favour, and promised to restore to him the whole revenues of the Archbishopric of York; and at the same time sent him a considerable quantity of plate and rich furniture, for his house and chapel. Henry afterwards also surnished him with some money; and, on the Cardinal's request, permitted him to remove from Esher to the palace at Richmond.

The enemies of Wolfey were alarmed at these indications of the King's returning favour. They were extremely desirous, therefore, of getting him removed further from Court; as being apprehensive, that if by any means he should once more gain

access

access to the King, he might possibly recover his former ascendancy over him: and, in that case, they had just reason to fear, that his vengeance would fall with redoubled force upon all those who had any way contributed to his disgrace. And, therefore, the Lords of the Council made application to Henry, that the Cardinal might be fent down to York, where his chief ecclefiastical preferment lay, and where his presence might be of fervice in composing some disturbances in the country, which threatened the public peace. The King appeared not averse to this proposal; and Cromwell was ordered by the Duke of Norfolk to acquaint the Cardinal, that it was expected he would remove to a greater distance from Court. The Cardinal agreed to this, and offered to go to Winchester; but he was given to un-derstand, that he must go down to York. He at last consented to this; but acquainted the Lords of the Council, that he wanted money for the purpose, and could not go till he was en-abled to satisfy his creditors. The King being acquainted with this, ordered him to receive the fum of ten thousand pounds; but it appears that he did not actually receive much more than fix thousand three hundred. Henry, at the same time, by a public instrument, granted to the Cardinal all the revenues of the Archbishopric of York.

Before Wolfey fet out upon his journey towards the north, he removed from the palace at Richmond to a monastery of Carthusian Monks at Sheen. And he took up his lodging in an apartment built by Dean Colet, and in which that great man died. For the Cardinal's misfortunes had made so deep an impression upon him, that he seemed now disposed to prepare himself for another world. During his residence at Sheen, he visited the church every morning, and in the afternoon conferred with some of the most pious Monks. He also put on a hair shirt, and in other respects conformed himself to the rules of a

monastic life.

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The Cardinal at length fet out, though with great reluctance, on his journey to his diocese of York. He had with him in his train one hundred and fixty persons, and twelve carts laden with baggage and furniture. He made some stay at Peterborough, in order to solemnize the feast of Easter; and on Palm Sunday he went in folemn procession with the Monks there. On the Thursday following he washed and kissed the feet of fifty-nine poor people, to each of whom he gave twelve-pence, with three ells of canvals to make them shirts, a pair of shoes, and a cask of red herrings. And on Easter-day he went in procession in his Cardinal's habit, and fung high mass himself with great solemnity. After which, he pronounced a bleffing, with plenary remission of sins to all the audience. He then proceeded by short stages till he arrived at Southwell, where was one of the palaces belonging to his See. He found it in a bad condition, but he foon put it into repair. And during his residence here, which was the best part of the summer, he made it evidently appear, that he was well acquainted with the duties of a Christian Prelate, however little he had hitherto practifed them. The renues of his Archbishopric now began to come in, and he was thereby enabled to keep a good house; and there was daily diftributed at his gates great quantities of provisions to the poor. He was extremely hospitable; took great pains to accommodate differences among the Gentry, and others, in his neighbourhood; and behaved to persons of all ranks with much kindness and affability. By these means he rendered himself very popular in that part of the country; and was much visited by the gentle-men and persons of rank in the neighbourhood.

About the latter end of the fummer, he removed from Southwell to Scrooby, where was another of his episcopal seats. He continued here fome time; after which he removed to Cawood caftle, an antient palace belonging to his See, within a few miles of York. He found this place also in bad condition; but he employed three hundred artificers and labourers in the reparation of it. To this place the Clergy of the diocese of York repaired to him; to whom he declared, that " it was the most " fpecial cause of his coming, to be amongst them as a father, and a natural brother." And he here continued to render himself very popular. On holydays he would ride five or fix miles from his house, sometimes to one parish church, and sometimes to another; and causing one of the Clergy to preach to the people, he sat among them, and said mass himself before all the parish. And on these occasions he brought his dinner with him, to which he would invite some of the parishioners, and also cause money and provisions to be distributed to the poor. He used also to enquire, if there were any differences among any of the parishioners, and he would endeavour to bring about a reconciliation between the contending parties.

The Cardinal had now come to a resolution to be installed as Archbishop in the cathedral at York (1); but while the necesfary preparations were making for that purpose, the Earl of Northumberland, and Sir Walter Walsh, unexpectedly arrived

(s) About this time an incident happened, which shews the Cardinal to have been somewhat superstitious. Being at dinner, surrounded with his Chaplains, and the rest of his attendants, Dr. Augustine, a physician, who was cloathed in a heavy velvet gown, in arifing up, pushed against the Cardinal's filver cross, placed at the corner of the table, which fell so heavy upon Dr. Bonner's head, one of the Chaplains, that the blood came trickling down his shoulder. Upon this the Cardinal immediately

retired to his chamber, and, shaking his head, faid, 'I do not like this omen.' Wolfey himfelf afterwards, it is faid, explained this omen in the following manner: That the crofs represented his person; Dr. Augustine, who threw it down, he suspected to be one of his enemies, and an informer; and its falling on Dr. Bonner's head, who was then mafter of the Cardinal's faculties and spiritual jurisdiction, imported that his power was at an end, and that death would quickly enfue,

at the Cardinal's palace at Cawood. On their arrival, the Earl and Sir Walter went into the hall, and demanded the keys of the palace from the porter, who refused to deliver them without his master's order; upon which they contented themselves with taking an oath from the porter, that no person should go out or come in at the gates, until he received further orders. The Cardinal, in the mean time, was entirely ignorant of what passed below, care being taken that no one should go up to inform him. But at last one of the servants found means to acquaint his mafter, that the Earl of Northumberland was in the hall. The Cardinal, who had just dined, and who supposed that Nobleman, who received part of his education in his family, was come to make him a friendly visit, immediately arose from table, and meeting him at the top of the stairs, they mu-tually embraced. The Cardinal having then told the Earl that he was heartily welcome, faid to him, " If you had loved me, " my Lord, you would have acquainted me before of your " coming, which would have enabled me to have entertained 46 you in a more fuitable and honograble manner; notwith-" standing, you shall have such cheer as I can make you for the " prefent, with a right good-will, trusting you will accept "thereof in good part, hoping hereafter to see you oftener, when I shall be better able to entertain you." He then took the Earl by the hand, and led him into his chamber, the Earl's servants following him; and as they were both Randing together at the window, the Earl said to the Cardinal, "My Lord, I "arrest you for high treason." The Cardinal was so much furprized at these words, that he stood for some time filent; but at length recovering himself, he desired to see the Earl's commission, which that Nobleman declining to shew him, he refused to submit to the arrest. But whilst they were debating together, Sir Walter Walsh came up stairs; and the Cardinal knowing him to be one of the gentlemen of the King's bedchamber, furrendered himself to him, as being sufficiently commissioned by his post.

The Cardinal, being now under arreft, fet out on Sunday, the rft of November, on his journey towards London. And the King, who had been prevailed upon by Wolfey's enemies to permit this further profecution of him, had given orders that he should be respectfully treated, and allowed as much time as he should demand for his journey. When the Cardinal left Cawood, his departure was greatly lamented by the country people. He lodged the first night at Pomfret Abbey, the next at Doncaster, and the night following at Shessield Park, where he was very kindly entertained by the Earl of Shrewsbury, with whom he continued eighteen days. He was also treated with great respect by the neighbouring gentlemen, who slocked in to

visit him.

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When Cromwell was informed that his mafter the Cardinal was taken into custody, he expressed great uneasiness, and made application to the King in his favour; who affured him, that though he had caused him to be arrested at the importunity of fome of his Council, he should be fairly heard before any sentence should be passed on him; and, in the mean time, should be treated with the utmost respect. And a few days after, the King commanded Sir William Kingston to repair to the Earl of Shrewsbury's, in order to receive the Cardinal into his custody, and to attend him to town. When Sir William, who was attended with a party of the guards, arrived at the Earl's, he found the Cardinal very ill; and he expressed much uneafiness at Kingston's arrival, on account of his being Lieutenant of the Tower. However, though he was now ill and weak, he proceeded on his journey the next morning, and reached Hard-wicke-Hall, another feat belonging to the Earl of Shrewsbury. The next day he arrived at Nottingham, his distemper still increafing; and the day following he came to Leicester Abbey, being then so weak that he could scarcely sit upon his mule. When the Abbot and Monks advanced to meet him with much ceremony and respect, he with much difficulty alighted from his mule, and faid, "Father Abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you." It was on Saturday that he arrived at this place, when he went to bed immediately, and there continued till he expired, which he did about eight o'clock on the Tuefday morning (t).

A little before his death, he addressed himself in the following words to Sir William Kingston: " I pray you have me heartily " recommended unto his Royal Majesty, and beseech him on " my behalf to call to his princely remembrance all matters " that have passed between us from the beginning, especially " with regard to his business with the Queen; and then will

" he know in his conscience whether I have offended him. " He is a Prince of a royal courage, and hath a princely " heart, and rather than he will miss or want any part of his " will and pleasure, he will endanger the loss of the one half of his realm. For I affure you I have often kneeled before him,
the space sometimes of three hours, to persuade him from his
will and appetite, but I could never dissuade him therefore.
Therefore, Mr. Kingston, I warn you, if it chance you here-" after to be one of his Privy Council, (as for your wisdom you

stance of the Cardinal's superstition, which happened early on the fame morning in which he died, but even. What though it be, (quoth which is omitted in the printed copies. "After he had eaten (fays he) of a cullar (or callis) made of a chicken, a spoonful or two, at the least, quoth he. Whereast was this leaft, quoth he, Whereof was this

(1) Cavendish mentions an in- cullar made? Forsooth, Sir, (quoth I), of a chicken. Why, (quoth he), it is fasting day, being St. Andrew's

" be very meet), be well affured and advised what you put in

" his head; for you shall never put it out again.

" If I had ferved GOD as diligently as I have done the King. " he would not have given me over in my grey hairs. But this " is the just reward I must receive, for my diligent pains and " study that I have taken to do him service, not regarding my " fervice to GOD, but only to fatisfy his pleasure." The Cardinal afterwards earnestly recommended to the King, the sup-pression of Lutheranism, and all other heresies, and in a few minutes after died, wanting only four months of fixty years of

Such was the end, on the 29th of November, 1530, of Cardinal Wolsey. He was privately buried in the chapel of Lei-cester Abbey. The Cardinal was, as to his person, tall and comely, and very graceful in his air and manner. But it is said that he had a blemish in one of his eyes, which was occafioned by the venereal disease; and that it was with a view of hiding that defect, that he was constantly pictured in profile. He was a man of great abilities, great industry, and unbounded ambition. He raised himself from the lowest rank, by his address, and his intrigues, to the greatest degree of power, wealth, and dignity, which had ever been enjoyed by any subject. He governed England for the space of twenty years, and influenced the most important affairs of Europe; and he was courted, flattered, and careffed, by the greatest Potentates in Christendom.

In his ministerial character he displayed eminent ability; and it is certain, that in the course of his Ministry, he rendered England formidable to all the Powers of Europe. But it is at the fame time sufficiently evident, that in his foreign negociations, he was often influenced by his own private views, defigns, and interests (w). It has been urged as a strong presumption in Wolsey's favour, as a Minister, that the latter part of Henry's reign was more unfortunate and criminal, than that which was directed by Wolfey's councils. But there feems reason to believe that some of the evils which arose in the subsequent part of Henry's reign, were in part occasioned by the Cardinal; tho' whilst he held the reins of Government, his address and abilities enabled him to prevent things from running into confusion. " It may be doubted, (fays Lord Herbert), whether the impref-H 2

wate purposes, rather than his master's conduct.

(u) It was suspected that the Cardinal had taken poison; but there were no symptoms or appearances of it upon his body, which was exposed to public view.

interest, which, he boasted, he had solely at heart; we must remember, that he had in view the Papal Throne; a dignity, which, had he obtained it, would have enabled him (w) Mr. Hume fays, (Hift. Eng. to make Henry a fuitable return for Vol. IV. P. 115.) "If in foreign all his favours."--But furely this can politics, he fometimes employed his never be admitted to be a very folid politics, he sometimes employed his never be admitted to be a very solid influence over the King for his priexcuse, or justification, of Wolfey's

" fions he gave, did not occasion divers irregularities which " were observed to follow." And it appears very probable, that the absolute and entire submission which Wolsey always pro-fessed to the King's will and pleasure, at all times, and in all cases, contributed greatly to increase the natural arbitrariness of Henry's temper, to which the greatest disorders of his reign may justly be ascribed. "He had ever taken care (says one of " our historians) to conceal from Henry, that there was aught " above Royal will and pleasure, or that law had the force to

" curb prerogative."

Wolfey was, in his prosperous circumstances, proud, arrogant, and haughty, above all the men of his time (x); though he was, as is not unufual with men of that cast, mean and abject in adversity (y). He was also vindictive, rapacious, and arbitrary; and paid no regard to the laws, or the constitution of his country, when they came in competition with his own power, interest, or ambition. He was immoral in his private life, though he was very exact and regular in his attendance upon the exterior forms of devotion, according to the customs of that age, and the rites of the Romish religion. He had an eloquent and persuasive tongue; and possessed a considerable share of taste and learning. He also greatly promoted and encouraged literature, and patronised many learned men; and he was, in general, a kind and generous master to his domestics.

As the Cardinal was charged with incontinence, he is also said to have had natural children. It is alledged against him in his articles of imp achment, that he had two children by one woman. And Thomas Winter, who was generally reputed to be the Cardinal's fon, received a learned and liberal education at his expence. He fent him to study at Paris, and also heaped a

great number of preferments upon him.

We have already taken notice of Wolfey's founding Cardinal College at Oxford; but upon his disgrace, the King seized all the lands and revenues of it, to the Cardinal's very great regret, and at his death it was left unfinished. But Henry after-

(x) Cavendish, notwithstanding his natural partiality to his matter cannot help making the following remark, at the end of his life: "Here is the end and fall of pride "Here is the end and fall of pride and arrogancy of men, exalted by fortune to dignity. For Laffure you, that in his time he was the haugh tielt man in fall his proceedings alive; having more respect to the honour of his person, than he had to his sprintfall protession, wherein should be shewed all meekness, humility, and charity."—M'S. as before, Fol. 71.

(y) At the time of his disgrace, and during his residence at Ester, he

wrote to Stephen Gardiner, who was then Secretary of State, defiring him, " as he tendered his poor life, and at the reverence of GOD, and that holy time (of Christmas), that he would fend him his letter, appealing also to his pity, knowing in what agony he was; and that he would not only deferve towards GOD, but bind him thereby to be his continual Beadf-man; and so ended from Ester, written with his rude hand, and for-rowful heart; fubscribing himself the most miserable Thomas Cardinal of York."

vote purpofes, rather than his mather'

wards founded it again, under the name of Christ Church College. The Cardinal also founded a College, or Grammar-School, at his native town of Ipswich. But that came to no-

thing after his death.

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There is a letter of the Cardinal's still extant, written in Latin, and addressed to the masters of Ipswich school, containing the method of teaching and education that was to be observed in that school; and which, as hath been very justly observed by Mr. Guthrie, does great honour to his stile, his taste, and his judgment. The Cardinal directs the boys in his school to be divided into eight classes. He orders those of the first class to be instructed in the eight parts of speech, and to be taught to pronounce the Latin in a full, open, elegant manner. The fecond class were to practise the speaking of Latin; and every boy was to have a note-book, and, being well grounded in his rudiments, to be exercised in translating some quick, witty, pertinent faying from English into Latin. To the third class he recommended the reading of Æsop, for the improvement of their ordinary stile, because of that author's neat and pleasant language. Along with this study he recommends the learning of Lilly upon Nouns. The fourth class were to read Virgil, that Prince of Poets, as the Cardinal calls him; and he directed the masters to make the boys read the majesty of his verse aloud, in a full, fonorous tone. He cautioned the masters against treating the youths under their care with severity or tyranny; for by such ulage, he laid, a forward genius was commonly either quite crushed, or at least in a great measure blunted. To the lifth class he recommended the reading Cicero's select epistles, as being, in his opinion, the best book for attaining richness and copioninels of skile. The fixth class he appointed to read books of history, such as Sallust, or Cæsar's Commentaries; and by the bye, he recommends it to the masters to teach the students in this class the knowledge of defective, anomalous, and heteroclite verbs out of Lilly. The feventh class he enjoined to read the epifiles of Horace, with Ovid's Metamorphofis and Fasti. They were likewise to be taught composition of verses and epistles; to reduce verse to profe, and profe to verse; and to have always in the morning some specimen of their composition ready. And the Cardinal concludes his directions to this class in the following manner: " In the mean time, the mind is to be relaxed, and la-" bour to be mixed with diversions; but fuch diversions as " may become a gentleman, and a man of letters. Pleasure is " to mingle even with study itself, that the boy may think " learning rather an amusement, than a toil. Particular care " is to be taken not to hurt the genius of a boy, by over-" stretching it, nor to fatigue him by too long lessons. Both " extremes are hurtful."

With respect to the eighth and last class, the Cardinal says, "When the youths have, by such exercises, attained to some "knowledge

" knowledge of the language, let them then proceed to arrive " to the higher rules of grammar, fuch as the figures as they " are laid down by Donatus, Valla upon elegance, and feveral " antient writers, who treat upon the Latin tongue. In read-" ing those works, we particularly recommend it to you, to endeavour to make yourselves masters of every passage requiring immediate explanation. As for instance, suppose you are to give the plan of one of Terence's comedies, you are to preface it with a short account of the author's life, his genius, and his manner of writing. You are next to ex-" plain both the pleasure and the profit that attends the reading of comedies. You are next, in a clear, but succinct manner, " to explain the fignification and etymology of the word, to " give a fummary of the fable, and to give an exact descrip-"tion of the nature of the verse. You are then to construe it " in its natural order. Lastly, you are carefully to mark out to your pupils every striking elegance of style, every antiquated er expression, every thing that is new, every Græcised turn, er every thing that is obscure, every etymology, derivation, or composition, that may arise; whatever is harsh or confused " in the arrangement of the sentence. You are to mark every orthography, every figure, every graceful ornament of style, every rhetorical flourish, whatever is proverbial, all passages that ought to be imitated, and all that ought not.

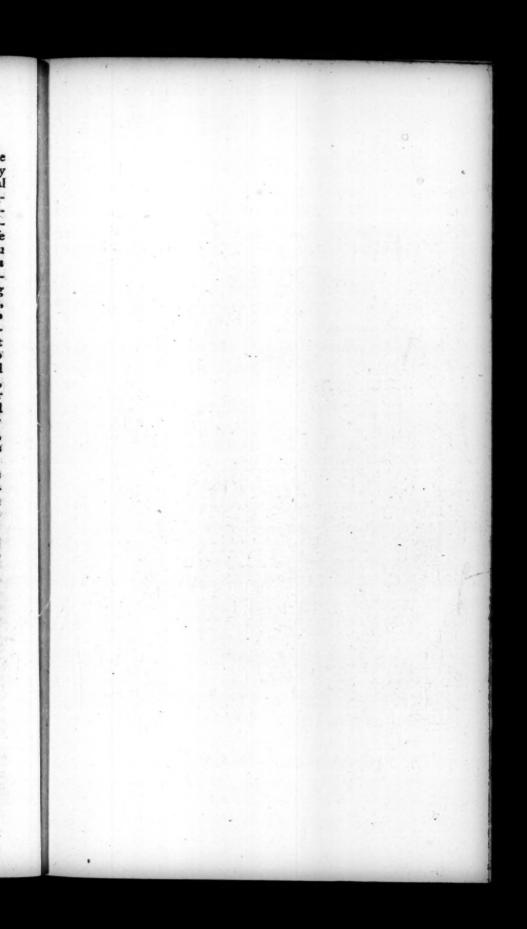
"Besides; you are to take care in school that your pupils so speak as correctly as possible; you are to applaud the excellent, and you are to mend the incorrect. Sometimes you ught, in the English language, to throw out a short ground-work for an essay; but let it be somewhat that is elegant. Lastly, if you please, you are to lay before them certain short rules, by which they may more conveniently handle the sub-

" ject assigned them.

"When in your school the students are tinctured with such ground-works of learning, they will soon give eminent proofs of what great importance it is to have their tender years formed by the best masters. In the mean while do you perfewere, in adorning the country, to which you owe so much, with the most liberal studies."



With respect to the civinin and lash what, the Cardinal Lays,





S. THOMAS MORE.

## The Life of Sir THOMAS MORE, Lord High Chancellor of England.

HIS great and justly celebrated man was born in Milk-Street, London, in the year 1480. He was the only fon of Sir John More, Knight, one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench (z). He was instructed in grammar learning at a free-school, of great repute at that time, in Thread-needle-street, called St. Anthony's. Having made at this school a very considerable proficiency in the Latin tongue, his father procured him to be placed in the house of Cardinal Morton, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Lord Chancellor; a method of education which was much practifed in that age. The Cardinal was much pleased with the promising genius of young More; and was particularly delighted with the quickness and vivacity of his wit. Whilst he was at the Cardinal's house, some players were employed in acting there during the Christmas holidays; at which time young More would frequently step in among the players, and without any previous study, make a part of his own, in which he displayed so much ingenuity and wit, that he at once charmed and surprized his auditors. Cardinal Morton had so strong a persuasion of the force of his genius, that he would often say to such of the Nobility as dined with him, " This child here waiting at the table, who oever " shall live to fee it, will prove a marvellous man (a)."

( x ) Sir John More had much of the same pleasant turn, and gaiety of wit, for which his son was afterwards so distinguished; and as a specimen of it, Camden tells us, (Remains, P. 294.) that he would compare the danger which there was in the choice of a wife, to that of putting a man's hand into a bag full of snakes, with only one eel in it; where he may indeed chance to light of the eel, but it is an hundred to one he is stung by a snake. However, it has been obferved, that Sir John ventured to put his hand three times into this perilous bag, for he married three wives; and was not so stung, but that he

made a shift to live to almost ninety years; and then did not die of old age, being lusty and strong, as it is said, but of a surfeit occasioned by eating grapes. Sir Thomas was by his first wife, whose maiden name was Handcombe. Sir John More was a man of considerable abilities, and great integrity.

and great integrity,

(a) Sir Thomas More gives this character of Cardinal Morton in his Utopia. "He was (fays he) a man not lefs venerable for his wifdom and virtues, than for the high character he bore. He was of a middle stature, not broken with age; his looks begot reverence rather than fear; his conversation

In 1497, he was fent to Canterbury College, now part of Christ Church in Oxford; where he heard the lectures of Grocyn and Linacre upon the Greek and Latin tongues; and he foon gave some specimens of a masterly skill in both languages, by epigrams and translations which are printed in his works.

father

conversation was easy, but serious and grave; he fometimes took pleafure to try the force of those that came as fuitors to him upon bufinefs, by speaking sharply, though decently to them, and by that he discovered their spirit and presence of mind; with which he was much delighted, when it did not grow up to impudence, as bearing a great refemblance to his own temper; and he looked on fuch perfons as the fitteft men for He spoke both gracefully and weightily; he was eminently skilled in the law, had a vast understanding, and a prodig ous memory. And those excellent talents with which nature had furnished him, were improved by fludy and experience.—The King (Henry VII.) depended much on his councils, and the Government feemed to be chiefly supported by him; for from his youth he had been all along practifed in affairs; and having paffed through many traverfes of fortune, he had with great cost acquired a vast stock of wisdom; which is not foon loft, when it is purchased so dear.

Cardinal Monton was born at a place called Beer in Dorfetshire. He took the degree of Doctor of Laws at Oxford, and greatly distinguished himself by his skill in the civil and canon law. He rendered himfelf fo eminent, and acquired fo much applause, by his pleanings in Doctors-Commons, that he was thought well qualified for a Privy Counfellor: and being recommender by Archbishop Bourchier to King Jenry VI. was in that Prince's reig. preferred to the Council Board; at which he behaved himself to so much advantage, both as to his integrity and abilities, that King Edward IV. continued him in the same post, upon his accession to the Throne, After the death of Edward IV. Richard Duke of York After the death of having usurped the Throne, found it impracticable, notwithstanding all his artifices, to corrupt the integrity of

Morton, who was then Bishop of Ely; and therefore imprisoned him, together with feveral other great men. The Prelate, however, making his escape, projected the marriage between the Earl of Richmond, afterwards Henry VII. and the Princess Elizabeth, daughter to Edward IV. and by that means proved the inftrument of uniting the two Houses of York and Lancaster. At the time of Henry the Vilth's accession, Bishop Morton resided in the Netherlands; but upon that event he returned to England, was promoted to the Archbishopric of Canterbury; and in 1487, appointed Lord High Chancellor; and in 1494, received a Cardinal's cap from Pope Alexander

VI. He died in 1501.

Lord Bacon gives Cardinal Morton the following character: " He was (fays he) a wife man, and an eloquent, but in his nature harsh and haughty; much accepted by the King, but envied by the Nobility, and hated of the people.the King with fecrecy and diligence, but chiefly because he was his old fervant in his lefs fortunes : and alfo for that (in his affections) he was not without an inveterate malice against the House of York, under whom he had been in trouble. He was willing had been in trouble. He was willing also to take envy from the King, more than the King was willing to put upon him. For the King cared not for subterfuges, but would stand envy, and appear in any thing that was to his mind; which made envy ftill grow upon him more univerfal, but less daring. But in the matter of exactions, time did after shew, that the Bishop in seeding the King's hu-mour, did rather temper it.—But whatsoever else was in the man, he deserveth a most happy memory, in that he was the principal means of joining the two Rofs. He died of great years, but of firong health and powers,"

- Mr.

father afforded him but a very scanty allowance during his stay at the University, not suffering him scarcely to have money enough in his own custody to pay for mending his clothes; and of the little which he did allow him, he exacted a particular account. This he did with a view of obliging him to a diligent attendance upon his studies; and Sir Thomas, when he came to riper years, affirmed that this proceeding of his father's was advantageous to him, as in consequence of it he was withheld from many idle expences, and restrained from vicious and dissolute company.

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When he had been two years at Oxford, and had made a proportionable progress in academical studies, in rhetoric, logic, and philosophy, he was removed from thence to New-Inn, London, in order to apply himself to the study of the law. But he soon after removed to Lincoln's Inn, where he continued his studies till he became a Barrister. He did not, however, consine himself merely to the study of the law; but continued to profecute those other liberal studies, which he had commenced at Oxford.

During the time of his refidence at Lincoln's Inn, he read public lectures in the parish church of St. Laurence Old Jewry, upon St. Austin's treatise DE CIVITATE DEI. In the course of these lectures, he did not so much discuss points of divinity, as explain the precepts of moral philosophy, and clear up difficulties in history. And he displayed so much ingenuity and learning, that his lectures were much attended, and highly applauded, by men of letters; and among the number of his auditors was the learned Grocyn. In short, the reputation which he acquired, procured him the place of law reader at Furnival's Inn; an office in which he continued for some time, and which he discharged with eminent ability.

Mr. More had much natural facetiousness and vivacity in his temper, but he was notwithstanding strongly disposed to piety and devotion; though his piety was much tinctured with the superstition of the times. He took lodgings near the Charter-House, amongst the Carthusians, where he continued four years, and practised all the austerities of monkish devotion. He used to wear an hair shirt next his skin, a custom which he never after entirely lest off, even when he was Lord Chancellor; he also disciplined himself every Friday, and on high fasting days; he used much fasting and watching, and often lay either upon the bare ground, or upon some bench, with a log under his head, and allowing himself but sour or sive hours in the night at the most for sleep (b). He was a diligent attendant on the public preaching of Dean Colet, whom he chose for his ghostly father. And he had a strong inclination to take upon him the Order of the Franciscans, as well as the Priesthood.

(b) Vid. Life of Sir Thomas More, by his great grandfon, Thomas More, Efq; Edit, 1726. P. 15, 16.

Mr. More was, however, diverted from any defign of this kind; and most probably by his father, to whom he always behaved with the utmost dutifulness and submission. Before he was two and twenty years of age, he was elected a Member of Parliament, and remarkably diftinguished himself in that capacity. In 1503, King Henry VII. called a Parliament, his chief defign in which was to procure a fubfidy, and three fifteenths, for the marriage of his eldest daughter to the King of Scotland. When this was moved in the House of Commons, though the majority of the Members disapproved of the demand, yet being afraid of incurring the King's displeasure, they made little opposition to it. Mr. More, however, notwithstanding his youth, acted on this occasion as became an Englishman, a man of integrity, and a Member of the Great Council of the nation. He was superior to the temptations of wealth, and of ambition; and had too much intrepidity to be intimidated by power. He expressed himself with so much eloquence, and argued with such firength and clearness, against the King's demand, that in the end he caused it to be rejected. Upon this, Mr. Tyler, one of the King's Privy Council, who was present in the House of Commons when this speech was made, went immediately to the King, and told him, that " all his purpose had been disap-" pointed by a beardless boy."

A Prince so avaricious as Henry VII. could not but be highly incensed at this vigorous opposition to a demand of money, the acquisition of which was ever the most favourite purpose of his heart. He was desirous, therefore, of revenging himself some way or other upon our young Patriot, and of damping his courage. But as Mr. More had done nothing but his duty, and what the King himself had no right to call him to account for, Henry pretended a quarrel, though without any cause, against Sir John More his father; whom he caused to be imprisoned in the Tower, and kept him there, till he had forced a fine of one

hundred pounds from him, for his pretended offence.

It happened a short time after, that Mr. More having some business with Fox, Bishop of Winchester, Henry's favourite Minister, that Prelate took him aside, and pretending great kindness to him, promised, that if he would be ruled by him, he would not fail to restore him to the King's favour; intending, as it was afterwards conjectured, to draw him into some confession of an offence against the King, that Henry might thereby have an opportunity of gratifying his displeasure against him. But he was not caught in the Bishop's snare; and desired some time to consider what he should do. When he had taken his leave with this answer, he fell into discourse with Mr. Whitsord, a familiar friend of his, then Chaplain to the Bishop, and to him related what the Bishop had proposed, desiring his advice, The Chaplain, being an honester man than his master, dissuaded him with great earnestness from following the Bishop's counsel. "For my

Lord my master, (said he), to serve the King's turn, would not stick to consent to the death of his own father." Upon this, Mr. More avoided any further communication with the righteous Prelate; and was once upon the point of going abroad, as thinking it would not be safe for him to live in England, exposed as he was to the indignation of an arbitrary and revengeful Monarch. However, he was obliged to lay aside his practice as a Lawyer, and to live in a retired manner at home; where he diverted himself with music, mathematical studies, and learning French; and in this retirement he also acquired a

very extensive acquaintance with history (c).

Whilst he was thus employed, King Henry VII. died; and as Mr. More had nothing to apprehend from his fuccessor, he again made his appearance in the world. And in the exercise of his profession as a Lawyer, he acquired so much reputation by his eloquence, his knowledge in the law, and his integrity, that there was fcarcely a cause of any importance tried at the bar, in which the parties did not endeavour to retain him on their fide. But Mr. More was far from thinking, that his having been bred up to the profession of the law, was a sufficient reason for his undertaking to defend a bad cause, for the sake of his fees. On the contrary, he was uncommonly forupulous in the caufes which he undertook. It was his conftant method, before he took any cause in hand, to enquire in the most careful manner into the justice and equity of it; and if he found the cause to be an unjust one, he would tell the party, that he would not undertake it for all the goods in the world. He would also endeavour to reconcile the contending parties, and persuade them, if possible, not to litigate the matter in dispute. But if he could not succeed in this, he would direct his clients how to proceed in that manner which was the least troublesome and expensive (d).

As Mr. More's disposition was gay and lively, it appears also that he was naturally amorous; and he, therefore, found it somewhat disticult to preserve his chastity, notwithstanding the austerities which he practised. For this reason, in pursuance of the advice of Dean Colet, he resolved to marry. And having cultivated some acquaintance with Mr. Colt, of New-Hall in Essex, that gentleman, who delighted much in his company, having made him an invitation, he went down to pay him a wist. His friend had three daughters, who were all accomplished and agreeable young Ladies; and giving him his choice of these for a wise, the consequence of this visit was, that Mr. More was married to the eldest; though, we are told, that his fancy led him to preser the second; but he was unwilling to

<sup>(</sup>e) Vid. Dr. Warner's Life of Sir T. More, P. 7, 8, 9.

<sup>(</sup>d) Vid. Life of Sir Thomas More in the British Museum, Harleian MSS. No. 1302. Fol. 135.

give any chagrin or vexation to the eldest, by the preference of

her younger fifter (e).

In the mean time, he was appointed by the city of London, Judge of the Sheriff's Court, and was also made a Justice of the Peace. And we are told, that he used to sit upon the bench at the fessions at Newgate in that station; and one of the most antient of the Justices there, making jit a general custom to cenfure with much severity the carelessness and negligence of those who had their purses stole, and who came there to prosecute on that account, Mr. More took a facetious method of reproving his brother Justice for his censuring humour. He sent to one of the most expert cut-purses who was then in prison, and promised to procure his pardon, if he would the next day cut the purse of the old Justice as he sat upon the bench, and by some sign make him acquainted with it. The fellow very gladly undertook it; and the next day, when he came upon his trial, he faid he could clear himself, if he might be permitted to speak privately to this Justice. This being accordingly granted, the thief found means to cut the old Magistrate's purse while he whispered him in the ear. Mr. More perceiving the business was done, took occasion to make a motion for the bench to distribute some alms to a person there present who was in extreme necessity, and began himself to set the example. When it came to the old Justice's turn, he felt for his purse, and, to his great surprize, found it gone; though he affirmed, that he had brought it with him when he came thither that morning. "Why, (faid Mr. More), "will you charge any of us with felony?" But the old gentleman growing warm, Mr. More called to the cut purie, and bid him deliver up again the purse which he had taken; but at the same time advised his brother Justice, not to cesure so severely hereafter the negligence of other men, who were robbed of their purses, when he could not take care of his own, whilst he was fitting upon the bench, in a Court of Justice (f).

Notwithstanding the uprightness and integrity with which Mr. More exercised his profession as a Lawyer (g), yet his practice was so extensive, that it brought him in, together with his office in the city, upwards of four hundred pounds a year; which

(e) " Although his affection most ferved him to the fecond, for that he thought her the faireft, and best favoured; yet, when he thought within himself that this would be a grief, fettled his fancy upon the eldeft, and foon after married her, with all her friends good liking." More's Life of Sin T. More, P 30.

(f) Vid. Hoddesdon's Life of Sir T. More, Edit. 1662. P. 180.

(g) There is formewhat remarka-able in the manner in which he fpeaks of his own profession in his and some blemish to the eldest, to see Utopia. Speaking of the inhabitants her younger sister preserved before of that imaginary island, whom he her, he, of a kind of compassion, represents as a very happy people, represents as a very happy people, "They have no Lawyers (says he) among them; for they confider them as a fort of people, whose profession is is to disguise matters, and to wrest

which was at least equal to fix times that fum at this day; and which he gained, as he himself often said, " without any scru-" ple of conscience." And on account of his wisdom, learning, extensive knowledge, and dexterity, before he was engaged in the service of Henry VIII. he was twice appointed, by his Majesty's consent, at the suit of the English merchants, as their agent in some causes of great consequence between them and the merchants of the Steel-yard; and about the year 1516, he went into Flanders with Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, when that Prelate and Dr. Knight were appointed Commissioners for renewing the treaty of alliance between Henry VIII. and the Archduke of Austria. And being upon some occasion at Bruges, a conceited fellow there fet up a challenge, that he would answer any question that could be proposed to him in any art or science whatsoever. Upon which Mr. More caused this question to be put up, "An averia capta in withernamia sint "irreplegiabilia?" That is, Whether cattle taken in withernam (a writ to make reprifals on one who has wrongfully diftrained another man's cattle, and drove them out of the county), be irrepleviable. It was declared, that there was one of the English Ambassador's retinue, who was ready to dispute with the challenger upon this subject. But he being altogether ignorant even of the terms of the English law, knew not what to answer to it, and so was made a laughing-stock to the whole

Mr. More's various avocations did not hinder him from exercifing his talents in polite literature. He found leisure, amidst the hurry of business, to write his Utopia, which gained him great reputation, and was translated into several foreign languages soon after its publication. He also cultivated an acquaintance, and maintained an almost continual literary correfpondence, with the most distinguished men of learning in every part of Europe, and particularly with Erasmus. When Erasmus came to England, we are told, that it was contrived by the person who conducted him over, that the first meeting between him and More should be, without either of them knowing it, or without any introduction to each other, at the Lord Mayor's table, which in those days was open to men of letters of every nation. A dispute arising at dinner, Erasmus, either with a view of displaying his abilities, or for the sake of argumenta-

it is much better that every man should plead his own cause, and trust it to the Judge; as in other places meaning perfons, whom otherwise the client trufts to a Counfellor. crafty men would be fure to run By this means they both cut off down: and thus they avoid those certainly. For after the parties have among all those nations that labour laid open the merits of the cause, without those artifices which Law-

the laws; and therefore they think yers are apt to suggest, the Judge examines the whole matter, and sup-ports the simplicity of such wellmany delays, and find out truth more evils, which appear very remarkably tion, endeavoured to defend the wrong fide of the question. But he was opposed by More with so much keenness of wit, and strength of argument, that he said to his antagonist, in Latin, with some vehemence, "You are either More, or No- body." To which Mr. More replied in the same language with great vivacity, "You are either Erasmus, or the Devil;" for it is said the arguments of Erasmus had a tincture of irreligion. Erasmus and More were very fond of each other's company and correspondence, and maintained a long and close friendship. When Erasmus lest England, More, it is said, lent him an horse to carry him to the sea-side; but, when he came there, instead of sending it back, Erasmus took it over to Holland with him, and sent his friend More the following epigram in the room of it; alluding, as it seems, to some conversation which they had had together, concerning the doctrine of the real presence in the Sacrament.

" QUOD MIHI DIXISTI
" DE CORPORE CHRISTI

" CREDE QUOD EDAS, & EDIS :

" SIC TIBI RESCRIBO
" DE TUO PALFRIDO,

" CREDE QUOD HABEAS, & HABES."

The fame of Mr. More's eminent abilities having reached the King's ear, his Majesty ordered Cardinal Wolsey to engage this -able man in his fervice. The Cardinal accordingly made overtures to Mr. More for that purpose, and offered him an yearly pension; but that he thought proper to decline. And he was so extremely anwilling to change his present independent condition for that of a Courtier, that the Cardinal could not prevail upon him to enter into the King's service; and Henry for that time admitted of the excuse he made. It happened soon after, that a large ship of the Pope's putting into the port of Southampton, was feized as a forfeiture to the King; but the Pope's Legate obtained of his Majesty, that the case might be solemnly argued, and that his Holiness might have such Counsel assigned him, as were learned in the laws of this kingdom to plead his cause. And none of the Lawyers of that age were thought fo proper to be Counsel for the Pope, as Mr. More, who could report all the arguments on both fides in Latin to the Legate. The hearing was appointed before the Lord-Chancellor and all the Judges, in the Star-Chamber. And Mr. More here pleaded the cause of his client with fo much learning and fuccess, that the forfeiture which the King had claimed, was restored immediately (b).

Mr. More acquired fo much reputation by his management of this cause, that the King would no longer be induced, by any entreaty

<sup>(</sup>b) Vid. Dr. Warner's Life of Sir T. More, P. 13, and Biographia Britannica, Vol. V. P. 3160;

treaty whatsoever, to dispense with his service. And accordingly he was appointed Master of the Requests, the best place which then happened to be vacant. And in a month after he was knighted, appointed one of the Privy Council, and admitted into great familiarity with the King himself. And the following year, 1520, he was appointed Treasurer of the Ex-

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Sir Thomas More had so little relish for a Court, and so little inclination for wealth and dignity, that these honours and promotions gave him very little pleasure. In a letter to Bishop Fisher, he says, " I am come to the Court extremely against my will, as every body knoweth, and as the King himfelf often twitteth me in sport for it. And hereto do I hang so unse feemly, as a man not accustomed to ride fits unhandsomely in " his faddle (i)." However, the King would frequently fend for him into his closet, and there converte with him about astronomy, geometry, divinity, and other branches of learning, as well as affairs of State. And he would sometimes carry him in the night upon the leads at the top of his palace, in order to be instructed in the variety, course, and motions of the heavenly bodies. Henry was naturally fond of the company of men of ingenuity and learning; but he was particularly delighted with the chearful disposition, and the fund of wit and humour, which he found in Sir Thomas More. He would often fend for him, to make himself and the Queen merry; and they were so much entertained with Sir Thomas's conversation, that he could fcarcely once in a month get leave to fpend an evening with his wife and children, nor be absent from Court two days together without being fent for by the King. This, however, was by no means agreeable to Sir Thomas More; he was no friend to the buffle, the ceremony, and the splendor of a Court; but, on the contrary, loved domestic pleasures, and philosophic retirement. He, therefore, grew very uneafy at this restraint of his liberty, and began by little and little to abstain from his accustomed mirth and facetiousness; and by thus dissembling his natural temper, he caused himself not to be so often called for on these occasions of merriment.

Sir Thomas had now lost his first wife, by whom he had several children; but he married a second, a widow, who bore him no children. When he was not at Court, or employed in business, he resided with his family in a house which he had upon the river side, at Chelsea. Erasmus has given us the following agreeable picture of Sir Thomas's domestic life. "More (says he) hath built near London, upon the Thames, such a commodious house as is neither mean, nor subject to envy, yet magnificent enough. There he converseth affably with his family, his wife, his fon, and daughter-in-law, his three daughters,

<sup>(</sup>i) Vid. More's Life of Sir T. More, P. 45.

" daughters, and their husbands; with eleven grand-children. "There is not any man living so affectionate to his children as " he; and he loveth his old wife, as well as if she were a " young maid. And fuch is the excellence of his temper, that " whatsoever happeneth that could not be helped, he is as " chearful and as well fatisfied as though nothing could have "happened more happily. You would fay there were in that place Plato's academy. But I do the house injury, in comor paring it to Plato's academy, where there was only disputations of numbers and geometrical figures, and sometimes of moral virtues. I should rather call his house a School, or "University, of Christian religion. There is none therein but " readeth or studieth the liberal sciences, but their special care " is piety and virtue. There is no quarrelling, nor intemperate " words heard, nor any feen idle : and that worthy gentleman " does not govern his houshold, nor introduce into it so much " regularity and order, by proud and lofty words, but with all kind and courteous benevolence; every body performing his "duty, yet is there always alacrity, neither is fober mirth any

"thing wanting."
Though Sir Thomas More was much at Court, engaged in a multiplicity of business, and of a temper uncommonly chearful and facetious, yet in every period of his life piety was an eminent part of his character. It was his constant custom, besides his private prayers, to read the Psalms and Litany with his wife and children in a morning; and every night, to go with his whole family into the chapel, and there devoutly read the Pfalms and Collects with them. But because he sometimes chose to sequester himself entirely from the world, even from his own family, he built at some distance from his mansion-house, a gallery, library, and chapel; where, as on other days he spent some time in study and devotion, so on Fridays he continued the whole day, employing it in fuch religious exercises as he thought best calculated to strengthen and increase the pious dispositions of his mind. In Sir Thomas's hours of relaxation, he frequently diverted himself and his family with music: but he had always a person to read whilst he was at table, in order to prevent all improper conversation before his children and servants. And at the end of the reading, it was his custom to ask those who were at dinner, how they understood some particular passages which had been read; and from thence he would take occasion to make fuch observations and reflexions, as had a tendency to entertain and to instruct the company.

In 1523, Sir Thomas More was chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, an office which he accepted with great reluctance. But as the King, who had directed his nomination, would not consent to his refusal, he could not avoid taking it upon him. During the fitting of this Parliament, Cardinal Wolfey had taken much offence at the behaviour of the Members of the House of

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Commons; and had complained, " that nothing was faid or done in that House, but immediately it was blown abroad in every ale-house." On the other hand, the Members thought they had an undoubted right to repeat to their friends without doors, whatever had passed within. It happened, however, that a large fublidy having been demanded by the King, which Wolfey apprehended would meet with great opposition in the lower House, he was determined to be prefent when the motion should be made, with a view of over-awing the Members, and by that means preventing it from being rejected. The House being apprized of the Cardinal's defign, there arose a warm debate in what manner they should receive him, whether with a few of his Lords only, or with his whole train. The majority of the House inclined to the first; upon which Sir Thomas More got up, and faid, " Gentlemen, forasmuch as my Lord Cardinal hath not long fince, as you all know, laid to our charge the " lightness of our tongues, for things spoken out of this House, " it shall not in my judgment be amiss to receive him with all his pomp; with his maces, his pillars, his pole-axes, his eroffes, his hat, and the Great Seal too; that fo if he blames " us hereafter, we may be the bolder to excuse ourselves, and to " lay it upon those that his Grace shall bring hither with him." The House being pleased both with the humour, and the propriety of the Speaker's motion, the Cardinal was received accordingly: and having shewn, in a solemn speech, how necesfary it was for the King's affairs that the subsidies moved for should be granted, and that a less sum would not answer his Majefty's purpose; but finding that no Member made any answer, nor shewed the least inclination to comply with what he asked, he faid, with some emotion, "Gentlemen, you have many "wife and learned men amongst you; and since I am sent hi-" ther immediately from the King, for the preservation of yourselves and all the realm, I think it meet that you give a rea-" fonable answer to my demand." But every body being still filent, he addressed himself to several of the Members in particular, who were esteemed the most considerable men in the House: none of whom, however, made him any answer; it having been before determined, agreeable to the custom of the House, to give him no answer but by their Speaker. The Cardinal loft his temper at this contemptuous treatment, and faid to them, with great indignation, "Gentlemen, unless it be the " manner of your House, as perchance it may, to express your " minds in fuch cases by your Speaker only, whom you have " chosen for trusty and wise, as indeed he is, here is without " doubt a furprizing obstinate silence." He then required the Speaker to give him an answer to the demand which he had made, in the King's name, of the House. Upon which Sir Thomas More, with great reverence, excused their filence, as being abashed at the presence of so noble and extraordinary a

personage; and then proceeded to shew him, that it was not expedient, nor agreeable to the antient liberty of the House, to make an answer to his Majesty's message, by any other person, how great soever, than some of their own Members. And, in conclusion, he told the Cardinal, " that though they had all " trusted him with their voices, yet except every one of them " could put their feveral judgments into his head, he alone in " fo weighty a matter was not able to make a sufficient answer " to his Grace." This evalive answer of the Speaker's only irritated the Cardinal still more. He, therefore, rose up in a heat, and departed in great displeasure with the wholeHouse (k).

A few days after, Sir Thomas being in Wolfey's gallery at Whitehall, the Cardinal complained vehemently of his behaviour in this affair, and said to him, "Would to God you had " been at Rome, Mr. More, when I made you Speaker." To which Sir Thomas replied, "Your Grace not offended, fo " would I too, my Lord; for then I should have seen an antient " and famous city, which I have long defired to fee." He then endeavoured to change the discourse, and divert the Cardinal from the present subject, by observing to him, that he liked that gallery of his, better than his other at Hampton Court.

Sir Thomas More was a man by no means agreeable to Wolfey. His eminent abilities, his popularity, his incorruptible spirit, and the warm friendship and regard which the King often expressed for him, made him at once the object of the Cardinal's jealoufy and diflike. This appeared on fundry occasions (1); and accordingly, with a view of removing him from Court, he persuaded the King to send him Ambassador into Spain; and for that purpose artfully commended to the King his learning, wisdom, and suitableness for that employment; and alledged, that confidering the difficulty of the business which was to be negotiated, no other man was so proper for the Embassy. But when the King acquainted Sir Thomas, that he had defigned him for it, he told his Majesty, that the climate of Spain was so ill suited to his conflitution, that if he undertook to go there, his death would probably be the consequence; however, if it was his Majesty's pleasure, he would, notwithstanding, prepare for his journey thither. But to this Henry replied, that it was not his meaning to do him hurt, but to do him good; and that, there-

( k) Vid. Dr. Warner's Life of Sir T. More, P. 25, 26, 27, 28, and his great grandfon's Life of him,

P. 51, 52.

(1) Camden tells us, that when Sir Thomas More was first made a

Sir Thomas made some opposition to the proposal. Upon which the Car-dinal said in a heat, " Are you not ashamed, who are the meanest man-here, to differt from so many honourable and wife personages? Why Privy Counsellor, Cardinal Wolfey you prove yourself a plain sool." To moved that there might be a Lieute-nant General constituted over the plied, "Thanks be to Gon, that whole realm, to which motion the body of the Council assented. But in his right honourable Council!" fore, he would think of another person for that Embassy, and

employ his fervice in fome other way.

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In 1527, Sir Thomas More attended Cardinal Wolsey in his splendid Embassy to France; and after his return, in 1528, he was appointed Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster; and the King still continued to treat him with much familiarity and friendship. Henry would sometimes come, without giving him any notice, to his house at Chelsea, in order to enjoy his converfation. But he had too much penetration, and was too well acquainted with Henry's volatile and fickle temper, and indeed possessed too much real greatness of mind, to be any way elated on this account. The King made him one day an unexpected visit of this fort to dinner; and walked afterwards with him in his garden for an hour, with his arm about Sir Thomas's neck. As foon as his Majesty was gone, Mr. Roper, son-in-law to Sir Thomas, observed to him how happy he was, fince the King had treated him with a degree of familiarity, which he had never feen him shew to any person before, except once to Cardinal " I thank our LORD, (answered Sir Thomas), I find " his Grace my very good Lord indeed; and I believe he doth " as fingularly favour me as any subject within this realm. "However, son Roper, I may tell thee, I have no cause to be proud thereof; for if my head would win him a castle in " France, it would not fail to be struck off."

We have already taken notice of Sir Thomas's friendship with Erasmus, his extensive correspondence with learned foreigners, and his regard for, and connexion with Dean Colet. There was also a close intimacy between him and Bishop Fisher; and Grocyn, Linacre, William Latimer, William Lily, Cuthbert Tonstal, Reginald Pole, afterwards the famous Cardinal, and Dr. Clement, a learned physician, were among the number of his most esteemed friends. There was also much intimacy. between him and Edward Lee, who succeeded Wolsey in the Archbishopric of York; but the Archbishop was by no means one of More's most worthy and respectable friends. He wrote against Erasmus, and was a great opposer of him, at which More was very much offended: and Sir Thomas wrote three Letters to Lee on that occasion; from which it appears, that he would have diffuaded Lee from printing his censures upon Erasmus, and that he was forry when they were published; that he thought Lee to be no match for Erasmus, but far inferior to him both in knowledge and abilities, and in credit and interest with the learned world; and he judged that this exploit would draw infamy and contempt upon the writer, and even an odium upon the English nation (m).

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<sup>(</sup>m) "Thus our Lee, (fays Dr. for a tolerable Divine, chose rather to Jortin), who, if he had kept the foor purchase renown, such as it was, by within doors, might have passed off heading the clamorous, unlearned, or half-learned

In 1529, Sir Thomas More, together with his friend Bishop Tonstal, were appointed Ambassadors, in order to negociate a peace between the Emperor, King Henry, and the King of France. A peace was accordingly concluded at Cambray; and Sir Thomas acquitted himself in the negociation with great dexterity, and in a manner which procured him the approbation of the King. It was his custom, when in the course of his travels he came to any foreign University, to defire to be present at their readings and disputations; and he would sometimes dispute among them himself, and with so much readiness and learning, as to excite the admiration of the auditors. Indeed, he was so much celebrated for his eloquence, and the quickness of his invention, that whenever the King made a visit to the Universities, where he was received with polite and learned speeches, Sir Thomas More was always appointed to make an extempore answer for the King, as the man of all his Court the best qualified for the undertaking.

Before Sir Thomas was fent on the Embaffy to Cambray, King Henry had held fome conference with him on the subject of his divorce; but the result was not agreeable to his Majesty's inclinations, Sir Thomas expressing himself against the divorce with much freedom. However, he did it in such a manner, that the King took what he said in good part. After his return from Cambray, Henry made some further application to him upon the same subject, the high opinion which he had conceived of Sir Thomas making him desirous of having his approbation of his

proceedings.

half-learned censurers of Erasmus, and of all reformation. Amongst these, indeed, he might hope to make a figure, though not amongst more

eminent pe fons.

" Lee hegan about the year 1517 to attack Erasmus, and to stir up the Divines against him; in which attempt the Dominicans were no less busy. He not only treated Erasinus as one of little erudition, and no judgment, but as an Heretic, and an enemy to the Church; and did all that lay in his power to run him thown, and ruin him. Eraimus in return hath often faid of him, that the Earth never produced an animal more vain, more arrogant, more fourrilous, more ignorant, more foolish, and more malicious; than he. Yet this man advanced himfelf at Court, and became an Archbishop. He must have had some dexterity, says Le Clerc, unless his elevation was owing to the caprice of the King, or of dame Fortune, who loves to di-

vert herfelf, and play her gambols, (if we may speak in a Pagan Ayle), at the expence of poor mortals.

"Lee was of a reputable family, was educated at Oxford and Cambridge, afterwards Chaplain and Almoner to Henry VIII, then employed by the King on feveral Embaffies, then made Archbishop of York, Ann. 1521, and died 1544.

Ann. 1531, and died 1544.

"He was, as Anthony Wood and fome others have faid, not only profoundly learned, and an incomparable Divine; but a plous Christian, an able and affiduous preacher, extremely charitable to the poor, and universally lamented, when he departed this life. It is very well: but whence came our Antiquaries to know all this? Why, even from his Epitaph. As if stones could not exaggerate! Thus much is certain, that he was always an enemy to the Reformation."—Dr. Jortin's Life of Erasmus, Vol. I, P. 93, 99.

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proceedings. And the King told him, among other things, that "though his marriage with Queen Catherine, being against the positive laws of the Church, and against the written law of "GOD, was in some measure set right by the dispensation from Rome; yet there was another thing found out of late, by which the marriage with her appeared to be so directly constitute to the law of nature, that it could in no wise be dispensible by the Pope." Of this, he told him Stokesly, then newly made Bishop of London, (and much in the King's secrets), could more fully inform him. But though Sir Thomas had a conference with the Bishop, according to the King's command, yet he saw nothing of sufficient force to induce him to change his sentiments. The Bishop, however, in reporting their conference to the King, spoke so favourably of Sir Thomas, and of his desire to see something in his Majesty's cause which might enable him to be of his side, that Henry was not offended with him.

On the 25th of October, 1529, Sir Thomas More was appointed Lord Chancellor, in the room of Cardinal Wolfey, now removed from that office by the King's command (n). He entered, however, upon this high promotion, with regret, rather than with pleafure. For he well knew the danger which naturally attended such a situation, under the reign of a Prince, whose temper was so sickle, and so arbitrary, as that of Henry. Sir Thomas, however, discharged the duties of that important post to which he was raised, with the greatest diligence and assiduity, and with that uprightness and integrity, by which he had ever been so eminently distinguished.

In a very short time after his promotion to the Chancellor-ship, a surprizing alteration was perceived by all. Wolsey, his predecessor, had great abilities; and, as a Chancellor, appears to have been incorrupt. But he had so much pride and arrogance in his composition, that he would scarcely look or speak to any person of common rank; and it was difficult to be admitted into his presence only, without giving money to his officers and servants. On the contrary, Sir Thomas More had too much real greatness of soul, to treat any man with contempt and insolence, on account of the humbleness of his situation. He was above being elated with external rank or honours; and

(n) It is observed by the authors of the Biographical Britannica, and the Biographical Dictionary, 8vo. Vol. VIII. that Sir Thomas More was the first Layman who was intrusted with the Great Seal, But that is a missake. Sir Robert de Thorp, Knight, was appointed Lord - Chancellor in the 45th year of the reign of King Ed-

ward III. and Sir Richard de la Scrope, Knight, had also the Great Seal delivered to him in the second year of the reign of Richard If. Michael de la Pole, Earl of Suffolk, was also raised to the Chancellorship in the same reign; and in the reign of Henry V. Richard Nevil, Earl of Salisbury, held the same post.

as he knew how frequently the poor were the objects of injustice and oppression, he considered them as on that account peculiarly entitled to his friendship and protection. The poorer and meaner a fuitor was, with the more affability would he speak to him, with the more attention hear his business, and with the more readiness dispatch it. And for that purpose, it was his general custom to fit every afternoon in his open hall; that if any perfon whatfoever had a fuit to prefer to him, he might come to him without bills, folicitors, or petitions, and open his com-plaints before him. His fon-in-law, Mr. Dauncy, once found fault with him, between jest and earnest, for his easiness of accefs, and extraordinary condescension; telling him, that when Wolfey was Lord-Chancellor, not only many of his privy chamber, but his porters also, got a great deal of money under him. " And fince I have married (fays he) one of your daughters, " and attended upon you always at your house, I think I " might reasonably expect to get something too. But you are " fo ready to hear every man, poor as well as rich, and your " doors are fo open to all who come, that there is no getting " any thing under you. Whereas otherwise, some for friendfhip, some for kindred, and some for profit, would gladly " use my interest to bring them to you. I know I should do "them wrong if I should take any thing of them; because " they might as readily prefer their fuits to you themselves: and this, though I think it is very commendable in you, yet " to me, who am your fon, I find is not profitable." "You " fay well, fon, (faid Sir Thomas), I am glad you are of a " conscience so scrupulous; but there are many other ways that I may do good to yourfelf, and pleasure your friends.
However, this one thing, son, I assure thee on my faith, that
if the parties will call for justice at my hands, then though
it were my father, whom I love so dearly, stood on the one si fide, and the Devil, whom I hate extremely, stood on the " other, his cause being just, the Devil of me should have his " right."

Another of his fons-in-law, Mr. Heron, having a cause depending, was advised by Sir Thomas to refer it to arbitration. But he declined this, having some hopes that his father-in-law the Chancellor would shew him some favour, when the matter came to be tried. But he found himself deceived. For Sir Thomas, upon hearing the cause, made a decree directly against him. And our upright Chancellor was so indefatigable in his application to business, that though he found the Court of Chancery, on his coming into his office, clogged with many and tedious causes, some of which had been there near twenty years; yet, when he had held the post of Chancellor about two years, having sinished a cause, and calling for the next that was to be

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heard, he was answered that there was not one cause more depending; and this he ordered to be entered on record (0).

Sir Thomas More was a man of a very humane, benevolent temper; and this had led him, in his Utopia, to condemn the putting men to death for robbery (p). But notwithstanding this humanity of disposition, and his intellectual endowments, fuch is the force of religious bigotry, and fuch the inconfiftency of human nature, that he not only approved, but zealoufly promoted, the perfecuting, and putting men to death, because their religious sentiments were different from his own! Bishop Burnet observes, that Sir Thomas More " was one of the bitterest " enemies of the new preachers, not without great cruelty "when he came into power, though he was otherwise a very good-natured man. So violently (adds the Bishop) did the Roman Clergy hurry all their friends into those excesses of fire and sword."

Sir Thomas More's zeal for the Romish Church, and violent prejudices against Luther and his followers, led him, notwithstanding his many avocations, to write several treatises in defence of Popery. He was thought by these to have done great fervice to the Church: and as it was known that, notwithstanding the King's favour, he had amassed no riches, nor had such an income from his employments as his great worth deserved, it was resolved by the Clergy in convocation, as a grateful return to Sir Thomas for his theological labours, to make him a present of four or five thousand pounds, which was in that age a very great sum; and to the payment of which every Bishop, Abbot, and others of the Clergy, contributed liberally, according to their abilities. On this occasion, his friend Tonstall, Bishop of Durham, with the Bishops of Bath and Exeter, were deputed to wait upon him in the name of the whole body; to let him know, how much they esteemed themselves obliged to him for his labours in GOD's fervice; and though they could not, they faid, requite him according to his deferts, yet to shew their sense of his great merit, and in consideration that his estate was by no means equal to it, they presented him, in the name of their whole convocation, with a fum which they hoped he would accept of. Sir Thomas, however, absolutely declined the acceptance of this money; telling them, " That as it was no small comfort to " him, that fuch wife and learned men so well accepted of his

(p) The learned Dr. Jortin takes notice, that Sir Thomas More " in his Utopia hath declared himfelf fully and freely against putting thieves to death. He would have them confined to hard labour, and made flaves for a certain number of years, and kindly used all that time, if they be-

<sup>( )</sup> The following lines were written on this occasion :

<sup>&</sup>quot; When More fome years had Chancellor been

<sup>&</sup>quot; No more fuits did remain; "The same shall never more be feen, "Till Mere be there again,"

works, for which he never intended to receive any reward but at the hand of GOD; so he heartily thanked this ho-" nourable body for their bountiful confideration." When the Prelates found that they could by no means prevail upon him to

haved themselves well. Erasmus (he adds) was in the same just and rea-fonable way of thinking."

Concerning putting thieves and robbers to death, Sir Thomas More, in that work of his which is just mentioned, expresses himself thus : "It feems to me a very unjust thing to take away a man's life for a little money; for nothing in the world can be of equal value with a man's life : and if it is faid, that it is not for the money that he fuffers, but for his breaking the law; I must say, ex-treme justice is an extreme injury : for we ought not to approve of thefe terrible laws, that make the smallest offences capital; nor of that opinion of the Stoicks, that makes all crimes equal, as if there were no difference to be made between the killing a man, and the taking his purie; between which, if we examine things impartially, there is no likeness nor proportion. GOD has commanded us not to kill; and shall we kill to easily for a little money ? But if any one shall fay, that by that law we are only bid to kill, except when the laws of the land allow of it; upon the lame grounds, laws may be made in some cases to allow of adultery and per-lury: for GOD having taken from us the right of disposing, either of our own, or of other people's lives, onlent of men in making laws, can authorize manilaughter in cales which GOD has given us no example, that it frees people from the obligation of the divine law, and fo makes murder a lawful action; what is this, but to give a preference to the human laws before the divine? And if this is once admitted, by the same rule, men may in all other things put what refric-tions they please upon the laws of GOD. If by the Mosaical law, though it was rough and severe, as being a yoke laid on an obstinate and fervile nation, men were only fined, and not put to death for theft; we cannot imagine that in this new law

of mercy, in which GOD treats us with the the tenderness of a Father, he has given us a greater licence to cruelty, than he did to the Jews, Upon these reasons it is, that I think putting thieves to death is not lawful; and it is plain and obvious that it is abfurd, and of ill confequence to the common-wealth, that a thief and a murderer should be equally pu-

nished."

Dr. Warner, in reference to these sentiments of Sir Thomas More, says, "It has long been my opinion, that we presume too much on our power of making saws, and too says the command of GQD. infringe on the command of GOD, by taking away the lives of men, in the manner we do in England, for theft and robbery, and that this is not only a pernicious error, but a national abomination. It must be granted, that all focieties have a power within themfelves of making laws to fecure property, and of annexing punish-mens to the breach of them; but then, on the other hand, it must be owned that no man, or body of men, can have power to make taws which are contrary to the laws of GOD, or to ordain such punishments for the breach of them as he bath positively forbidden. It is to little purpose to urge, that men may agree to give up their natural rights, for their mutual benefit, and to hold their lives and liberties upon certain terms and con-ditions, on the breach of which they thould be forfeited; because though this argument will hold with regard to liberty and property, it will not hold with regard to life; of which GOD alone is the fole disposer, and over which we have no tight, in our-felves, or in other men. A robber in this country, indeed, fins with his eyes open, and knows the penalty which he is going to incur: but the wilfulness of the crime is no fort of excuse for making the punishment far exceed the heinousness of the transgression: and who will deny that a little theft or robbery, perhaps

How earnestly Sir Thomas More wished for the suppression of Herefy, appears from another incident which is related of him. As he was one, day walking with his fon-in-law by the waterfide at Chelsea, and discoursing very seriously on the state of public affairs, he said to him, " Now on condition that three "things were well established in Christendom, I would to our " LORD, son Roper, that I were put here into a fack, and pre-" fently thrown into the Thames!" Mr. Roper expressing much furprize at this unufual zeal, and defiring to hear what those things were which he so earnestly wished to be brought to pass; "Wouldst thou know," said he, "what they be? In faith "then they are these. The first is, that whereas the greatest " part of Christian Princes are now at mortal war, they were at " univerfal peace. The fecond, that whereas the Church of " CHRIST is at this time forely afflicted with many errors and "herefies, it were settled in a persect uniformity of reli-gion (q). The third is, that whereas the King's marriage Vol. II. 2.

of the value of two or three shillings only, is not punished infinitely beyond a just proportion, when it is

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punished with death? "These laws, however, in my opinion, are not more abominable, than they are ill contrived; if this observation, which men versed in affairs make, is true, that the riches of a nation are in preportion to the number of hands employed in works of skill and labour. How many hands of this fort, which might be How many so employed, in making fails and cordage for the navy, in our fleets or dock yards, in mending the highways, or converting waste lands into tillage, are fent every fessions to Tyburn for theft and robbery, the reader need not be told. The laws of GOD affix no other punishment to those crimes than ample restitution, or per-

petual flavery; a word of great horror in England, where we boaft fo
highly of our liberty.—A confinement of this fort to confiant labour
for the public, whatever name we
give it, would be dreaded worfe than
death by these wretches, who have no
idea of a future state; and confequently deter them more from the
commission of such crimes, which is
the only reasonable end of punishment in a State."

(q)" Divisions and schisms," says a learned, ingenious, and excellent writer, " are doubtless a grievous calamity in Christendom; and yet it is better upon the whole, that the Church should be thus disunised, and split into five, or into five hundred sects, than that it should be uniformly subject to so cruel a tyranny, (as that of the Papal See), and united only in

" is now brought in question, it were to the glory of GOD,

" and the quietness of all parties, well concluded."

During the time that Sir Thomas More was in possession of the Great Seal, King Henry often importuned him to re-confider the subject of his divorce; but his opinion still continued the fame; and he had too much integrity, to profess a change of fentiment out of complaifance to his Sovereign. However, the King appeared fatisfied with the answers which he gave him, and courteously told him, that if he could not in conscience serve him in the affair, he was content to accept of his service other-wise; and he would take the advice of those of his learned Council in this business, who could conscientiously serve him in it; affuring him, notwithstanding, that he would still continue his usual favour to him, and no more molest his conscience on

that subject.

Whilst Sir Thomas continued in the post of Chancellor, Hans Holbein, the celebrated painter, arrived in England. Holbein found an eafy admittance to the Chancellor, and was very joyfully received by him, both because Sir Thomas was a lover of the fine arts, and because the artist had brought with him Erasmus's picture, and letters recommendatory from him. Sir Thomas kept Holbein in his house between two and three years; during which time he drew Sir Thomas's picture, and those of many of his friends and relations. One day Holbein happened to speak of an English Nobleman, whom he had some years before seen abroad, and who had then invited him to England; upon which Sir Thomas was very folicitous to know who he was. Holbein replied, that he had indeed forgot his title, but remembered his face so well, that he thought he could draw his likeness; and this he did so strongly, that the Nobleman, it is said, was immediately known by it. Sir Thomas, when he had sufficiently furnished and enriched his apartments with Holbein's productions, resolved to introduce this great painter to the King. He did this in the following manner. He invited the King to an entertainment, and hung up all Holbein's pieces, disposed in the best order, and placed in the best light, in the great hall of his house. Henry, upon his first entrance into the hall, was so charmed with the fight of them, that he asked, "Whether such " an artift was now alive, and to be had for money?" Upon which Sir Thomas prefented Holbein to his Majesty, who immediately took him into his fervice, and brought him into great ofteem with the Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom (r).

the bond of ignorance, or of hypo-crify. Under such a Head, and such a Government, every rational en-mus, Vol. I. P. 201. quiry would be checked and sup-pressed; but now Truth and Liberty cerning Holbein, which shews that prevail, sometimes in one place and Henry had formed an high idea of

femetimes in another, and are not this artift's merit. A Nobleman of

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Sir Thomas More had now executed the office of Chancellor near three years; but as his scruples concerning the King's divorce still continued, and as he was apprehensive that some steps would be taken in that affair, which by virtue of his office, and yet contrary to his conscience, he must be engaged in, he made application to the King, and at length obtained permission, though not without much reluctance on the part of Henry, to refign the Great Seal. And when he waited upon the King for this purpose, his Majesty bestowed many thanks and commendations upon him, for his excellent execution of that important trust; and at the same time affured him, that for the good services he had done both to himself and the kingdom, he should in any request which he might have occasion to make, which concerned either his interest or his honour, find that his Sovereign would be always kind to him. Difinterestedness was, however, so eminently a part of Sir Thomas More's character, that he was not likely to derive much advantage from a declaration of this kind. For he declared, at his latter end, that notwithstanding the degree of Royal favour which he had enjoyed, he had never asked the King for the value of a penny, either for himself or for his family, in any part of his life.

The day after he had refigned the Seal, a circumstance with which his own family were unacquainted, he went as usual, it being an holy-day, to Chelsea church, with his wife and daughters; and, after mass was over, it being customary for one of his gentlemen to go to his Lady, to tell her the Chancellor was gone out of church, he went himself to the pew-door, and making her a low bow, said, " Madam, my Lord is gone." She thinking it to be no more than his usual pleasantry, took no notice of it. But as they were walking home, he affured her very feri-

the first quality came one day to see Holbein, when he was drawing a figure after the life. Holbein begged his Lordship to defer the honour of his vifit to another day; which the Nobleman taking for an affront, broke open the door, and very rudely went up stairs. Holbein, hearing a noise, came out of his chamber, and meeting the Lord at his door, fell into a violent passion, and pushed him backwards from the top of the stairs to the bottom. However, confider-ing immediately what he had done, he escaped from the tumult he had raifed, and made the best of his way to the King. The Nobleman, who was much hurt, though not fo much as he pretended, was there foon after alk pardon for his offence. But this became his patron,

only irritated the Nobleman the more, who would not be fatisfied with lefs than his life; upon which the King sternly replied, " My Lord, you have not now to do with Holbein, but with me; whatever punishment you may contrive by way of revenge against him, shall assuredly be inflicted upon yourfelf. Remember, pray my Lord, that I can, whenever I pleafe, make feven Lords of feven plowmen, but I cannot make one Holbein of even feven Lords."

Hans Holbein was a native of Balle in Switzerland, where he was born about the year 1498. He drew a vast number of admirable portraits in England. He died of the plague at London in the year 1554, and at his lodgings at Whitehall, where he had him; and, upon opening his griev-lodgings at Whitehall, where he had ance, the King ordered Holbein to lived from the time that King Henry

oufly, that what he had faid was true, and that he had refigned his office of Lord Chancellor the day before. When Lady More, who was by no means remarkable for pliability of temper, or fubmission to her husband, and whose notions of riches and honours were very different from his, found that Sir Thomas was in earnest, she was exceedingly chagrined, and replied to him in a manner which was usual to her, "Tilly Vally, "what will you do, Mr. More? Will you sit and make goslings " in the ashes? Would to GOD I were a man, and you should " quickly fee what I would do. What? why, go forward with "the best: for, as my mother was wont to say, It is ever bet-ter to rule, than to be ruled; and, therefore, I would not be " fo foolish as to be ruled, where I might rule." " By my " faith, wife, (faid Sir Thomas), I dare fay you speak truth;

" for I never found you willing to be ruled yet."

Sir Thomas More, whilst he held the post of Chancellor, lived in a manner suitable to the dignity of his station; and as he was also generous and charitable, and regardless of his own private interest, he found his finances, after his refignation, in a very low fituation. Though he had gone through fuch honourable employments, and practifed the law fo long and fo fuccefsfully, he was not, at this time, worth more than one hundred pounds yearly income (1). Hitherto he had kept his children, with their respective families, after their marriage, and provided for them all in his own house; but not being able now to support them any longer in that manner, he dismissed them each to their own homes, and discharged all his state servants, and procured other fuitable services for them. All his gentlemen and yeomen he placed with Noblemen and Prelates, and his eight watermen with Sir Thomas Audley his fuccessor, to whom also he gave his great barge.

About the time of Sir Thomas's refignation, he buried his father, Sir John More; to whom he behaved in his last illness, as he had always done, with the highest degree of filial piety; and notwithstanding the great age to which his father's life was extended, yet he was much affected with his lofs. When Sir Thomas was Chancellor, he never passed through Westminster-Hall to his feat in the Chancery, without going into the Court of King's-Bench, when his father was fitting there, and asking his bleffing upon his knees; and when they happened to meet together at the readings at Lincoln's-Inn, he always offered the precedence to his father; which, on account of his fon's post as

Chancellor, Sir John always waved (t).

ver, his gold chain excepted.

(t) The death of Sir Thomas's Sir Thomas many years.

(3) According to his fon-in-law father brought him but a very incon-Roper, Sir Thomas had not, on his fiderable accession of fortune; berefignation of the Chancellorship, af- cause the greatest part of Sir John ter his debts were paid, the value of More's estate, with his feat at Gubone hundred pounds in gold and fil-ver, his gold chain excepted. bins in Hertfordshire, were settled upon his second wise, who outlived Sir Thomas More now resolved never to engage again in any public business. He gave himself up to domestic life, to retirement, study, and devotion, in his house at Chelsea. But as he was well acquainted with the cruel and inconstant temper of Henry, to his best and most faithful servants, he foresaw that when his Majesty found he could not bring him over to his designs by gentle methods, he would use him with rigour; and, therefore, he prepared himself for the storm which was likely to

fall upon him.

King Henry finding he could not procure a divorce from Queen Catherine at the Court of Rome, had now come to a determination to shake off the authority of the Roman Pontiff; a measure in which he was very readily joined by the Parliament. He had also procured the judgments of many of the foreign Universities, as well as of Oxford and Cambridge, in favour of his divorce. And at length, refolving to put an end to the affair in his own kingdom, he was privately married to Anne Boleyn, whom he had created Marchioness of Pembroke. He afterwards publicly declared his marriage with her; and his former marriage with Catherine was, by a formal fentence, pro-nounced invalid. The Coronation of Anne Boleyn being fixed for the 31st of May, 1533, Sir Thomas More received an invitation to attend the ceremony; but that he declined, as he still retained his former opinion concerning the lawfulness of the King's first marriage. All fair means thus proving ineffectual to win him over, in the ensuing Parliament a bill was brought into the House of Lords, attainting him, as well as Bishop Fisher, and some others, of misprissicn of treason, for countenancing and encouraging Elizabeth Barton, the Maid of Kent, in her treasonable practices (u). When this bill of attainder was to be read the third time in the House of Lords, they addressed the King to know his pleasure, whether Sir Thomas More might not be suffered to speak in his own defence; but Henry would not consent to it. The presumptions which lay against him as countenancing this imposture, appear no further than by his fending a letter to the Nun, with which the King was much offended; and by some conversations which he had with her, from the opinion he had formed of her holiness and humility. It appears, however, that he then thought very meanly of her understanding; for in his letters to his daughter Roper, he always called her THE SILLY NUN. And he justified himself of all the intercourse he had with her, in several letters to Secretary Cromwell; and in which he faid, that he was now convinced that she was the most false dissembling hypocrite that had been known.

Henry, however, was determined, in resentment against him for not assenting to his divorce, and refusing to countenance his

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second marriage, to push him with this bill of attainder. When Sir Thomas, therefore, defired to be admitted into the House of Commons, to make his own defence against the bill, the King would not consent to it; but assigned a Committee of Council to call him before them, and hear his justification. This, however, was a mere pretence; for the point intended was to draw him, by fair words or threatenings, to give a public affent to the divorce and fecond marriage. It was the great and univerfal reputation of Sir Thomas More, which made Henry fo defirous of obtaining this; for the King knew that Sir Thomas's opinion would have great weight among the people. The Committee of Lords appointed on this occasion, confisted of Cranmer, now Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor Audley, the Duke of Norfolk, and Secretary Cromwell. Lord Chancellor, having opened the affair to Sir Thomas, when he appeared before them, made a great parade of the King's extraordinary love and favour to him, of the many offices and honours which he had bestowed upon him, and of his present inclimation to be gracious to him. Sir Thomas affured them of the sense he had of the King's goodness to him, and of his own readiness to do every thing which might be acceptable to his Majesty. But he told them, "that he had hoped he should ne-" ver have heard again of this business; fince he had always " from the beginning informed his Majesty of his sentiments " concerning it; which the King had favourably received, and " even promifed that he should never be molested more in the " affair. But, however, he had found nothing, fince the first agitation of this matter, to persuade him to change his mind; " if he had, it would have given him a great deal of pleasure." The Lords of the Committee then all of them endeavoured, in their turn, to prevail upon him by fuch arguments as they thought best adapted to the purpose. But finding them all ineffectual, they told him, " it was the King's command, if they " could not bring him over by gentleness and persuasion, to charge him with ingratitude. And to inform him, that his " Majesty thought there never was a servant so villainous, nor a " fubject fo traiterous to his Prince, as he. And in support of " this heavy charge against him, they were to alledge his subtle " and finister devices, in procuring his Majesty to set forth a " book, to his great dishonour throughout all Christendom; by which he had put a fword into the Pope's hand to fight against "himfelf." The Lords having finished what they had to say to him in the King's name, Sir Thomas, by way of reply, told them, that "these terrors were arguments for children, and not " for him: but as for the book which they had mentioned, he " could not bring himself to believe that the King would eyer " lay it to his charge, as his Majesty was himself better ac-" quainted with that affair, and with his innocence in it, than " any other person could be. The King, he said, well knew

" that he had not procured, nor counselled, the writing of that " book; and when he revised it by the King's command, and " found the Pope's authority defended and advanced very " highly, that he remonstrated against it to his Majesty, and told " him, that as he might not always be in amity with the Pope, he " thought it best that it should be amended in that point, and " the Pope's authority be more flenderly touched. Nay, faid " the King, that shall it not : we are so much indebted to the " See of Rome, that we cannot do too much honour unto it: "Upon this he put his Majesty further in mind of the statute of " Premunire, which had pared away a good part of the Pope's " authority and pastoral cure. To which the King replied; "Whatfoever impediment there may be to the contrary, we " will fet forth that authority to the uttermost, for we received " from the Roman See our Crown Imperial; which, till it was " told him from his Majesty's own mouth, he never heard of before. He trusted, therefore, that when his Majesty should be informed of this, and should recollect the subject of their " conversation upon this head, he would of himself entirely " clear him from this charge."

Sir Thomas's vindication of himself was so clear and ample, that the Lords appointed to examine him could make no reply to it, and therefore dismissed him. When he was returned to his house at Chessea, his son-in-law, Mr. Roper, observing him to be extremely chearful, asked him if his name was struck out of the bill of attainder, that he was in such high spirits. "In troth, son," said he, "I had forgotten that; but if thou woulds know why I am so joyful, in good faith it is this. I rejoice that I have given the Devil so soul a fall; for I have gone so far with these Lords, that without great shame I can

" never go back."

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When a report was made to the King by the Lords of the Committee, of the substance of their conference with Sir-Thomas More, in which he had had the courage to vindicate himfelf at his Majesty's expence, what he had faid being little less than charging the King with a known and deliberate falschood, Henry was exceedingly exasperated, and declared that the bill of attainder should proceed against him. The Duke of Norfolk, and Secretary Cromwell, who were both his friends, endeavoured all that was in their power to diffuade the King from this refolution, affining him that they found the upper House were fully bent upon hearing him in his own defence before they would pass the bill; and if his name was not ftruck out, it was much to be apprehended that the bill would fall to the ground. Henry, however, continued full of vehemence and obstinacy, and said that he would be present himself in the House when the bill should pais; and deemed to take it for granted, that the Parliament flood in much in awe of him, that the Lords would not then dare to rejective. But the Lords of the Council alledged, that as the parts and eloquence of Sir Thomas More were fo superior and commanding, it was not prudent to hazard his appearing to plead in his own defence; especially as people of all ranks were fo prejudiced in his favour. Henry, notwithstanding, still continued intractable; upon which they fell on their knees, and befought him to forbear his purpose by this consideration, " that if the matter should be carried against him in his own presee fence, as they believed it would be, it would encourage his se subjects to despise him, and be a dishonour to him also over " all Europe. They did not doubt, they faid, but in time they fhould be able to find out some more suitable matter against More: but in this affair of the Nun, he was univerfally accounted so innocent, that the world thought him more worthy of praise, than of reproof." With these suggestions, and particularly that of finding fomething else against him, they at length overcame the obstinaty of Henry; and the name of Sir Thomas More was struck out of the bill.

A short time after this, the Duke of Norfolk having some conversation with Sir Thomas, said to him, among other things, By the mass, Mr. More, it is dangerous contending with Princes; I would, therefore, wish you as a friend to incline to the King's pleasure; for by God, Mr. More, Indignatio Princes; I would therefore, with you as a friend to incline to the King's pleasure; for by God, Mr. More, Indignation for the princes; I would therefore, with you as a friend to incline to the King's pleasure; for by God, Mr. More, Indignation for the princes; I would therefore, with you as a friend to incline to the structure of the structure of the structure of the princes. It is surely better to offend an earthly King; than the King of Heaven; and temporal death ought to be less the object of our dread, than the indignation of the

" ALMIGHTY."

As it was now, publicly known how much Sir Thomas More was out of favour with the King, his enemies endeavoured to bring against him all the accusations they were able. But they ferved only to render his uprightness and integrity the more firiking and conspicuous. One Parnel, in particular, exhibited a complaint against Sir Thomas, for having made a decree against him in the Court of Chancery, at the suit of Vaughan his adversary; for which Sir Thomas had received, at the hands of Vaughan's wife, Vaughan himself being confined at home with the gout, a great gilt cup as a bribe. Upon this accusation he was, by the King's direction, brought before the council. And the witness charging him with the fact, Sir Thomas readily owned, that as that cup was brought him for a New-Year's gift long after the decree was made, he had not refused to take it. Upon this Lord Wiltshire, one of Sir Thomas's enemies, and who had promoted the profecution, faid with much exultation, Lo, my Lords, did I not tell you that you should find this matter true?" But Sir Thomas then defired, that as they had kindly heard him tell one part of the tale, fo they would also vouchfafe to hear him tell the other. This being granted, Sir

Thomas declared, that though after much folicitation he had " indeed received the cup, and it was long after the decree was " made, yet he had ordered his butler to fill it immediately " with wine, of which he directly drank to Mrs. Vaughan; " and when she had pledged him in it, then as freely as her " husband had given it to him, even so freely he gave the same " to her again, to present unto her husband for his New Year's " gift; and which she received, and carried back again, though with much reluctance." The truth of this the woman herself, and other persons who were present at the time the affair happened, deposed before the Council; to the great confusion and disappointment of all Sir Thomas More's ene-

It appeared also, that at another time, on a New-Year's-Day likewise, one Mrs. Croker, a Lady in whose favour he had made a decree in Chancery against the Lord Arundel, presented him. with a pair of gloves, and in them forty pounds in angels, for a New-Year's gift. Upon which Sir Thomas took the gloves, but returned her the money, faying to her, " Since it would be "contrary to good manners to refuse a New-Year's gift from a Lady, I am content to take your gloves; but as for the lining, I utterly refuse it (w)."

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Other accusations were brought against him; but they all ended in the same manner, and served only to illustrate his character, and to demonstrate his integrity. But the act of succesfion (x), which was passed in 1534, was a new source of per-secution to him, and enabled the King in a more effectual manner to gratify his resentment. By this act the King's marriage with Catherine of Arragon was declared to be void, and contrary to the law of GOD, his marriage with Anne Boleyn was con-firmed, and the Crown was entailed upon the iffue of the latter. The act also obliged persons of all ranks to take an oath, the form of which was prescribed to them, in which they swore to maintain the contents of the faid act of succession; and whosoever refused to take the oath, was to be adjudged guilty of misprision of treason, and punished accordingly. A short time after the Parliament broke up in which this law was enacted, a Committee of the Cabinet Council met at Lambeth, where several Ecclessastics, and Sir Thomas More, but no other Layman, were cited to appear, and take the oath. Sir Thomas being first called, and the oath being tendered to him under the Great Seal, he defired to see the act of succession which had enjoined it. After this had been shewn him, he said, that " he would blame nei-"then those who had made the act, nor those who had taken "the oath; but, for his own part, though he was willing to Wear to the fuccession, in a form of his own drawing up, yet Vol. II. 2.

<sup>(</sup>x) Fid. Vel, I. of our Work, (w) Vid. Hoddesdon's Life of Sir P. 349 T. Mare, Edit. 1662, P. 107, 108.

" the oath which was offered to him was fo worded, that his con-" fcience revolted against it, and he could not take it with safety " to his foul." He was then ordered to withdraw, that others who attended might be dispatched. Every one else who had been fummoned, took the oath without any feruple, except Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who gave nearly the same answer as Sir Thomas More. Sir Thomas being afterwards called in again, much argument and perfuation were made use of, in order to induce him to take the oath ; but asit all proved ineffecsual, he was committed to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster for four days. During that time, it was debated by the King and Council what course it was best to take with him. Archbishop Cranmer was very pressing, that Sir Thomas's propofal of fwearing to the fuccession, without confining him to the terms of the prescribed oath, might be accepted. But the King would not agree to this; and the oath being again tendered to Sir Thomas More, and he still continuing intractable, was com-

mitted prisoner to the Tower.

Sir Thomas's misfortunes made to little impression upon hi spirits, that he not only continued ferene and tranquil, but also setained his usual mirth and pleasantry. When he entered the Tower-gate, the porter, according to the custom, demanded of him his opper garment. " Marry, friend," faid he, " here it, " is;" giving him his cap; " I am forry it is not better for thee." Nay, Sir, (replied the porter) I must have your gown;" which he immediately gave him. When he was brought to his apartment, he called to him John Wood, his fervant, who could neither write nor read, and fwore him before the Lieutenant of the Tower, that if he should at any time hear him speak, or see him write, any thing against the King, the Counsil, or the State of the Realm, he should tell it to the Lieutemant, that he might inform the Council of it. The Lieutenant, who had been formerly under some obligations to Sir Thomas, apologized to him for not being able to accommodate and enfaid, he could not do without incurring the King's displeasure, To which Sir Thomas replied, "Master Lieutenant, whenever I find fault with the entertainment which you provide for me, affice, and Six " do you turn me out of doors."

When Sir Thomas had been confined in the Tower about a south, his daughter Margaret was permitted to visit him; and some time after, his Lady obtained the same permission. Lady More, who, as hath been already observed, thought in a very different manner from her hufband, remonstrated to him, and not without much petulence, " that he who had been always " reputed fo wife a man, should now so play the fool, as to be content to be thut up in a close filthy prison, with rate and mice; when he might enjoy his liberty, and the King's fa-Twur, if he would but do as all the Bishops and other learned

men had done. And as he had a good house to live in, his " library, his gallery, his garden, and all other necessaries " handsome about him, where he might enjoy himself with his " wife and children, the could not conceive what he meant by " tarrying so quietly in this imprisonment." Sir Thomas having heard her very patiently, asked her, in his facetious manner, Whether that house was not as nigh to Heaven as his own 200 She refenting this, he affured her very feriously, " that he faw no great cause for so much joy in his house and the things " about it , which would fo foon forget its master, that if he " were under ground but seven years, and came to it again, he should find those in it who would bid him be gone, and tell. " him it was none of his. Besides, his stay in it was so uncertain, that as he would be but a bad merchant who would put " himself in danger to lose eternity for a thousand years, so " how much more if he was not fure to enjoy it to the end of

one day ( y )."

An act of Parliament had now passed, by which the King was declared Supreme Head of the Church of England; and it was made high treason to deny it. And the King sent Committee of the Privy Council to visit Sir Thomas More in the Tower, in order to engage him to acknowledge the King's Supremacy, or else openly to deny it. But they could not bring him to do either. He contented himself with giving them this Inswer: " That the statute was like a two-edged sword; if he " fpoke against it, he should procure the death of his body; and if he consented to it, he should purchase the death of his

" foul."

Other applications were made to Sir Thomas for the fame purpose, but without effect. Upon which Mr. Rich, the Solicitor-General, Sir Richard Southwell, and Palmer, an under Secretary, were fent to take away all his books and papers, and to deprive him of the use of pen and ink (x). The pretence for this was, to prevent him from writing any thing against the King's second marriage, or his supremacy. Whilst Southwell and Palmer were employed in executing their commission, the Solicitor, Rich, pretending a great friendship for Sir Thomas, began a conversation with him on the subject of his imprisonment. And after complimenting him on his wisdom and learning, and knowledge of the law, he faid to him, "Sef-

are the fentiments of a mind fublimed above the feelings of fenfe; and which was no otherwise attached to
this world, than as to a state of pilgrimage, in order to a better. We by any means procure paper, he made
are not therefore to wonder, that such a mind could withfland the temptations of liberty, of riches, and even his Gre of life; when they were to be pur- P. 240.

(y) "These (fays Dr. Warner) chased at the loss of his peace of conscience here, and of the favour of GOD hereafter,'

with to his wife and daughter. - Vid, his Great Grandfon's Life of him,

" fer me, Sir, to put this case to you. If there were an act of Parliament to be made, that all the realm should take me for King, would not you, Mr. More, take me to be so?" "Yes," said Sir Thomas, "that I would (a)." Rich then asked him further, Whether if an act of Parliament should constitute him Pope, Sir Thomas would not take him to be so? With respect to the first case, Sir Thomas told him, "that the Parliament might intermeddle without impropriety in the state of temporal Princes: but to his second, he would put another case himself, Whether if an act of Parliament should pass, ordaining that GOD should not be GOD, Mr. Rich would own that he should not?" To this the Solicitor replied, that he should not, as no Parliament could make such a law; and nothing sur-

ther was faid upon that subject.

Sir Thomas More having now been upwards of a year prifoner in the Tower, he was by the King's command brought to his trial, and arraigned at the King's Bench Bar at Westminster. He was tried, upon an indictment for high treason, in denying the King's supremacy, before the Lord Chancellor, and a Committee of the Lords, together with some of the Judges. The principal evidence against him was the Solicitor-General, Rich, who deposed, that when he was sent to setch away the books of Sir Thomas More from the Tower, at the end of a conversation which he had with him on the King's supremacy, he having towned, in answer to a case put to him by Sir Thomas, that no Parliament could make a law that GOD should not be GOD, Sir Thomas said by way of reply, "No more could the Parliament make the King Supreme Head of the Church."

When Rich had given this evidence to the Court on oath, Sir Thomas More, surprized at the malice and salsehood of it, said, if I was a man, my Lords, that did not regard an oath, I needed not at this time, and in this place, as it is well known to you all, stand as an accused person. And if this oath, Mr. Rich, which you have taken, be true, then I pray that I may never see the face of GOD; which I would not say, were it otherwise, to gain the whole world." He then related the whole discourse which he really had with Rich in the Tower, and so much shook the credit of his testimony, that the Solicitor desired Southwell and Palmer might be called, to give evidence of what they heard. But they both deposed, that they were so engaged in executing their commission with respect to the books and papers, that they gave no attention to the conversation between Sir Thomas and the Solicitor (b).

<sup>(</sup>a) It appears evidently from this, (b) See an account of this Rich's that Sir Thomas More had no very base behaviour to Bishop Fisher, high opinion of divine, hereditary, Vol. I. of this Work, P. 353.

Sir Thomas's long confinement had impaired his health, and much weakened him; but he, notwithstanding, defended himfelf with much force and reason, and with great eloquence, and the utmost chearfulness and presence of mind. The Jury, however, found him guilty; in confequence of which he received fentence as a traitor. After fentence was passed, Sir Thomas addressed himself to the Court, in a manner that reslects the greatest honour upon his memory. "I have," faid he, " nothing further to fay, my Lords, but that as the bleffed Apostle " St. Paul was present and consented to the death of Stephen, and kept their clothes who stoned him to death, and yet they are now both holy Saints in Heaven, and shall there continue friends for ever; so I verily trust, and shall therefore right heartily pray, that though your Lordships have now been " Judges on earth to my condemnation, we may yet hereafter " all meet together in Heaven to our everlasting salvation: and " fo I pray GOD preserve you all, and especially my Sovereign

Lord the King, and fend him faithful Counsellors."

Sir Thomas was then conducted from Westminster-Hall to the Tower, with the axe carried before him, according to the usual manner after condemnation. When he came to the Tower-Wharf, his favourite daughter Margaret, wife to Mr. Roper, was there waiting to see him, thinking this might be the last opportunity she should ever have. The moment he appeared in fight, regardless of the numerous spectators, she burst through the crowd and the guard which furrounded him; and having received his bleffing upon her knees, she embraced him with the most eager affection. Tears flowed from her in great abundance, whilst she hung upon his neck; and her heart being ready to burst with grief, the only words which could find utterance were, "My father! Oh my father!" Sir Thomas, taking her up in his arms, told her, "that whatever he should suffer, though he "was innocent, yet it was not without the will of GOD, to whose blessed pleasure she should conform her own will; that " she well knew all the secrets of his heart, and that she must be " patient for his loss." She then endeavoured to bid him a last adieu, and was reluctantly separated from him; and having gone back a few paces, overwhelmed with grief, and struck with the thought that she should never more see her father, whom she so fondly loved, she again suddenly broke through the crowd, and once more hung upon his neck, and eagerly and tenderly em-Sir Thomas More, who felt not for his own braced him. diffresses, and whose great soul was not to be intimidated by the approach of death, could not, however, avoid being touched with the diffress and anguish of his beloved daughter; and a tear stole down his manly cheek. This tender scene drew tears from every spectator, and even from the surrounding guards: and it was with difficulty that the diffressed Lady was for the last time separated from her father. When

B. SEVV

When Sir Thomas had lain a few days under fentence of death, an officious Courtier, with a view of recommending himfelf to the King, made a visit to Sir Thomas in the Tower, and vehemently importuned him to change his mind. He entered not, however, into any particulars; but continuing to be very croublesome, Sir Thomas at length, to get rid of his importunity. told him, that " he had changed his mind." He had no sooner faid this, than the Courtier hastily left him, and pluming himfelf upon carrying a point which fo many others had failed in, immediately went and informed the King that Sir Thomas More had changed his fentiments. Henry, however, was not without apprehensions, that the Courtier had mistaken Sir Thomas's meaning. He, therefore, ordered him to return immediately to the prisoner, to know what the particulars were in which he had changed his mind. Sir Thomas rebuked the Courtier for his officiousness, in making such haste to acquaint the King with what he had only faid in jeft. But as to his changing his mind, it was only, he told him, in this respect: " that whereas he had before intended to be shaved, that he might appear to the people in the same manner that he had been accustomed to do before his imprisonment, he was now determined that his

beard should share the same fate with his head."

Shortly after this, on the fixth of July, 1535, Sir Thomas Pope, who was one of the friends of Sir Thomas More, came to him by the King's command very early in the morning, to acquaint him, that he was to be beheaded that day at nine o'clock; and that therefore he must immediately prepare himself for death. Sir Thomas More received the information with the utmost chearfulness, and thanked his friend for his good news. Sir Thomas Pope then acquainted him, that it was his Majesty's pleasure that he should not use many words at his execution. To which he replied, "You do well, Mr. Pope, to give me warning of the King's pleasure herein; for otherwise I had purposed at that " time to have spoken somewhat, but no matter wherewith his Grace, or any other, should have cause to be offended. Howobediently to his Highness's command; and I beseech you, good Mr. Pope, to be a means to his Majesty, that my daughter Margaret may be at my burial." Sir Thomas Pope, in answer to this, acquainted him, that the King had already confented, that his wife and children, and any of his friends, might be present at it, at which he expressed his facisfaction.

Sir Thomas Pope appearing to be very melancholy, at the conideration of his friend's approaching death, Sir Thomas More took his urinal in his hand, and casting his water, said with his usual pleasantry, "I see no danger but that this man might live "longer, if it had pleased the King." And when his friend bid him adieu, which he could not do without shedding tears, Sir Thomas Thomas More endeavoured to comfort him by the prospect of eternal felicity, in which, he faid, he hoped they should have an

happy meeting.

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As foon as Sir Thomas Pope (c) was gone, he dreffed himfelf in the best clothes he had; to which the Lieutenant of the Tower objected, telling him those clothes were too good for the executioner, who would have whatever he wore at that time.

If they were cloth of gold, (faid Sir Thomas), I should think
them well bestowed on him who was to do me so singular a be-" nefit." However, the Lieutenant prevailed upon him to change his dress; and accordingly he put on a gown of freeze, and of the little money which he had left, fent an angel of

gold to the executioner.

About nine o'clock he was brought out of the Tower, and led to the place of execution on Tower-Hill. He behaved with the utmost fortitude, and even retained to the last his accustomed chearfulness and pleasantry. When he came to the scaffold, observing that it was so weakly built that it seemed ready to fall down, he turned about to the Lieutenant, and said to him, " I pray you, Mr. Lieutenant, see me safe up; and as " for my coming down, you may let me shift for myself." Having knelt down, and spent a short time in his devotions, he got up again, and faid to the executioner, with the utmost chear-fulness and vivacity in his countenance, " Pluck up thy spirits, man, and be not afraid to do thine office. My neck is very " fhort; take heed, therefore, that thou strike not awry, for the credit's fake." He then knelt down, and laying his head apon the block to receive the stroke, he bad the executioner stay fill he had removed his beard; " for that," said he, " has " committed no treason;" and the executioner then severed his head from his body.

the reign of King Henry VIII, and went through feveral honourable emreligious houles, and is commended Poet of the same name for his moderation in the discharge of from this gentleman. that employment, When Queen

(c) Sir Thomas Porz was the Mary afcended the Throne, he was founder of Trinity College, Oxford, taken into high favour, and was made for the was born at Dedington in Oxfordshire, in the year 1508, being the
for of a gentleman of that place.
He received the first rudiments of
grammatical learning at the public been imprisoned, and treated with
fethool at Banbury in the same county,
which he afterwards completed at Henry Rening field, was placed under which he afterwards completed at Henry Beningfield, was placed under Eton College. He appears to have the care and inspection of Sir Tho-had considerable interest at Court in mas Pope, who treated her with the the care and inspection of Sir Tho-mas Pope, who treated her with the utmost tenderness and respect. He died at his house in Clerkenwell, ployments. He was appointed one London, in 1558, in the fiftieth year of the visitors for the diffolution of of his age. Our celebrated English of the visitors for the diffolution of of his age. Our celebrated English religious houses, and is commended Poet of the same name was descended.

Such was the end of Sir THOMAS MORE, whose great abilities and endowments rendered him an ornament to his country; and who for his integrity, his fortitude, his incorruptible spirit, his greatness of mind, and generous contempt of riches and external honours, was equal to the most celebrated characters of antient Greece or Rome. He was, as to his person, of a middle stature, and well proportioned; his complexion fair, with a light tincture of red; his hair of a dark chefnut colour; his beard thin, and grey eyes; his countenance chearful and pleafant, and expressive of the temper of his mind; his voice nei-ther strong nor shrill, but clear and distinct. His constitution was generally healthy; but, in the latter part of his life, too much writing brought upon him a pain in his breast, which was often very troublefome. In walking, his right shoulder appeared higher than the other; but this was only the effect of habit, and not any defect in the make of his person. He was generally negligent in his dress; but when the dignity of his place required it, he would conform to the custom. His diet was simple and abstemious; and he seldom tasted wine, but when he pledged those who drank to him.

He was a kind master to his servants, and very charitable to the poor; and of a temper extremely focial and benevolent He was a kind husband, and very affectionate to his children, in whose education he took great pains; and was particularly careful to instruct them in the principles of religion and virtue. His own piety was constant and exemplary, but he had a most bigotted attachment to the superstitions of the Romish Church; though it appears from his Utopia, and his letters to Erasmus, that in the earlier part of his life he had much freer notions of

religion.

He was a great master of polite literature, possessed an uncommon share of wit, and was extremely eloquent. "More " had," fays Dr. Jortin, " if ever man had, what is called VERSATILE INGENIUM, and was capable of excelling in any way to which be would apply himself. He was no bad Poet, and might have been a better, if he had paid more assiduous " court to the Muses."

When the Emperor Charles V. heard of Sir Thomas More's death, he sent for Sir Thomas Elliott, then Ambassador from England at his Court, and faid to him, " My Lord Ambassador, " we understand that the King your master has put to death his "faithful fervant, and grave and wife Counsellor, Sir Thomas "More." To which Sir Thomas Elliott answered, that he had heard nothing of it. "Well," faid the Emperor, "it is too " true; and this will we say, that if we had been master of such "a fervant, of whose abilities ourself have had these many years no small experience, we would rather have lost the best

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"city in our dominions, than so worthy a Counsellor (d)." Indeed King Henry himself appears to have felt some compunction at Sir Thomas More's death; for we are told, that when the news of it was brought to him, he being at that time playing at tables with Queen Anne Boleyn, he cast his eyes upon her, and said, "Thou art the cause of this man's death;" and rising up immediately from his play, went and shut himself up in his chamber, in great perturbation of mind (e).

Sir Thomas's body was interred in the chapel of the Tower, but was afterwards begged by his daughter Margaret, and deposited on the fouth-fide of the chancel in the church of Chelsea, where a monument, with an inscription written by himself, had been some time before erected. His head was ordered to be placed on London-bridge; where having remained some time, his affectionate daughter Margaret sound means to get possession of it, and carefully preserved it in a leaden box. She was, however, taken up for this, and examined before the Council; but, after a short imprisonment, she was discharged.

Sir Thomas had by his first wife one son and three daughters. But his son, John More, as Dr. Jortin observes, "was one of "those Heroum fills, who are seldom equal to their fathers." However, he had all the advantages of a liberal education, by which his natural parts seem to have been much improved. After his father's death, he was committed to the Tower, for refusing the oath of supremacy, and condemned, but he was afterwards pardoned, and set at liberty; a favour which he did not long survive. Sir Thomas had no children by his second wise, who after his death was obliged to quit the house at Chelsea, his small estate being seized as a forseiture to the Crown; but the King allowed her an annuity of twenty pounds for her life.

Of his three daughters, Margaret, the eldest, who was married to William Roper, Esq; of Eltham in Kent, was his particular favourite. She much resembled her father, both in temper and person. She appears to have been a most amiable woman, and of extraordinary accomplishments. She was modest and humble, and of a mild, gentle, and affectionate temper; and made a most excellent wise to Mr. Roper, who appears to have been a very worthy man. She wrote two declamations in English, which her father and she turned so elegantly into Latin, that it was difficult to determine which of them was the best. Vol. II. 3.

(d) Vid. Life of Sir T. More by his fon-in-law, W. Roper, in the British Museum, Harleian MSS.

No. 7030: Fol. 300.

(e) "One may conclude (fays pr. Warner) from this circumftance, that if the ferocity of the King's temper upon any opposition from a fubject wanted a spur upon this occasion, the Queen had importuned King to it."

him to put Sir Thomas More to death, as the Historians of his Life affirm she did. I apprehend that they affirm it, however, only from this circumstance; and though I am far from thinking the Queen entirely innocent of the charge, yet I believe her guilt consisted rather in approving his execution, than importuning the King to it."

She also wrote a treatise of the " Four Last Things," with of much piety, judgment, and strength of reasoning, that her at her declared it was a better performance than a discourse which he had written himself upon the same subject. She had a very happy talent at correcting antient authors; and John Cofterius, in his notes on Vincentius Lirinensis, gives us an emen-dation of her's on a passage of Cyprian, not inferior, Le Clerc says, in his opinion, to those of the ablest critics, of Scaliger, Turnebus, or Salmasius ( f ). Erasmus wrote an epistle to her, as to a woman famous, not only for her manners and virtue, but for true and folid learning (g). She was a great mistress of the Greek and Latin tongues, and had great skill in music and the mathematics, and was complimented by the greatest men of the age, on account of her learning and accomplishments. And Cardinal Pole was so charmed with the elegance of her Latin flyle, that it was long before he could be brought to believe that what he read of her's was really written by a woman. This accomplished Lady died in 1554, and was buried in St. Dunstan's church in Canterbury, with her father's head in her arms, according to her defire. Of five children, which she brought Mr. Roper, there was a daughter Mary, who was almost as famous for parts and learning as herself. This Lady was one of the gentlewomen, as they were then called, of Queen Mary's Privy Chamber. She translated into English part of a Latin treatise She translated into English part of a Latin treatise of her grandfather's, and also Eusebius's Ecclesiastical history from the Greek into Latin, but the latter was never published.

Sir Thomas More was the author of many and various works, though fcarce any of them but his UTOPIA has been long read. The reason of which is, that his other pieces were chiefly tracts in controversial divinity, and written in defence of a cause which could not be supported, that of the Romish Church. It is faid of his answer to Luther, that it gained him no other reputation, than that of having the best knack of any man in Europe, at calling bad names in good Latin. His English works were collected and published by the order of Queen Mary, in 1557; his Latin at Basil, in 1563, and at Louvain in 1566.
His Utopia, which was his most celebrated work, was written

by him in Latin; but an English translation of it was published foon after, which Bishop Burnet, from the freedom taken in the translation, conjectured to have been made by Sir Thomas More himself. The best English translation of this work is that of Bishop Burnet; a new and correct edition of which, with notes, and the Life of Sir Thomas, was published in 1758, by the learned

mus.

(f) Fid. Dr. Jortin's Life of Eraf. dies of England and Germany, thofe whom he calls Moricæ are the daugh-(g) " When Erasmus, towards ters of Sir Thomas More, Margares,

the end of the dialogue Abbaris et Elizabeth, and Cicely."-Eruditæ, mentions fome learned La. Jortin's Life of Erafmus.

Pearned Dr. Warner. This work is the description of an imaginary Common-wealth, in which the author delivers his sentiments concerning government with great freedom. He seigned this country, Utoria, to be one of those which were them lately discovered in America; and that the account of it was given him by one Hythlodius, a Portuguese, who sailed in company with Americus Vesputius. Many persons, who were pleased with the description of the climate and manners of the people, and who had no suspicion of the truth, out of a servent zeal, wished that some Divines might be sent thither to preach Christianity, and several were very desirous to take the voyage for that purpose. We have already given several extracts from this work, in the course of our account of the Life of its author.

Before Sir Thomas finished his Utofia, he began the History of King Richard the Third, but it was never finished, and is esteemed none of the best of his pieces. It is inserted in the Complete History of England. He wrote it also in Latin, which was printed at Louvain in 1566. Vossius observes, that this is far inserior to his other writings, in the elegance of the Latin style.

As we have repeatedly mentioned Sir Thomas More's natural turn to pleasantry and wit, an instance or two more of it may not be disagreeable to the reader.

His fecond wife, it has been already observed, was not of a very amiable or agreeable temper, though a very notable woman in the management of domestic affaairs. "As she was a good house-wife," says Camden, "so was she not void of the fault that often followeth that virtue, somewhat shrewd to the fervants." One day Sir Thomas, being wearied with her continual rating of her servants, told her, that if nothing else would reclaim her, yet the consideration of the time, it being then Lent, should restrain her. "Tush, tush, Sir Thomas," said she, "look here is one step to Heaven-ward;" shewing him a Friar's girdle. "Ay," said Sir Thomas, "but I very much, sear that one step will not bring you up a single step higher."

One day, when the came from thrift, the faid merrily to him, "Be merry, Sir Thomas; for this day, I thank GOD, I was "well thriven; and have now, therefore, left off all my old "threwdnefs." "Yea," faid Sir Thomas, "and are ready to begin afresh."

When he was Lord-Chancellor, he enjoined a gentleman to pay a confiderable fum of money to a poor widow, who had been oppressed by him. Upon which the gentleman said to him, "Then I hope your Lordship will give me a good long day to pay it in." "You shall have your request," said Sir Thomas; "Monday next is St. Barnabas's day, the longest day in N 2

" all the year; do you pay her then, or else you shall kis the

An acquaintance of his having taken great pains in writing a book, which he intended to publish, brought it to Sir Thomas More for his opinion. Sir Thomas having looked it over, and finding it to be a foolish and trifling performance, told the writer, with a very grave face, that "it would be worth more if "it was in verse." The man upon this carried his book home again, and immediately set about turning it into verse. When he had finished it, he carried it again to Sir Thomas, who, having looked at it, said to him, "Ay, marry, now it is some-"what; for now it is rhime, but before it was neither rhime nor reason."



#### The Life of RICHARD PACE.

ICHARD PACE was born at, or near Winchester, as is generally supposed, and about the year 1482. He was educated at the charge of Thomas Langton, Bishop of that diocese, who employed him, whilst he was a youth, as his amanuenfis. The Bishop was much pleased with his proficiency in learning, and particularly delighted with the skill he displayed in music; and observed to those about him, that it was manifest from the ease with which young Pace mastered the science of music, that he had a genius equal to greater studies. The Prelate, therefore, sent him to Padua, to improve himself in good literature, and allowed him an yearly pension to defray his expences. He there met with Cuthbert Tonstall, afterwards Bishop of Durham, and William Latimer, from whose instructions he derived great advantage.

After his return home, he settled at Queen's College in Oxford, of which his patron, Bishop Langton, had been Provost; and he was foon after taken into the service of Dr. Christopher Bainbridge (b), who succeeded his first patron in the Provostship, and became a Cardinal. He attended him to Italy, and continued there till the Cardinal's death; after which, returning home, he was fent for to Court; where his abilities and accomplishments fo much recommended him to the favour of King Henry VIII. that he was appointed Secretary of State, and employed in matters of high concern, and in feveral foreign

Embassies, and important negociations.

But though Pace was so much employed in political affairs, he notwithstanding went into holy orders. In the beginning of the year 1514, he was admitted Prebendary of Bugthorp, in the Church of York, in the room of Thomas, afterwards Cardinal Wolfey, then confecrated Bishop of Lincoln. And on the 20th of May, the same year, he was promoted to the Archdeaconry of Dorfet.

In 1515, Pace was dispatched to the Court of Vienna, with a view of engaging the Emperor Maximilian to endeavour to difpossess the French King, Francis the First, of the Dutchy of Milan,

(b) CHRISTOPHER BAINBRIDGE he became Provoft before the year was born at Hilton near Appleby, in 1495, being about that time made Westmoreland. He was educated in Doctor of Laws. After having gone

Queen's College, Oxford, of which through feveral lower preferments,

Milan, Henry VIII. being alarmed at the progress of that Prince's arms in Italy. He was commissioned to propose some considerable payments to the Emperor, in order to induce him to undertake the intended expedition; and having by that means prevailed upon him, Pace made a journey from Vienna into Switzerland, and by like motives engaged some of the Cantons to furnish Maximilian with troops. The Emperor's expedition was, however, an unsuccessful one; and he soon after made a peace with France. But Maximilian, being very necessitous, proposed shortly after to make a resignation of the Imperial Crown in Henry's favour. But Pace being perfectly well acquainted with the Emperor's motives and character, gave the King his master timely warning, that the sole view of that Prince, in making

him so liberal an offer, was to draw money from him.

In 1519, the Emperor Maximilian died, upon which the Kings of France and Spain immediately declared themselves candidates for the Imperial Throne. And Henry was also encouraged to offer himself as a candidate; and the Pope declared, that he would espouse the interest of the King of England, in preference both to the French and Spanish Monarchs. Upon which Secretary Pace, who was esteemed the shrewdest negociator of the Court of England, was immediately ordered to attend Henry's interest at the Diet of the Empire, and to inform himfelf how the Electors flood affected towards him. But Pace soon convinced the King, that he had begun to folicit too late, and that he had now no success to hope for; though he acquainted him, that the Electors of Mentz, Cologn, and Triers, feemed disposed to favour him, and expressed their regret that they were pre-engaged. However, the King of Spain, Charles V. was elected Emperor. The same year Pace was made Dean of St. Paul's,

he was, in 1503, installed Dean of the ing him:—Vid. Wood's Athense Oxocathedral church of York. In 1505, niensis, Vol. I. Col. 536. Ed. 1691. he was made Dean of Windser. Pace was in the Gardinal's service. Master of the Rolls, and one of the King's Privy Council. In 1507, he was made Bishop of Durham, and the following year Archbishop of York: In 1511, he was made a Cardinal, on account of fome fervices which he had rendered to the Pope, He died of poifon at Rome in 1514. The Cardinal was, it is faid, of a very pafficiate temper; and one Rinaldo de Modena, an Italian Priest, whom he had taken into his service, having difobliged him, the Cardinal born, and ever watchful for the good fruck him. Upon which the Prieft, of the King's Highorefs, and his native country, notwithstanding the infinuations that have been made to the contrary." mortly afterwards effected by poilon-

and with him at Rome, at the time of his death; and transmitted to the King an account of the manner of it, and of the measures which had been taken to discover those who were concerned in it. And he lamented fome reproaches which had been thrown on his dead mafter by the Bishop of Worcester. "Though my Lord (faid Pace) had form fail-ings, yet he was the most faithful man to his Prince that ever was e-

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Paul's, in the room of Dr. Colet; and about the same time he was also made Dean of Exeter.

In 1521, he was also made Prebendary of Combe and Harnham, in the church of Sarum. And at the close of the same year Pope Leo X. died; upon which Cardinal Wolsey, thinking he had a fair opportunity of offering himself as a candidate for the Papal chair, dispatched Pace with proper instructions upon that head to Rome. But before he arrived there, the election was over, and Adrian, Bishop of Tortosa, had been chosen Pope. In 1523, Pope Adrian VI. died, upon which Pace was again employed to negociate for Wolsey, but without success, Clement VII. being elected. And some time after Pace was directed by the Cardinal to solicit the Pope for an enlargement of his legatine powers, with which request his Holinesa complied.

Pace was afterwards sent Ambassador to Venice, where he carried with him Thomas Lupset (c), as his Secretary. And this employment he so well discharged, that "it is hard to say "(says Wood) whether he procured more commendation or ad"miration among the Venetians, both for dexterity of his wit, and especially for his singular promptness in the Italian "tongue; wherein he seemed nothing inserior, neither to "P. Vannes here in England, the King's Secretary for the Ita"lian tongue, nor yet to any other, which were the best for that tongue in all Venice." But notwithstanding his qualifications, and abilities as a negociator, during his stay at Venice, he experienced, and very much suffered by, the displeasure of Cardinal Wolsey. Two reasons were assigned for this. First, that he had shewed a readiness to assist Charles, Duke of Bourbon, with money, for whom the Cardinal had no great affection; and, secondly, that he had not forwarded the Cardinal's design

fon of William Lupfet, citizen and goldsmith of London, and was born there, in the parish of St. Mildred, Bread-street. Whilst a boy, he was taken into the care and protection of Dean Colet, and educated in his school, under William Lily. He was from thence removed to Pembroke-Hall in Cambridge; and after some time he went to Paris, and returning about the year 1519, settled in Corpus-Christi College in Oxford, and succeeded John Clement in Cardinal Wolfey's rhetoric lecture, which he read both in Greek and Latin. In 1521, he took the degree of Master of Arts; soon after which he went to Venice, as Secretary to Pace in his Embassy there, agreeable to what is

faid above He was at Paris in 1523, with Reginald Pole; and coming back to England, was foon after fent again, at the request of Wolfey, to Paris, as tutor to Thomas Winter, where they were both maintained at the Cardinal's expence. He was in Orders, but obtained only a Prebend in the thurch of Salifbury, two years before his death. He published several pieces, and affisted Linacre and More in revising and correcting their works at the press; and the latter makes very honourable mention of him. He died on the 27th of December, 1532, aged only thirty-fix years, leaving a widow, who was buried in 1545, near him, in the church of St. Alphage, within Cripplegate, London.

of obtaining the Papacy, fo much as Wolfey thought he might have done.

For these reasons, it is said, Wolsey became much inflamed against Pace, and ordered matters in such a manner, that for the space of near two years he had no instructions from the King or Council how to proceed in his business at Venice, nor any allowance for his expences there, notwithstanding he had sent letters very often for the same to England. Upon this, and especially on account of some private intimations of his friends at home concerning the Cardinal's usage of him, he took it so much to heart, that he became bereft of his senses. It is said, that the Venetian Ambassador residing in London, repaired to the Cardinal, and desired to know of him, whether he had any commands for the English Ambassador at Venice; to which Wolsey made answer, Paceus Decipit Regem; with which

Pace being acquainted, was very much affected.

In consequence of Pace's disorder, Andrew Gritt, Duke of Venice, wrote to Cardinal Wolsey, acquainting him, that Secretary Pace, who had resided there for some time in quality of the King's orator, and had been especially recommended by letters from the Cardinal, was preparing to return to England; that nothing could have been more agreeable to him, than a licence to that end from his Majesty, he having been for some time in a very ill state of health; and the physicians who had attended him, all concurring in opinion, that nothing would contribute so much to restore him, as a change of air, especially for that of his native country. And the Duke, in his letter, expressed great solicitude for Pace's recovery; and gave a very honourable testimony of him, with respect to his great abilities, excellent qualities, and diligence and sidelity in executing his commission.

Pace's diforder being hereupon made known to the King, he was ordered home; and being carefully attended by the physicians at the King's command, he was restored in a short time to his senses, and studied the Hebrew language, with the assistance

of Robert Wakefield.

In these lucid intervals some of his friends sound means to introduce him to the King, then residing at Richmond; and Henry expressed much satisfaction at his recovery, and admitted him to a private audience, which he made use of to remonstrate against the Cardinal's unjust treatment of him. But Wolsey was too hard for him; for the Cardinal being urged by Henry to purge himself of Pace's charge against him, summoned Pace before him, and "stiting in judgement (says Wood) with the Duke of Norfolk, and other States of the Realm, not as a defendant, "but as a Judge in his own cause, did so bear out himself, and

" weigh down Pace, that he was forthwith commanded to the "Tower of London as prisoner; where he continuing for the

fpace of two years, or thereabouts, was at length by the King's

" command discharged."

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This fevere treatment which Pace received, increased his malady; so that in all the time of his imprisonment in the Tower, and after his release, till his death, he never recovered his senses, except at intervals, when he was able to read, and to discourse very rationally. He resigned his Deaneries of St. Paul and Exeter a little before his death; and retiring to Stepney, died there, in 1532, and was buried in the chancel of that church, being not quite fifty years old.

Richard Pace was much esteemed by the learned men of his time, especially Sir Thomas More, and Erasmus, who stiles him UTRIUSQUE LITERATURÆ CALENTISSIMUS, and wrote more letters to him, than to any one of his learned friends and correspondents. He had a great opinion of Pace for his candour and sweetness of temper; so that he was much afflicted at his misfortunes, and could never forgive the man who had been the cause of them. Mr. Stow gives Pace the character of a right worthy man, and one that gave in Council faithful advice, Learned he was also, says that antiquarian, and endowed with many excellent parts and gifts of nature; courteous, pleafant, and delighting in music; highly in the King's favour, and well heard in matters of weight. There is extant a letter of his to King Henry, written in the year 1527, in which he very honestly gives his opinion concerning the divorce; and it has been obferved, that his always using a faithful liberty to Wolfey, was one of the causes which at last brought him to confinement and distraction.

Camden, in his Remains, tells us, that a certain Nobleman having faid, in contempt of learning, in Pace's hearing, that it was enough for Noblemen's fons to wind their horn, and carry their hawk fair; and that they should leave study and learning to the children of mean men; Pace faid to his Lordship, by way of reply, "Then you and other Noblemen must be content, that your children may wind their horns, and keep their hawks, while the children of mean men manage affairs of State,"----He wrote the following pieces:

I. DE FRUCTU QUI EX DOCTRINA PERCEPITUR LIBER, Bafil 1517, 4to. dedicated to Dean Colet. This was written by Pace at Constance, while he was Ambassador in Helvetia; but as he had in it inveighed much against drunkenness, as a great obstacle to the attainment of knowledge, the people there considered it as designed to reslect upon them, and therefore wrote a sharp answer to it. Erasmus was also much offended with Pace for some passages in this piece, in which he had spoken of him, between jest and earnest, in a manner with which Erasmus was not pleased. But they were soon reconciled.

II. Oratio Pace nuperrime composita et sædere percusso inter Henricum Angliæ regem, et Francorum reg. Christianis. in æde Pauli Lond. habitæ, Lond. 1518. 4to.

Vol. H. 3. O III. Epistolæ

III. Epistolæ ad Edw. Leeum, et epistolæ ad Erasmum, Lond. 1520. These epistles are in a book, intituled, Epistolæ aliquot

eruditorum virorum.

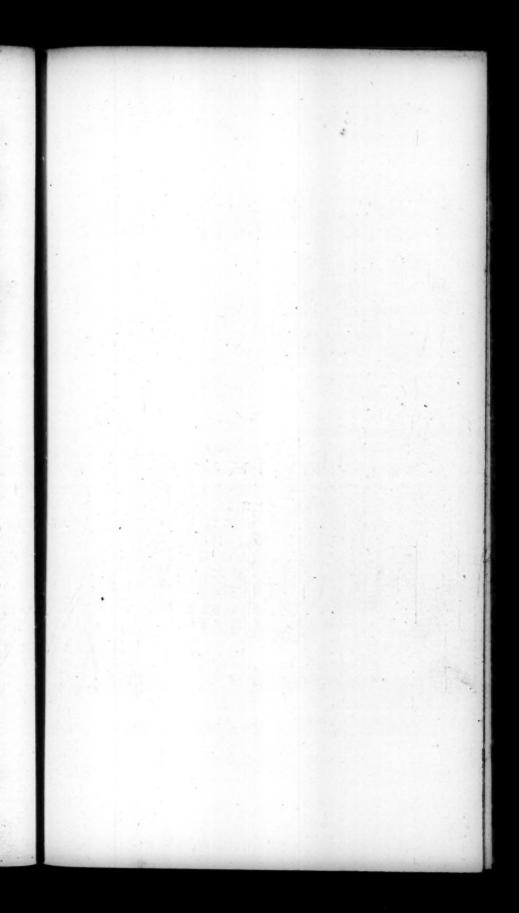
IV. Præfatio in Ecclesiasticen recognitum ad Hebraicam veritatem, & collatum cum translatione LXX Interpretum et manifesta explicatione causarum erroris ubicunque incidit. This piece was printed in Quarto; and it is said that he was assisted in it by Robert Wakefield.

V. EXEMPLUM LITERARUM AD REGEM HEN. 8. AN. 1526. Inferted in a piece, intituled, SYNTAGMA DE HEBRÆGRUM CO-

DICUM INTERPRETATIONES, by Robert Wakefield.

He also wrote a book concerning the unlawfulness of the King's marriage with Queen Catherine, in 1527. And made feveral translations; among others, one from English into Latin of the sermon of Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, preached on the day when the writings of Luther were publicly burnt, Camb. 1521. 4to. And a translation from Greek into Latin, of Plurarch's piece, De commodo ex inimicis capiendo.







THOMAS CROMWELL, Earl of Essex.

# The Life of THOMAS CROMWELL, Earl of Effex.

HOMAS CROMWELL was the son of a blackfmith at Putney, near London. The year of his birth is not known. His father, in the latter part of his life, practifed the trade of a brewer; after whofo decease, his mother was married to a sheerman in London. All the education which he received was at a private school, where he learned reading, writing, and a little Latin. He discovered, however, in his early years, a very promising genius, and great vigour and activity of mind; and when he was grown up, having a great inclination for travelling, he went into foreign countries; though in what manner he did this, or at whose expence, is unknown. By this means he had an opportunity of feeing the world, of gaining a more extensive acquaintance with men and manners, and of learning several languages, which

proved afterwards extremely advantageous to him.

In the course of his travels he came to Antwerp, where there In the course of his travels he came to Antwerp, where there was then a very considerable English factory, by whom he was retained at their clerk, or secretary. His love of travelling, and inclination to see various countries, did, however, still continue; he, therefore, embraced an opportunity which offered itself, in 1510, of taking a journey to Rome. That opportunity was the following. There was at that time a famous gild of our Lady in the church of St. Botolph's at Boston in Lincolnshire, to which several Popes had granted very large indulgences, or pardons; which being held in the greatest veneration, and very much resorted to, the brethren and sisters of that gild were very desirous of having those indulgences renewed and confirmed by the then Pope. They, therefore, dispatched Geoffrey Chambers, and another person, who was joined with him in the commission, to Rome, with a considerable sum of money, in order to procure the defired confirmation. These persons taking Antwerp in their way, became there acquainted with Thomas Cromwell; and being somewhat distident of their own abilities for the talk they had undertaken, and conceiving an high opinion of the talents of Cromwell, they prevailed upon him to go along with them. And accordingly he was of confiderable fervice to them. For being informed that his Holiness was fomewhat of an epicare, and addicted to pampering his palate, 0 2

he presented him with some fine dishes of jelly, made after the English sashion, which was then unknown at Rome. And these delicacies put the Holy Father into such good humour, that he very readily granted Cromwell and his companions what they

came about (b).

Cromwell appears to have continued a very confiderable time in Italy; for we are told, that he ferved for some time as a foldier under the Duke of Bourbon, and was present at the sacking of Rome (i); an event which did not happen till the year 1527, which was seventeen years after the time fixed for his obtaining the confirmation of the indulgences which he solicited from the Pope. But scarce any particulars of this period of his life are transmitted down to us; though it appears that, in consequence of the wandering life he led, he was frequently reduced to great distresses. We are indeed told, as a proof of his application, and love of knowledge, that in his journey to and from Rome he committed to memory Erasmus's Latin translation of the New Testament. And being at Bologna, he found means to assist John Russel, Esq. afterwards Earl of Bedford, in making his escape; that gentleman, who was there privately employed in managing some of King Henry's affairs, being in very imminent danger of being betrayed into the hands of the French.

How long he continued in a military capacity, is uncertain. He returned, at length, however, to his native country, and was taken into the family and fervice of Cardinal Wolfey; who obferving him to be a man of confiderable abilities, and great application, made him his Solicitor, and often employed him in business of great importance. And the Cardinal particularly entrusted him with the settling affairs relative to the foundation of his two Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, and in suppressing fome small Monasteries for the endowment of them. Upon the Cardinal's disgrace in 1529, he used his utmost endeavours to ferve his master under his misfortunes. And when articles of high treason against the Cardinal were sent down to the House of Commons, of which Cromwell had previously found means to get himself elected a Member, he defended the Cardinal with so much eloquence and ability, that the articles against him were thrown out. This transaction was of considerable service to Cromwell, and gained him great reputation; for it placed his abilities in a more conspicuous point of view; and those who were enemies to Wolfey, both as a man, and as a Minister, did notwithstanding applaud Cromwell for his steady attachment to his mafter in advertity.

Cardinal Wolfey's houshold being now dissolved, he was taken into the King's service, upon the recommendation of Sir Christopher Hales, Master of the Rolls, and Sir John Russel, the same

them. For being informed that

<sup>(</sup>b) Vid. Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 498, 499. Edit. 1641.

fame gentleman whom he had so eminently served at Bologna; who represented him to the King, as the sittest person to manage the disputes which his Majesty then had with the Pope. And being thus introduced at Court, he soon obtained a very consi-

derable share of the King's favour and considence.

Cromwell, as to his religious sentiments, favoured the principles of the Reformation; and was, therefore, no friend to the Papal power. In one of his conferences with the King, he represented to his Majesty, that his princely authority was abused within his own Realm, by the Pope and his Clergy, who being sworn to him, were afterwards dispensed from the same, and sworn again to the Pope; so that his Majesty was but a half King, and they but half subjects; which, he represented to Henry, was derogatory to his Crown, and contrary to the laws of his kingdom. But the Clergy, he told him, had by this illegal submission to the Pope; incurred the penalties of the act of Premunire: from which his Majesty, if he thought proper, might derive great profit and advantages. Henry giving ear to this, and being pleased with the hint, asked him, if he could make the truth of what he said appear. Cromwell affirmed that he could. And thereupon shewed the King the oath which the Bishops took to the Pope at their confectation; wherein they swore "to help, retain, and defend against all men, the "Popedom of Rome, the rules of the Holy Fathers, and the re-

" galities of St. Peter, &c."

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In consequence of this conference with Cromwell, Henry, whilst the Convocation was sitting, took his ring, or signet, off his singer, and sent Cromwell with it to the House of Convocation, in order to acquaint the Clergy that they had all fallen into a Premunire. Cromwell, thus deputized by the King, placed himself among the Bishops, and began to represent to them the extent of the regal authority, and the duty of subjects, and especially the obedience which Bishops and Churchmen owed to the laws of the kingdom, These laws, however, he told them, the whole body of the Clergy had violated, to the dishonour of the King, by transgressing against the act of Provisors and Premunire; in that, they had not only confented to the legatine power of Cardinal Wolfey, but also because they had all sworn to the Pope, contrary to their allegiance to the King, and therefore had forfeited to his Majesty all their goods, chattles, lands, possessions, and whatfoever livings they had. The Prelates were exceedingly alarmed at this, and at first began to deny the fact. But after Cromwell had shewn them the very copy of the oath which they took to the Pope at their confecration, the matter was fo plain, that they could not deny it. Accordingly an indictment was brought against the whole body of the Clergy in the Court of King's Bench, and they were found guilty of falling within the statute of Premunire. However, the Clergy presenting a petition to the King, in which he was stiled Protector and Supreme Head

#### 110 The Life of CROMWELL, Earl of Effex.

Head of the Church of England, he granted the Clergy of the Province of Canterbury a pardon for one hundred thousand pounds; and the Province of York compounded for nineteen thousand. This affair was agreeable to Henry, because it brought money into his coffers; and Cromwell chearfully forwarded it, because as the Clergy in general were extremely averse to every step towards a Reformation, whatever contributed to weaken their influence and power, and their connections with

the See of Rome, had a tendency to promote it.

The same year in which this transaction happened, 1531, Cromwell was knighted, made Master of the King's jewel-house, with a salary of fifty pounds per annum, and constituted a Privy Counsellor. And he continued to exert himself to the utmost in promoting, both by his influence in the Parliament and with the King, every measure which was favourable to the Reformation. The Parliament were well disposed to this; and in 1532, an act was passed against levying the Annates, or First-Fruits, which was a tax imposed by the Court of Rome for granting Bulls to the new Prelates. From the second year of Henry the VIIth's reign, one hundred and sixty thousand pounds had been transmitted to Rome on account of this claim; which the Parliament, therefore, reduced to five per cent. of all the episcopal benefices. And the better to keep the Pope in awe, it was voted, that any censures which should be passed by the Court of Rome, on account of this law, should be utterly disregarded; and that mass should be said, and the Sacraments administered, as if no such censures had been issued.

This year Sir Thomas Cromwell was made Clerk of the Hanaper, a profitable office in the Court of Chancery; and before the close of the year he was also appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer. And the following year, 1533, an act was passed against all appeals to Rome in causes of matrimony, divorces, wills, and other suits cognizable in Ecclesiastical Courts. In the preamble to this act it was affirmed, That the Crown of England was imperial, and that the nation was a complete body within itself, with a full power to give justice in all cases, spiri-

tual as well as temporal.

In 1534, Sir Thomas Cromwell was appointed Principal Secretary of State, and Master of the Rolls; and about the same time he was chosen Chancellor of the University of Cambridge. Soon after which followed a general visitation of that University; whereupon the several Colleges delivered up their charters, and other instruments, to Sir Thomas Cromwell. Anne Boleyn, who had now been solemnly crowned Queen of England, greatly favoured the progress of the Reformation. The Court of Rome had, however, pronounced the marriage of Henry and Catherine to be valid; and had declared Henry to be excommunicated, if he resused and had declared Henry to be excommunicated. If he resused is and had declared Henry to be a communicated.

enacted by the Parliament, that all payments made to the Apostolic Chamber, and all provisions, bulls, and dispensations, thould be abolished; Monasteries were subjected to the visitation and government of the King alone; the law for punishing Heretics was moderated; and it was declared, that to speak against the Pope's authority was no Herefy; and the Convocation were

prevailed upon to concur in these measures.

In 1535, Sir Thomas Cromwell was appointed Visitor-General of all the Monasteries, and other privileged places, throughout England. Several persons were employed under him in the exercise of this office. And the proceedings and behaviour of these visitors has been much censured by the Roman Catholics. But it is no wonder, Bishop Burnet observes, " that men who had " traded fo long in lies as the Monks had done, should load " those whom they esteemed the instruments of their ruin with " many calumnies." And it is certain, that in the course of these visitations of what were called religious houses, a scene was opened of the most shameful lewdness, and of other vile enormities, fuch as were a dishonour not only to religion, but to humanity.

On the 2d of July, 1536 ( k ), Sir Thomas Cromwell was conflituted Lord Keeper of the Privy Seal, at which time he refigned his mastership of the Rolls. On the 9th of the same month he was advanced to the dignity of a Baron, by the title of Lord Cromwell of Okeham in Rutlandshire; and six days after he took his seat in the House of Peers. The 18th of the fame month he was constituted Vicar-General, and Vicegerent, over all the Spirituality, under the King, who was now declared Supreme Head of the Church. This was a very high dignity, for it gave him precedence next to the Royal Family; and in the Convocation which was held this year, he fat above the Arch-

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bishops, as the King's Representative.

A short time before Lord Cromwell's elevation to this new dignity, an event happened, which was by no means favourable to

( & ) This year died Queen Cathenine of Arragon, at Kimbolton in the county of Huntingdon, in the fiftieth year of her age. Orders had been given by King Henry, after his mar-riage with Anne Boleyn, that Cathe-rine should only be stiled Princess-Dowager of Wales, and treated as such, But she could never be prevailed upon to relinquish the title of Queen; and would accept of no service from any person who did not approach her with the accustomed ceremonial. She was more hardly ceremonial. She was more hardly treated on that account than the otherwise would have been, but without its producing the defired effect,

A little before the expired, the wrote a very tender letter to the King, in which the gave him the appellation of her most dear Lord, King, and in Sand. She recommended her daughter Mary to him, and folicited his protection for her maids and fervants. She concluded her letter with these words, " I make this vow, that mine eyes defire you above all things." Henry was fo much touched as to fined tears at this last proof of Catherine's affection for him; but Queen And Boleyn is faid to have expressed her joy for the death of her rival, in a manner that was not make the confident manner that was not quite confiftent with humanity and decency.

the Reformation. This was the fall of Queen Anne Boleyn, who had very much exerted her influence over the King in fayour of the Reformers. But Henry was now become enamoured of a new object. This was Jane Seymour, daughter to Sir John Seymour, and one of Queen Anne's attendants. A charge of incontinence was accordingly trumped up against the Queen, in consequence of which she was tried, and most unjustly condemned to die. It appeared, indeed, that there had been some levities in her conduct; but nothing like a crime could be fairly proved against her. The unfortunate Queen, however, was beheaded; and the unfeeling Monarch was married the very next day to

Jane Seymour (1).

The death of Queen Anne Boleyn was an agreeable event to the Romish party, and gave them fresh hopes that an accommodation might be brought about between the King and the Court of Rome. Lord Cromwell, however, continued to exercise the powers with which he was invested, in promoting and advancing the Reformation. He was, however, obliged to proceed with wariness and caution; for the King was known in his heart to be strongly attached to the Principles of Popery, notwithstanding his present breach with the Court of Rome; and the Popish party in the nation were also very formidable. Some articles of Religion were, however, published this year, in which, instead of the seven Sacraments received in the Church of Rome, three only were mentioned, the Sacrament of Baptism, the Sacrament of Penance, and the Sacrament of the Altar. The standard of faith was also declared to confift in the Scriptures, and the three Creeds, the Apostolic, the Nicene, and the Athanasian. And the doctrine of Purgatory was declared to be uncertain from Scripture.

In September this year, Lord Cromwell, in virtue of his office as the King's Vicegerent, published some injunctions to all Deans, Parsons, Vicars, and Curates, wherein they were ordered to preach up the King's Supremacy; and not to employ their rhetoric in extolling images, relics, miracles, or pil-grimages; but rather exhort the people to ferve GOD, and take care of their families; to put parents, and other directors of youth in mind, to teach their children the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the Ten Commandments, in their mother tongue. He likewise encouraged the translation of the Bible into English; and when it was finished and printed, he published an injunction, that an English Bible ( m ) should be provided for every parish church, at the joint charge of the Parson and parishioners.

Notwithstanding

(m) The first translation of any part of the Holy Scriptures into Eng-

(1) An act was foon after paffed, lish which was committed to the which the iffue of Anne Boleyn press, was the New Testament, translated from the Greek by William Tyndal, with the affistance of John Fry and William Roye, and printed

by which the iffue of Anne Boleyn were declared to be illegitimate.

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Notwithstanding the high rank and dignity to which Lord Cromwell was now raised, he was not so elated with his prosperity as to be unmindful of his former condition, or forgetful of those whose kindness he had experienced in a state of adversity and distress. As a remarkable instance of this, the following incident is related. In his youth, in the course of his peregrinations, Cromwell happened to be at Florence, in a most destitute condition, and in want of the common necessaries of life. this deplorable fituation, he was taken notice of by an Italian merchant, who frequently traded with England, and whose name was Francis Frescobald. This merchant, after enquiring into the particulars of young Cromwell's story, being pleased with his air and manner, took him into his house, and kindly entertained him; and, at his departure, furnished him with a horse, and new clothes, and fixteen ducats of gold, in order to carry him again into his own country. It happened that many years after, when Cromwell was advanced to the high station in which we have feen him, this merchant, who in confequence of many losses in trade was become very poor, came over into England, in order to recover a confiderable fum of money which was due to him. During his refidence in London for this purpose, Lord Cromwell, being one day riding towards Court, accidentally cast his eyes upon Frescobald, who happened to be passing through the street. The merchant had entirely forgotten the person of Cromwell, and was altogether unacquainted with his advancement: but the grateful Cromwell, recognizing the features of his old benefactor, regardless of the spectators, and to the great surprize of his attendants, hastily alighted from his horse, and very affectionately embraced him. After some conversation in the street, Lord Cromwell, who was then obliged to repair to Court, affuring the merchant of his friendship, and of his grateful fense of his obligations to him, infifted upon his coming that day to dine with him at his house. He accordingly did so; and at dinner Lord Cromwell related to the Lord High Admiral, and other persons Vol. II. 3. of

first in 1526, in Octavo. Tyndal Published asterwards, in 1530, a translation of the Pentateuch: and of Jonas, in 1531, in Octavo. It is said that he also translated Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Nehemiah, and the books of Kings and Chronicles; but it does not appear that these were ever printed. An English translation of the Psalms, done from the Latin of Martin Bucer, was also published at Argentine in 1530, by Francis Foye. And the same book, together with Jeremiah, and the Song of Moses, were likewise published in 1534, in 12mo, by George Joye, some

Tyndal time Fellow of Peterhouse in Cam-1530, a bridge.

But the first time the whole Bible was printed and published in English was in the year 1535, in Folio. It was published by Miles Coverdale, afterwards Bishop of Exeter, who revised Tyndal's version, compared it with the originals, and supplied what had been left untranslated by Tyndal. It was printed at Zurich, and dedicated by Coverdale to King Henry VIII. And this was the Bible which by Lord Cromwell's injunctions in 1536, was ordered to be laid in charches.

when he was in a more humble fituation.

The alterations which had been made in religion, together with the diffolution of such a number of Monasteries (n), so exceedingly irritated the Romish Clergy, who began to give up all for lost, that they excited insurrections against the Government, particularly in Lincolnshire, Yorkshire, Durham, and Lancashire. And the Roman Catholic party were so inveterate against Lord Cromwell, that the rebels in Yorkshire demanded, amongst other things, that he should be brought to "condign" punishment, as one of the subverters of the good laws of the Realm." However, these insurrections were at length quested (o), though not without much bloodshed.

In 1537, the King conflituted Lord Cromwell Chief Justice itinerant of all the forests beyond Trent; and on the 26th of August the same year, he was elected a Knight of the Garter. In October Queen Jane Seymour was delivered of a young Prince, who afterwards ascended the Throne by the name of Edward VI. But in about twelve days after her delivery Queen Jane died, to the great regret of Henry, who is said to have been so much afflicted with her loss, that for some days after her death, he shut himself up from all company (p). Queen Jane was a favourer of the Reformation.

About this time a new visitation of religious houses was set or foot; and the visitors were enjoined to enquire into the impostures which had been practised, to excite the people to superstitious adorations of images, relics, and other pretended miracularies.

( n ) An act was passed, in 2536, by which three hundred and seventy-fix Monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues, together with their goods, chattles, and plate, were granted to the King.

(6) The rebels, among other things which they complained of, alledged that the King employed improper and mean persons for his Ministers, which was particularly aimed at Lord Cromwell. But the King published a manifesto in answer to their several complaints, couched

in very lofty terms, in which he told them, that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colours. And we,' faid he, 'with our whole Council, 'think it right strange, that ye, whe be but brutes and inexpert folk, do 'take upon you to appoint us, who be meet or not for our Council.'

Ministers, which was particularly (\*) There is no foundation for the aimed at Lord Cromwell. But the flory sometimes told, that the life of King published a manifesto in answer the young Prince was spared in preto their several complaints, couched ference to that of the Queen, by the

lous things. And in the course of this visitation a scene was opened of the most bare-faced imposture, and the most ridiculous fuperstition. At Boxley in Kent, there was a crucifix which fometimes moved its head and eyes, and bent its whole body, to express the receiving of prayers; and other gestures were at other times made, in order to fignify the rejection of them. Many and great were the offerings made to this wondrous image; but it appeared, upon examination, that all its movements were caused by concealed springs; and the whole cheat being thus discovered, the image was ordered to be burnt. At Hales, in the county of Gloucester, the blood of CHRIST was shewn in a vial of chrystal, which the people sometimes could see, and sometimes could not. And they were made to believe, that they could not be bleffed with the fight of the blood, though the vial was fet before them, whilst they were in mortal fin, continued, therefore, to make presents, till they had bribed Heaven to give them the fight of this bleffed relic. But this, upon examination, was discovered to be nothing more than the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week; and one fide of the vial was fo thick, that there was no feeing through it, whilst the other was clear and transparent. And it was placed in such a manner near the altar, that a person concealed behind it could turn either fide of the vial ontward; and when they had drained those who came to see it of what money they could, they then made them happy by turning the clear and transparent fide towards them (q).

Many superstitious images were publicly broken at St. Paul's cross. And a great variety of curious relics were discovered in different parts of the kingdom. At Reading, there was an Angel with one wing, that brought over the spear's head that pierced our SAVIOUR's side. At Edmondsbury, there was found some of the coals that roasted St. Laurence; the parings of St. Edmund's toes; and St. Thomas Becket's penknife and boots (r). A piece of St. Andrew's finger was pledged by the House of Westacre for forty pounds; but the visitors, when they suppressed that House, not thinking fit to redeem it at that rate,

the Saint's finger was still left in pawn.

But to return to Lord Cromwell. In 1538, he obtained a grant from the King of the castle and Lordship of Okeham, in the.

command of the King; who gave orders, it is faid, for the Queen's body to be opened for the birth. whole story is a forgery of Sanders. Vid. Guthrie's Hift. of England, Vol.

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II. P. 1074.

(q) Vid. Burnet's History of the Reformation, Edit. 1679. Vol. J. P. 242, 243.

(r) However ridiculous these things

may appear to a Protestant reader, the ingenious Mr. Hume thinks proper to inform us, that "fuch fooleries, as they are to be found in all ages and nations of the world, and even took place during the most refined periods of antiquity, form no peculiar nor vio-lent reproach on the Catholic reli-gion." History of England, Vol. IV. P. 195. 8vo, Edit.

the county of Rutland; and was also made Constable of Carefbrook castle in the Isle of Wight. And in September this year, he issued forth new injunctions, directed to all Bishops and Curates, in which he ordered, among other things, that the Clergy should, every Sunday and holiday, openly and plainly recite to their parishioners, twice or thrice together, one article of the LORD's Prayer, or Creed, in English, that they might learn the same by heart: that they should make, or cause to be made, in their churches, one fermon every quarter of a year at least, in which they should purely and sincerely declare the very Gospel of CHRIST, and exhort their hearers, not to pilgrimages, kissing and worshipping of images, and other superstitions of that kind, but to the performance of works of faith, mercy, and charity. It was also ordered by him, that all who were in posfession of benefices upon which they did not reside, should appoint able Curates; and that the Clergy should not discourage the people from reading the Scriptures, but on the contrary ex-

hort and excite them to it.

This year was demolished, by the King's command, the shrine of Thomas Becket, commonly stiled St. Thomas of Canterbury (s). This shrine was of inestimable value. The gold of it, when broken down, loaded two chefts, which required eight firong men to carry it out of the church. This act of facrilege, as it was termed, so exceedingly exasperated the Holy See, that it is mentioned in the preamble to the bull foon after iffued forth by Pope Paul the Third, against King Henry, as the principal inducement for hastening that denunciation of the vengeance of the Church, which had been for some time suspended. By this bull, if the King did not appear at Rome within ninety days, by himself or proxy, to answer for his proceedings, he was declared to be deposed from his Crown, and the kingdom laid under an interdict. All his subjects and vassals were absolved from their allegiance; all Clergymen were ordered to depart the kingdom, within five days after the expiration of the time prefixed, under the pains of excommunication and deprivation; leaving only fo many Priests as would be necessary for baptizing infants, and giving the Sacrament to fuch as died in penitence. All Noblemen and others in the King's dominions were commanded, under the same penalties, to take up arms against him, and to drive him out of his dominions; and all Princes and military persons were commanded to make war upon him, in order to force him to return to the obedience of the Apostolic See. They were also commanded to seize upon all goods and merchandize belonging to the King or his accomplices; and fuch of his subjects as were feized on, were to be made flaves. It was also declared, that whoever should attempt to oppose the execution of any of the particulars contained in this bull, should incur the indignation of Almighty GOD, as well as of the holy Apostles. Such was the power modestly assumed by the Successor of St. Peter! but Henry paid little regard to these ecclesiastical thunders.

In 1539, the King bestowed upon Lord Cromwell several noble manors and confiderable estates, which had belonged to some of the religious Houses that were now dissolved. And on the 17th of April the same year, he was raised to the dignity of Earl of Effex, and foon after constituted Lord High Chamberlain of England, King Henry had now been for some time looking about for a new wife, and at length entered into a treaty of marriage with the Prince's Anne, daughter to the Duke of Cleves. Cromwell was very zealous to promote this match, because that Lady and her family were all in the Lutheran intereft. But this in the event proved his ruin. For the King conceived a violent diflike to her at the very first fight; and though, as the Princess was arrived in England, and the matter carried fo far, he was married to her, yet it was not without great reluc-tance. His aversion to her, however, every day encreased; and he became eager to procure the dissolution of his marriage. The concern which the Earl of Effex had in promoting a match which was so much the King's aversion, weakened the King's attacha ment to him. The share which he had in forwarding the Rea formation, had procured him many powerful enemies, particularly the Duke of Norfolk, and Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. And they spared no opportunity of increasing any prejudice which the King might have conceived against him; and as the Roman Catholics in general raised a violent clamour against him, Henry began to be disposed to sacrifice Cromwell to their fury. The King had now fixed his affection on Catherine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk; and that Nobleman made use of her infinuations to incense Henry against the Earl of Essex. Accordingly he obtained a commission from the King to arrest him at the Council-table, on the 10th of June, when he had not the least suspicion of it. He was immediately committed prisoner to the Tower; and on the 17th of the same month a bill of attainder against him was brought into the House of Lords. He was accused both of heresy and treason. It was alledged against him, that he had set at liberty, without the King's command or affent, several persons convicted of mifprision of treason, and others who were imprisoned on suspicion of it. That he had received feveral bribes, and granted licences for them to carry money, corn, horses, and other things, out of the kingdom, contrary to the King's proclamations. That, being an Heretic, he had dispersed many erroneous books among the King's subjects, particularly some that were contrary to the belief of the Sacrament. That having entertained many of the King's subjects about himself, whom he had infected with herefy, and imagining he was by force able to defend his treasons and herefies, when some of them complained to him of the new preachers,

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preachers, he faid, " their preaching was good;" and faid also. among other things, "That if the King would turn from it, " yet he would not turn; and if the King did turn, and all his es people with him, he would fight in the field in his own perothers." And then he pulled out his dagger, and fwore that he would do what he had before declared. Several other things were alledged against him; but they were improbable and triffing, as well as some of the foregoing. He was not, however, suffered even to be heard in his own defence. And the bill of attainder at length passed both Houses, though it stuck

ten days in the House of Commons,

The Earl of Essex had in his fall, as Bishop Burnet observes, the common fate of all difgraced Ministers, to be forfaken by his friends, and infulted over by his enemies. Archbishop Cranmer, however, interested himself warmly in his favour; and in a letter which he fent to the King, he expressed himself thus concerning Cromwell. "Who," faid he, "cannot but be forrowful and amazed, that he should be a traitor against 56 your Majesty? He that was so advanced by your Majesty; he whose surety was only by your Majesty; he who loved your Majesty, as I ever thought, no less than GOD; he who studied always to fet forwards what soever was your Majesty's will and pleasure; he that cared for no man's displeasure to serve your Majesty. He that was such a servant, in my judgment, in wisdom, diligence, faithfulness, and experience, as no Prince in this Realm ever had. He that was fo vigilant to preferve your Majesty from all treasons, that few could be so secretly conceived, but he detected the same in the beginning. If se the Princes of noble memory, King John, Henry II. and Richard II. had had fuch a Counsellor about them, I suppose they should never have been so traiterously abandoned, as those " good Princes were." He proceeds, " I loved him as my friend, for fo I took him to be; but I chiefly loved him for the love which I thought I faw him bear ever towards your Grace, fingularly above all other : but now, if he be a traytor, I am forry that ever I loved, or trufted him; and I am " very glad that his treason is discovered in time. But yet again, I am very forrowful; for who shall your Grace trust hereafter if you might not trust him? Alas! I bewail and la-ment your Grace's chance herein! I wot not whom your Grace may truft. But I pray GOD continually night and day, to fend fuch a Counsellor in his place, whom your Grace " may trust, and who for all his qualities can and will serve wyour Grace like to him; and that will have for much folicitude and care to preserve your Grace from all dangers, as I ever thought he had."

The Earl of Essex, during his imprisonment, wrote to the King, to clear himself from the charge of treason, and to im-

plore his Majesty's clemency; which he did in terms that do no great honour to his magnanimity. But it was without effect; for the Duke of Norfolk and the Popish party prevailed. And accordingly, in pursuance of his attainder, he was ordered to be beheaded on Tower-hill, on the 28th of July, 1540. When he was brought to the scaffold, his tenderness for his son (t) made him avoid any earnest protestations of his innocence, or complaints of his fentence; for he feared that any thing of that kind would exasperate Henry, and induce him to wreak his vengeance on his son. He said, that as he was by law condemned to die, he thanked GOD for bringing him to that death for his offences. He acknowledged his fins against GOD, and his offences against his Prince, who had raised him from a low degree. He declared that he died in the Catholic faith ( u), not doubting of any article of faith, or of any Sacrament of the Church; and denied that he had been a supporter of those who believed ill opinions. He defired the spectators to pray for the King, for the Prince, and for himself; and then prayed with great fervour for the remission of his past sins, and admittance into eternal glory. He then gave the fignal to the executioner, who performed his office; but was fo inexpert at it, that he very much mangled the unfortunate Nobleman.

Thus fell THOMAS CROMWELL, Earl of Effex, who was worthy of a better mafter, and a better fate. He was a Minister of great ability, and uncommon application. He had a high fense of public good, and an open and generous heart. His greatest fault was too much obsequiousness to the King's will; and his eagerness to pull down the Papal authority, made him sometimes advance the regal authority higher than was confishent with a proper regard to the interests of civil liberty. But though raifed from the lowest situation in human life, to state of great power, and elevated rank, he behaved with uncommon moderation. He was courteous and affable to persons of all ranks. He was very ready to affift the poor in any of their fuits, and to support them against the oppressions of the powerful and wealthy. He was very hospitable, and so cha-

(i) He left one fon, Gregory Cromwell, created Baron Cromwell of Wimbleton, in his father's lifetime; but he did not succeed to the title of Earl of Effex, on account of his father's attainder.

( u) " By what he fpoke at his death, (fays Bishop Burnet) he left it much doubted of what religion he died. But it is certain he was a Luby him in his last speech, seemed to

used in England in its true fense, in opposition to the novelties of the See of Rome. So that his profession of the Catholic faith was strangely perverted, when fome from thence con-cluded that he died in the communion of the Church of Rome. But his praying in English, and that only to GOD through CHRIST, without any of those tricks that were used when those of that Church died, shewed he was none of their's," Hist, of the make it doubtful; but that was then Reformation, Vol. 1. P. 285.

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ritable to the poor, that upwards of two hundred persons were ferved twice every day with a sufficient quantity of bread, meat, and drink, at the gate of his house in Throgmorton-street. He was remarkably grateful to those from whom he had received any obligations, and extremely kind and generous to his servants and dependents.



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# The Life of Sir EDWARD HOWARD, Lord High Admiral of England.

HIS gallant Admiral was fecond fon to Thomas, Earl of Surrey, and afterwards Duke of Norfolk. We have no account of the exact time of his birth. He began very early to testify his inclination to the seafervice; for in 1492, when he was a very young man, he went out in a fleet commanded by Sir Edward Poynings, with a view of acquiring skill in naval affairs, and in the art of war. The fleet which Poynings commanded, which confifted of twelve fail, was fent by King Henry VII. to affift the Duke of Burgundy against his rebellious subjects. In consequence of this affistance from the King of England, the Duke was enabled to regain possession of the town and port of Sluys, which had been seized by his enemies. And in the course of this expedition, our young and noble seaman gave proofs of extraordinary bravery, and had on that account the honour of Knighthood conferred on him. He gave frequent inflances of his courage during the fame reign; and on the accession of Henry VIII. that Monarch made choice of him for his standard-bearer; which in those days, says Dr. Campbell, was not only a mark of particular favour, but of the highest considence and respect.

In 1511, Sir Andrew Barton, a Scotch seaman, with two stout veffels, committed piracy on the English coasts, and greatly interrupted the trade and navigation of the kingdom. His pretence was, letters of reprifal granted him against the Portuguese, by James III. late King of Scotland; and under colour of this he seized and plundered what ships he pleased, alledging that they had Portuguese goods on board. Complaint being made of these grievances to the Privy Council of England, Sir Edward Howard's father, the Earl of Surrey, declared, That the narrow seas should not be so insested, whilst he had " an estate that could furnish a ship, or a son who was capable of commanding one." And accordingly two ships were immediately fitted out by Sir Edward Howard and his elder brother Sir Thomas, and probably at their father's expence (w). Sir Thomas Howard, it is faid, served under his younger brother on this occasion, on account of the superior skill and expe-Vol. II. 3. rience

<sup>(</sup> w) Vid. Dr. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Edit. 1742, Vol. I. P. 321.

rience of the latter. These two gallant brothers having been fome days at fea, were feparated by a florm, which gave Sir Thomas Howard an opportunity of coming up with Sir Andrew Barton in the Lyon. An obstinate engagement immediately enfued, the fuccess of which was long doubtful. For the Scotch Commander, Barton, who was a bold and experienced feaman, having under him a determined crew, made a very desperate defence; but he was at length killed, having to the last encouraged his men with his whiftle. And the Commander being now dead, the ship was furrendered to Sir Thomas Howard. In the mean time, Sir Edward Howard came up with Barton's other ship, which was named the Jenny Perwin, and was a very strong veffel, and exceedingly well manned. After a sharp engagement, Sir Edward Howard made himself master of this ship also. And both the Scotch vessels, with the surviving part of their crews, which were in number one hundred and fifty men, were triumphantly brought into the river Thames, by the two noble brothers. The prisoners, having been some time confined, were afterwards fet at liberty. James IV. then King of Scotland, highly refented this action, and fent Ambassadors to the King of England, to demand fatisfaction. But Henry returned him this answer, " That punishing Pirates was never " confidered as a breach of peace among Princes."

The character of Sir Edward Howard for courage and naval abilities, was now so well established, that in 1512, he was appointed Lord High Admiral of England (x). And King Henry having entered into a war with France, the Marquis of Dorset was sent with a confiderable army into Biscay, in order to penetrate that way into the Province' of Guienne. The Marquis and his troops were convoyed by Sir Edward Howard; and when the forces were landed, the Lord Admiral put to fea again with his fquadron. He arrived on the coasts of Brittany, and having first cleared the fea of the enemy, he landed fome of his men about Conquet and Brest, who burnt several towns, and laid waste the country for some miles round. The French endeavoured to represent this as a mean way of making war upon helpless women, and defenceless villages. But Sir Edward Howard replied "That it was the duty of brave men to be guardians to both; " and that he should not be directed by an enemy in his man-" ner of making war." The French Monarch, alarmed at the English Admiral's success, immediately assembled a powerful sleet to oppose his progress. King Henry, having information of this, ordered five and twenty ships of war to be fitted out without delay, to go to the affiftance of the Lord Admiral; and

<sup>(</sup>x) He had ten thillings a day mariner, and gunner, ten thillings for his pay; each of his Captains every lunar month, for wages and eighteen-pence; and every foldier, victuals.

he went down himself to Portsmouth to hasten the armament, Among these ships were two of a very large fize, the one called the Regent, which was commanded by Sir Thomas Knevet; and the other, named the Sovereign, by Sir Charles Brandon, afterwards Duke of Suffolk. When Sir Edward Howard had received this reinforcement, his fleet comitted of forty-five fail. He immediately determined to attack the enemy, who were now ready to come out of the harbour of Breft. The French fleet, according to Lord Herbert, confilted of thirty-nine ships. The French Admiral, whose name was Primauget, or, as some say, Porsmoguer, was a very brave man; and the ship he commanded, which was called the Cordelier, was so large as to be able to carry twelve hundred men, exclusive of mariners. Sir Thomas Knevet, however, in the Regent, which was a much less ship, attacked and boarded the French Admiral. The action was maintained for some time with great bravery on both sides. at length the French ship took fire; and that and the Regent being closely grappled together, they both blew up, and fixteen hundred gallant men, besides the two Commanders, perished in an instant (y). This fatal stroke seems to have thrown both fleets into consternation; for though they had been for some time engaged, they foon after separated, without proceeding to any further hostilities on either side.

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In 1513, Sir Edward Howard put to fea again, with forty-two ships of war, besides small vessels, and forced the French into the harbour of Brest. He also made frequent descents upon the coasts of France, and ravaged the country round about. French King, therefore, ordered Pregent, one of his ablest sea Officers, to fail from Toulon with a squadron of gallies; and, after joining the Breft fleet, to come out and fight the English. Sir Edward Howard had information of this design, and formed a plan for burning the French ships in the harbour. He was so fanguine of his success in this affair, that he acquainted the King with it, and invited him to be present at so glorious an action; defiring that the King should rather have the honour of destroying the French naval force, than himfelf. But Sir Edward's letter being laid before the Council, they were of very different fentiments, confidering the affair as by much too hazardous for his Majesty's person to be exposed in it. They, therefore, wrote to the Admiral, commanding him not to fend excuses, but to do his duty. Sir Edward Howard was extremely piqued at this language; and he thought that, from his well known bravery, he ought not to have been subjected to such a reproof. However, he immediately prepared to enter the harbour. And for this purpose he ordered about fifteen hundred men into his boats, which Q 2

the French Admiral fet fire to his ship enemy together, than to submit to the purpose, chusing rather to blow English Commander.

which brought the French, to the number of ten thousand, down to line the shore; but the Admiral at length found his defign to be impracticable; for the French ships lay under the cover of their fortifications, and of a line of twenty-four large hulks lashed together, and which they intended to have set on fire, if the English had forced them to an engagement. Sir Edward put the best face he could upon this disappointment; and in the mean time received information that Pregent, with fix gallies, and four tenders, was arrived in Conquet bay, a little below Brest, and only waited for an opportunity of entering that harbour. The Lord Admiral hereupon sent a frigate to reconnoitre the fituation of the enemy, whom they perceived at an anchor between two rocks, on each of which flood a ftrong fort, and fo far up the bay, that it was not possible to bring any of the English ships of force to bear upon them. Sir Edward Howard, however, determined to attack them; and accordingly he manned the only two gallies he had in his fleet with some of his bravest men; and with two row-barges, and two tenders, he entered the bay. One of the gallies was commanded by himself, the other by Lord Ferrers. The chief Officers under them were Sir Thomas Cheney, Sir John Wallop, Sir Henry Shireburn, and Sir William Sidney. As there was a brisk gale of wind, they foon came up with the enemy; and Sir Edward Howard immediately attacked the French Admiral. Armed with his fword and target, he fearlefsly entered the ship of his enemy, having only eighteen Englishmen and one Spaniard attending him. But he had no sooner boarded the French vessel, than the grappling-tackle, which fastened his galley to that of the enemy, either slipped, or was cut asunder. Thus was the brave Admiral left to the mercy of the enemy. But he difdained that fafety which could only be purchased by captivity. He, therefore, took his whiftle (which in those days, we are told, was the badge of supreme command at sea), from his neck, and threw it into the sea; into which he himself, with seventeen of his followers, was immediately pushed by the pikes of his enemies (z).

Such was the immature death, on the 25th of April, 1513, of Sir Edward Howard, Knight of the Garter, and Lord High Admiral of England. He had great skill in maritime affairs, and possessed an extraordinary degree of bravery. It was his avowed maxim, "That a feaman never did good, who was not refo-"lute to a degree of madness." He was a warm friend to the interest of his country, and at all times ready to hazard his life

<sup>(</sup> z ) The death of the Lord Ad- home, without any further attempts miral fo discouraged the seamen, that upon the enemy. the English fleet soon after returned

and fortune in its defence. He was, however, not for promoting war on every trivial occasion; for he was an able Statesman, and a free speaker, as well as a great seaman.

Sir Edward Howard married Alice, widow to Sir William Parker, Knight, and daughter of William Lovell, Lord Morley,

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# The Life of THOMAS HOWARD, Earl of Surrey, Duke of Norfolk, and Lord High Admiral of England.

HOMAS HOWARD was the eldest fon of Thomas, Earl of Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, and brother to the brave Lord Admiral, who is the fubject of the preceding Life. We began with the younger brother first, for the same reason which is assigned by Dr. Campbell; namely, because though the junior son, he was the elder Admiral; and also because the occurrences in the Life of the elder brother carry us down to a much later period than those of the younger. Sir Thomas Howard early distinguished himself for his courage, and thirst for military glory. He engaged in the expedition against Sir Andrew Barton, in conjunction with his brother Sir Edward, as related in the preceding Life; and had himself the honour of taking Barton's ship. He attended the Marquis of Dorset in his expedition against Guienne, which was rendered unfuccessful by the infincerity of Ferdinand, King of Spain: and the Marquis falling fick, Sir Thomas Howard succeeded him, and shewed great conduct in bringing home the remainder of the English army.

A few months after Sir Thomas Howard's arrival in England, he received the ill news of his brother the Lord Admiral's death; whereupon the King immediately appointed him his successor. This promotion was very agreeable to Sir Thomas, as he was extremely desirous of revenging his brother's death upon the enemy. And before he set out to take upon him the command of the sleet, he petitioned that each ship should have a larger complement of m n. In the mean time Pregent, the French Admiral, encouraged by the death of Sir Edward Howard, and the consequent return of the sleet which had been under his command, had made a descent upon the coast of Sussex, and committed some disorders there; but receiving information that the English sleet was again putting to sea, he made the best of his way to the coast of France. And Sir Thomas Howard was so active, and scoured the seas of French vessels in such a manner, that not a bark of that nation durst appear. And on the first of July, 1513, he landed in Brittany, ravaged a part of the sountry, and burnt a considerable town.

King Henry was now in France, employed in the fiege of Terouenne (a). And James IV. King of Scotland, took this opportunity of invading England, supposing he should find that kingdom unprepared for its defence. But he foon found his mistake. The Earl of Surrey, father to the Lord Admiral, marched against him with a considerable army; and Sir Thomas Howard, receiving information of the Scottish King's invasion, immediately landed five thousand veteran troops, and marched at the head of them to join his father. The Earl of Surrey, having received this reinforcement, fent an Herald to the King of Scotland, to offer him battle: and Sir Thomas Howard fent him word at the same time, that he was come to answer for the death of Sir Andrew Barton. The Scottish King had in all his manifestoes mentioned the death of Barton, as one of the causes of the war. Sir Thomas Howard, therefore, seems to have thought himself obliged, in point of honour, to give some satisfaction for that affair in person. This defiance from the Earl of Surrey and his son, produced the samous battle of Flodden field, which was fought on the eighth of September, 1513. Sir Thomas Howard commanded the van-guard, and greatly contributed to the glorious victory which the English then obtained, by the valour and military skill which he exerted on that important occasion (b). And in consideration of the great merits and fervices of the Earl of Surrey and his fon, King Henry, in 1514, created the Earl Duke of Norfolk, and his fon, the Lord Admiral, Earl of Surrey, and he accordingly took his feat in the House of Peers, not as a Duke's son, but according to his crea-

A peace being now concluded with France, the martial talents of the new Earl of Surrey lay for some time unemployed. His father, the Duke of Norsolk, was Lord High Treasurer, but at great variance with Cardinal Wolsey; and as to the Earl of Surrey, his animosity against him was so great, that we are told he one day drew his dagger upon the haughty Prelate. In 1519, the Earl of Surrey was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland. That kingdom was at this time in such disorder, and the Irish Chiefs were so exceedingly turbulent, that this was a very troublesome post. However, the Earl of Surrey, by his vigilance and activity, suppressed Desmond's rebellion, humbled the O'Neals and O'Carrols, and without practising severity, brought the assairs of Ireland into good order. He gained the affections of the people, and held a Parliament at Dublin in 1521; after which he was recalled; but on his quitting the island, he left it in great tranquility.

In 1522, King Henry again entered into a war with France; and having at the same time engaged in an alliance with the

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Emperor Charles V. that Prince, in consequence of this alliance, joined his naval force with that of England. The Emperor's fleet consisted of one hundred and eighty fail; and the Lord Admiral, the Earl of Surrey, by especial permission from King Henry, received the Emperor's commission to be Admiral also of the Imperial fleet (c). With these united fleets, the Earl of Surrey failed over to the coast of Normandy. He landed fome of his troops at Cherburgh, and ravaged all the adjacent country; after which, re-embarking his men, he returned to Portland, In a few days after, he fet fail again, and landed a very large body of troops on the coast of Brittany. He attacked the town of Morlaix, took it by storm, and plundered it. He also burnt seventeen sail of French ships on the coast, and then returned, with a very rich booty, to Southampton. But he previously detached a squadron, under the command of Vice-Admiral Fitz-williams (d), with orders to continue cruizing, and fcouring

London, June the 8th, 1522, and is very honourable to the Lord Admiral. Part of it runs in the following terms: of Charles V. by the Divine favour and clemency elected most august Emperor of the Romans, King of Germany, Spain, both Sicilies, Jerufalem, Hungary, &c. Whereas the most ferene and powerful Prince, Henry VIII. King of England and France, our most dear brother, uncle, and confederate, -hath most justly proclaimed war against Francis, King of France; - and to carry this on more effectually, hath, among other warlike preparations, fitted out a fleet which he hath put under the com-mand of the most illustrious Tho-mas, Earl of Surrey, our most dear coufin, Knight of the most noble Order of the Garter, Lord High Admiral of England, Wales, Ireland, Normandy, Gascoigne, and Acquitain: We likewise, with the same reason, have decreed to insest and invade the faid common enemy, the King of France, with our forces at fea, by joining our fleet, with that of our aforefaid most serene uncie, both in confideration of the valour, skill, and courage, and other fingular virtues of the said Admiral; whereby he is rendered capable, not only of this, but even of a greater trust; as also because whatsoever is undertaken by confederate forces, and united arms, may be better executed, by be-

(c) This commission is dated at ing under the conduct of one Captain General than many: Therefore, by these our letters patent, we grant and give to the said most illustrious Thomas, Earl of Surrey, Lord High Admiral, and Captain General of the navy of our most ferene uncle, the fame authority, full and plenary power, over our Royal navy, the Captains, foldiers, and feamen thereof, of what degree, title, or rank foever, which the faid Admiral hath in the King his mafter's fleet : both in promoting the officers, in conferring the honour of Knighthood on persons of merit, in punishing malesactors, in giving out-fitting orders, judging and trying all causes, as also in executing and appointing all and every thing under his command, according to the authority by the aforesaid King to him granted, and as the fingular skill and prudence of him, as Captain General and Commander in Chief of the fleet, shall, on all occasions, judge needful or expedient to be done."
Vid. Lediard's Naval History, Vol. I.

P. 99, 100.
(d) Sir WILLIAM FITZ-WIL-LIAMS, afterwards Earl of Southampton, was fecond fon to Sir Tho-mas Fitz-williams, and Lucia, daugh-ter of John Nevil. Marquis Monta-cute. He early addicted himfel? to arms, and particularly to the fea-ferof Henry VIII, he was appointed one of the Efquires of the King's

fcouring the fea. On the Earl of Surrey's arrival at Southampton, he found the Emperor Charles there, ready to embark for Spain, he having been some time in England on a visit to King Henry. The Lord Admiral, therefore, took the Emperor Vol. II. 3.

body. In 1513, he had a command in the fleet which fought the French off Breft, and behaving very bravely there, received a dangerous wound in the breaft by a broad arrow. This, however, did not prevent him from being prefent at the flege of Tournay the fame year, where he diftinguished himself in an extraordinary manner in the fight of the King, and was on that account honoured with knight-hood.

In 1520, he executed the office of Vice-Admiral during the absence of the Earl of Surrey, then Lord deputy of Ireland; and he conveyed the King over to France, when he went thinher to have an interview with Francis I. And two years after, on the breaking out of a war with that Prince, Sir William Fitz-williams was fent with a good fleet to protect. our trade, and to annoy the enemy, a fervice which he effectually performed. In the 16th year of Henry VIII. he was appointed Captain of Guines The following castle in Picardy. year he was fent Ambaffador into France, and executed his commission with formuch ability and fuccess, that he thenceforward greatly advanced in the King's favour. After the fall of Cardinal Wolfey, to whom he was no friend, we find him an active man in Parliament. In the 27th of the fame reign he was again employed on an Embaffy to France; and in the following year, being already Trea-furer of the Houshold, Chancellor of the Dutchy of Lancaster, and Knight of the Garter, the King, by letters patent, raifed him to the dignity of Admiral of England, Ireland, Wales, Normandy, Gascoigne, and Aquitain; and foon after created him Earl of Southampton. He was afterwards appointed Lord Privy Seal, in which quality we find that, with John, Lord Ruffel, who fucceeded him as High Admiral, he went over into France, where the war was again broke out, with two troops of horse; which shews, says Dr. Campbell, his P. 328, 329.

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martial spirit, and how loth he was to quit the fervice of his country in a military way. He was now far advanced in years, and his constitution much broken by continual fatigues. However, on the breaking out of a war with Scotland, to which his old friend and Commander, Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, was immediately ordered with a numerous army, our veteran Chief would not remain behind, but with a body of horse and foot brifkly led the van. This, however, proved the last flashings of his heroic flame; for at Newcastle, overcome with fatigue and difeafe, he breathed his last, to the great regret of the King, as well as of his General, who commanded his banner to be borne, as it had hitherto been, in the front of the army, all the reft of the expedition, as a mark of respect to his memory. He married Mabel, daughter of Henry, Lord Clifford, by whom he had no iffue; but he left behind him a natural fon, Thomas Fitz-williams, alias Fisher.

Sir William Fitz-williams, Earl of Southampton, was a very able man, and a brave and vigilant officer. It has been observed of him, that there was not a serviceable man under him whose name he knew not, not a week passed but he paid his ships, and not a prize taken by him which his seamen did not share in as well as himself i it being a maxim with him, That none sought well, but those who did it for a sortune.

It was in the reign of Henry VIII. that the fea fervice became a diffinct and regular profession in England, King Henry having a Navy Office, Commissioners, &c. which his predections had not. He also fixed regular salaries for his Admirals, Vice-Admirals, Captains, and seamen: so that under him naval affairs underwent a great change, and we have had a constant series of Officers in the Royal Navy ever fince.—Carapbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I.

on board his ship, and fafely convoyed him to the port of St;

Andero in Biscay.

In the fourteenth of King Henry's reign, the old Duke of Norfolk being wearied with the fatigue of public business, refigned his office of Lord Treasurer, and the King thereupon conferred it upon his son the Earl of Surrey. He was also entrusted by the King with the army raised to invade Scotland, and in the station of General did considerable service against the Duke of Albany. And before that Nobleman's arrival in Scotland (e), he ravaged all Tweedale and March with great severity (f). But a truce being concluded with the Scots in 1523, the Earl of Surrey returned home, and dismissed his troops.

About this time died Thomas, Duke of Norfolk (g), father to our Earl of Surrey; in consequence of which the latter became Duke of Norfolk. He was afterwards also constituted Earl Marshal of England; and attended King Henry into France, and was sent principal Ambassador to the French King, when that Monarch was proceeding to an interview with the Pope. In the twenty-eighth year of this reign, he assisted the Earl of Shrewsbury in suppressing a formidable rebellion. And

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(e) The Duke of Albany was for fome time Regent of Scotland, during the minerity of James V. Vid.

Vol. I. P. 409, 410, 411.

(f) In a letter of Cardinal Wolfey's, there is the following description of the devastation made by the Earl of Surrey, and of the distress to which many of the Scots were at this time reduced. "The Earl of Surrey (fays the Cardinal) hath so devasted and destroyed all Tweedale and March, that there is lest neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle, com, or other succour for man; infomuch that some of the people that fled from the same, aste wards returning, and finding no sustenance, were compelled to come into England, begging bread, which oftentiness when they do eat, they die incontinently for the hunger past; and with no imprisonment, cutting off their ears, burning in the faces, or otherwise, can be kept away." Guthrie's Hist, of England, Vol. II. P. 044.

P. 944.

(g) THOMAS, Duke of NORFOLK, father to our Lord Admiral, was fon of John, Duke of Norfolk, who was killed in the battle of Befworth. He did not, however, fucceed to his father's title on his death, because both himself and his father had joined with

Richard III. and he also forfeited the title of earl of Surrey, which had been conferred on him by the Usurper. But notwithflanding Henry VII. afterwards fo far restored him to favour, as to appoint him to be one of his privy council; and in the fourth year of the fame reign he was restored to the title of Earl of Surrey. King Henry alfo employed him in restraining the incursions of the Scots, and supprelling some northern infurrections. In the 16th of Henry VII. he was constituted Lord Treasurer of England, which was renewed to him in the first of Henry VIII. being likewife made one of that prince's privy council, and the year following, Earl Marshal of England for life. He attended Henry VIII. at the taking of Terouenne and Tournay; and was afterwards fent General against the Scots, and routed their army in the famous battle of Flodden field, in which the Scottish king, James IV. was slain. He was attended in this battle by two of his fons, Thomas, the Lord Admiral, and Lord Edmund, a third fon. For these services he was restored to his father's title of Duke of Norfolk. He also had a grant from the crown of feveral manors and lordships. He was a public-spirited Nobleman, of considerable abilities; and great bravery.

in 1542, he was again appointed to command an army against the Scots, in which expedition he acquitted himself with his

usual ability and bravery.

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The Duke of Norfolk had by many important fervices proved himself to be an honest and able servant to the Crown. notwithstanding this, the enemies of the Norfolk family found means to work the King up into a persuasion, that the Duke of Norfolk, and his son Henry, Earl of Surrey, were in a plot to feize upon his person, and to engross the Government into their own hands. And some private dissentions which at this time prevailed in the Duke of Norfolk's family, contributed greatly to forward the defigns of his enemies. His present Dutchess, who was daughter of Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, who had fuffered in this reign, had long suspected her husband of infidelity to her bed; and the Duke by his behaviour, we are told, feemed to be at no great pains to remove her jealoufy. The Dutches, therefore, desirous of revenge, gave information to the Duke's enemies of whatever she could discover, either of his fecrets or resentments. Elizabeth Holland also, a mistress of the Duke's, was prevailed upon to give all the information she could both against the father, and the son, who hated her. There were misunderstandings also among other branches of the Duke's family; and his enemies took advantage of this, to collect to gether whatever they could against him. But when they had done, the whole scarce amounted to the colour of an accusation. However, the Duke of Norfolk, and his fon, the Earl of Surrey, were both committed to the Tower. But the evidence of the Dutchess of Norfolk against her husband, amounted to little more than complaints of the Duke's insidelity, and his using her ill. As to Mrs. Holland, she deposed, that the Duke had in confidence told her, that he was hated by the King's Council, many of whom were not born Noblemen, and because of his affection to the Popish doctrine of the Sacrament. that he had complained that he was not in the Cabinet Council; and had faid, that the King was now so corpulent and diseased, that he was let up and down stairs by an engine (b). She also declared, that the Duke had said, that his Majesty was sickly, and could not hold out long; and that the Realm was likely to be in an ill case through diversity of opinions. And that he had also said, that the King loved him not, because he was too much loved in his country; but that he would follow his father's lesson, which was, That the less others fet by him, the more he would fet by himfelf (i).

The Duke of Norfolk was fo closely confined, that he was obliged to petition the Lords of the Council, to be allowed fome books; for (faid he) "unless I may have books to read

<sup>(</sup>b) Vid. Guthrie's Hift. of England, Vol. II. P. 1121.
(i) Vid. Lord Herbert's Hift. of King Henry Vill. edit. 1683. P. 624.
625.

" 'ere I fall on fleep, and after I wake again, I cannot fleep, nor " did not this dozen years." Nay, so little regard was paid to the merits or dignity of the noble Duke, that he was obliged to petition even for Sheers! He wrote a pathetic letter to the King, in which he pleaded his past services, and protested his innocence. But this by no means pacified Henry. And the Duke was at length prevailed upon, in hopes of appearing Henry, to make a submission, and sign a confession; in which, however, the greatest crime he acknowledged, was, his having concealed the manner in which his fon bore his coat armour. As to the Earl of Surrey, he was brought to his trial, and, on very trivial pretences, condemned and executed. And a bill of attainder against the Duke of Norfolk was brought into the House of Peers, and they passed it without his being suffered to speak in his own defence, and sent it down to the Commons. The King was now in a dangerous fituation, and hastening fast towards his end; and having harboured a notion that the Duke of Norfolk might disturb the tranquility of his young successor, Prince Edward, and fearing left the Duke should escape him, he fent a message to the Commons, by which he desired them to hasten the bill. The Commons accordingly complied, and passed the bill; and the King, having given the Royal assent to it by Commissioners, issued orders for the execution of the Duke of Norfolk on the morning of the 29th of January, 1547. But the King himself expired early in the morning of the preceding day. The Lieutenant of the Tower, therefore, deferred the execution of the warrant; and it was not thought expedient by the Council, to begin a new reign by the death of the greatest Nobleman in the kingdom, and who had been condemned by an unjust and tyrannical sentence (k).

In consequence of this narrow escape, the Duke of Norfolk's life was some years prolonged; he was, however, continued in his confinement in the Tower, during the whole reign of King Edward VI. but on the accession of Queen Mary, he was set at liberty, and his attainder taken off. And he foon after commanaed a body of troops, which were fent to suppress the insurrection of Sir Thomas Wyat (1). But he died, in an advanced age, in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign.

The Duke of Norfolk was a brave and experienced Admiral, an able General, and a great Statesman. But he was a great enemy to the Reformation, and to all who promoted it. He was twice married; first, to the Lady Anne, daughter of King Edward IV. by whom he had iffue only one son, Thomas, who died young. His second wife was Elizabeth, daughter of Edward Dules of Balanche and Bush of Edward Dules of Balanche and Bush of Balanche and B ward, Duke of Buckingham; by whom he had iffue two fons, Henry,

<sup>(1)</sup> Vid. Speed's Hift. of Great (k) Vid. Hume's Hift. of England, Vol. IV. P. 285. Britain, P. 1112 edir 4

### The Life of THOMAS, Duke of Norfolk. 133

Henry, Earl of Surrey, who was beheaded in his life-time; and another named Thomas, afterwards created Viscount Howard of Bindon. He had also by the same Lady one daughter, named Mary, who was married to Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, natural son to King Henry VIII.

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## The Life of HENRY HOWARD, Earl of Surrey.

HIS brave and accomplished Nobleman was the fon of Thomas, Duke of Norfolk, the subject of our preceding life, and Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, Duke of Buckingham. He received his education at Windfor with Henry Fitz-roy, Duke of Richmond, natural fon to King Henry VIII (m). He gave early indications both of valour, and of genius; and becoming violently enamoured of a young Lady, who was Maid of Honour to one of King Henry's Queens, (probably Queen Catherine Howard), he displayed his poetical abilities, by celebrating her under the name of Geral-dine. This is supposed to have been Lady Elizabeth Fitz-gerald, daughter of Gerald Fitz-gerald, Earl of Kildare ( n ). Our young Nobleman was fo transported with his passion for this Lady, that he made a tour to the most elegant Courts in Europe, to maintain her peerless beauty against all opposers, and every where made good his challenge with honour. He particularly went to Florence, a city which had been the dwelling place of some of the Lady's ances-tors, and there published a challenge against all comers, whether Christians, Turks, Jews, or Saracens, in defence of his mistress's beauty. And in the course of his combats for his mistress, he fo much engaged the regard of the Duke of Tuscany, by his valour and skill in arms, that he offered him the highest preferments, if he would continue at his Court. This proposal, however, he declined; and was about to proceed to some other cities of Italy, in order to maintain in like manner the beauty of the fair Geraldine; but his defign was frustrated by letters being fent him by King Henry VIII. commanding his speedy return into England.

In 1544, the Earl of Surrey was made Field-Marshal of the English army in France; and having greatly distinguished him-

(m) This young prince, who was but feventeen years of age when he died, was much celebrated by the writers of his owntime for his accomplishments both of body and mind. He was married to the fifter of our early of Sprrey, as hath been before observed in another place. He was made duke of Richmond and Somer-

fet, and earl of Nottingham; and, notwithstanding his youth, Lord High Admiral of all Henry's dominions, English, French, and Irish.

(n) Vid. Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, by the Hon. Mr. Horace Walpole, Vol. I, P. 105-109.

felf there, was, after the taking of Boulogne, being then Knight of the Garter, constituted the King's Lieutenant, and Captain-General of all his army, within the town and county of Boulogne. During his Command there in 1546, hearing that a convoy of provisions for the enemy was coming to the fort at Outre-Eau, he resolved to intercept it. But the convoy being supported by a very confiderable body of French and Germans, and making an obstinate defence, the English were routed; Sir Edward Poynings, Marshal of Calais, and a very brave and experienced Officer, with feveral other persons of note, were killed in the action; and the Earl of Surrey was forced to make a precipitate retreat into Boulogne. This difgrace, however, he foon repaired; but he could never after regain the King's favour, " in whose eyes (as Mr. Walpole observes) a moment

" could cancel an age of fervices." ( o )

The Earl of Surrey's ill fuccess in this affair having thus brought on him the displeasure of the King, the Earl of Hertford was fent over to command in his place. Surrey, who appears to have been of a warm temper, being exasperated at this, is faid to have let fall some expressions, which savoured of dis-like to the King, and of hatred to his Ministers; and which is supposed to have been one of the causes of his ruin. The King had also conceived prejudices against the Earl of Surrey on another account. The Duke of Norfolk, who discovered the growing power of the Seymours, and the influence which they were likely to have in the next reign, (on account of their relationship to Prince Edward, by the mother's side), was desirous of making an alliance with them: he had, therefore, preffed his fon Surrey to marry the Earl of Hertford's daughter (p); and had also proposed to marry his own daughter, the Dutchess Dowager of Richmond, to Sir Thomas Seymour. But the Earl of Surrey absolutely refused marrying Hertford's daughter; and as neither of the proposed marriages took effect, the Seymours and Howards became thenceforward open enemies. the

Poets, mentions Henry Earl of Surrey's distinguishing himself at the battle of Flodden-field. But that is a mistake. The General who com- succeeded his Grandfather, the duke manded the English army in that of Norfolk, in his honours & estates, battle, was Thomas, Earl of Surrey, (afterwards Duke of Norfolk) and grandfather to the Nobleman of whom we are now treating. And there were also present in that battle, Thomas, the father of our Earl of may be feen in the preceeding life.

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flance, that the Earl of Surrey must marriage with her, have been at this time a widower;

(0) Cibber, in his Lives of the for he had been married to Frances, daughter to John, Earl of Oxford, by whom he had two fons, and three daughters. His eldest fon, Thomas, upon the death of the latter, in the beginning of the reign of queen Mary. The Earl's fecond fon, Henry, was afterwards created Lord How ard, and Earl of Northampton. No account is transmitted down to us, of Surrey, and Edmund, his uncle, as the causes which prevented the Earl tay be feen in the preceeding life. of Surrey's gallantries for the fair (p) It appears from this circum-Geraldine, from terminating in a

the enemies of the Norfolk family instilled into the King apprehentions of the ambitious defigns of the Duke of Norfolk and his fon; and infinuated to him, that the reason of the Earl of Surrey's refusing to marry Hertford's daughter, was because he had entertained views of espousing the Princess Mary.

Some accusations were about this time brought both against the Duke of Norfolk and his fon; and the defigns of their enemies were greatly advanced, as we have before observed in the preceding life, by the diffentions in the Norfolk family. Richard Southwell appeared before a Committee of the Couns cil, and declared, that he had fome matters of treason to disclose against the Earl of Surrey. The Earl disclaimed the charge with great warmth, and offered to fight his accuser in his shirt, according to the law of arms; but the Council would not permit this, and both the Earl and his father were committed to the Tower.

On the 15th of January, 1547, the Earl of Surrey was tried at Guildhall, on a charge of high treason, by a Jury of Commoners, before the Lord Chancellor, the Lord Mayor, aud other Commissioners appointed for the purpose. The principal accufation against him, was his quartering the arms of Edward the Confessor on his scutcheon, from which it was inferred, that he aspired to the Crown; though he justified what he had done, by the opinion of the heralds. The Dutchess of Richmond, the Earl's fifter, who had been some time at variance with him, deposed, that her brother had a coroner to his arms, which to her judgment feemed a close crown, and a cypher which she took to be the King's; and that he diffuaded her from going too far in reading the Scriptures. Other charges were brought against him, equally trifling, particularly that he had entertained in his family some Italians who were suspected to be spies. The Earl defended himself with great eloquence and spirit (q); but the

Jury, notwithstanding, found him guilty (r). And the un-

(9) " The Earl (fays Lord Herbert) as he was of a deep understanding, harp wit, and deep courage, defended himfelf many ways; fometimes deaying their accusations as falle, and together weakening the credit of his adversaries; and fometimes interpreting the words he faid, in a far other sense than that in which they were represented .- When a witness was brought against him viva voce, who pretended to repeat fome high words of the Earl's by way of discourse, which concerned him nearly, and that thereupon the said witness should return a braving answer: the Earl replied no otherwise to the jury, than that he left it to them to judge,

whether it were probable that this man should speak thus to the Earl of Surry, and he not frike him again."

Hist. of King Henry p. 626, 627.
(r) " Lord Herbert (fays Mr. Walpole) infinuates, that the Earl would not have been condemned, if he had not been a Commoner, and tried by a Jury. On what could he ground this favourable opinion of the Peers? What twelve tradefmen could be found more fervile than almost every court of Peers, during that reign? Was the Duke of Buckingham, was Anne Boleyn, condemned by a Jury, or by great Lords?" Catal. of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. I. P. 1004

fortunate Nobleman was by the King's command, a few days after, beheaded on Tower-Hill (a).

Thus fell, in the prime of his life, HENRY, Earl of SUR-REY: " a man," who, (as Sir Walter Raleigh observes) was " no less valiant than learned, and of excellent hopes." He excelled in all the military exercises of that age, and encouraged literature and the fine arts, both by his patronage and example. He cultivated the friendship of learned men, particularly Erafmus and Sir Thomas More; and Sir Thomas Wyat, the elder, was among the number of his friends (r). He was univerfally acknowledged to be the most gallant man, the most polite lover, and the most accomplished gentleman of his time. And his poetical talents have been celebrated by Drayton, Dryden, Fenton, and Pope.

It is faid, that one of King Henry's Courtiers having asked him why he was so zealous in taking off the Earl of Surrey; " I have Vol. II. 3.

chapel of the Tower, and afterwards in the reign of King James I. his remains were removed to Farmingham in Suffolk, by his fecond fon Henry, Earl of Northampton. (r) Sir THOMAS WYAT, was

fon to Sir Henry Wyat, of Allington-castle in Kent. He received the ru-diments of his education at Cambridge, and was afterwards fent to Oxford to finish it. He afterwards travelled into foreign countries for further improvement, and particularly continued fome time in Italy. And he made fuch good use of his time, and profecuted his studies with so much success, perfecting himself in the mean while in all the manly and military exercises of the age, that at his return to his native country he was efteemed a very accomplished Gentleman, and a very fine Scholar. He was introduced at court, where his endowments both of body and mind recommended him to the favour of King Henry VIII. who conferred on him the honour of knighthood, and employed him in which he several foreign embassies, discharged with great ability. He was highly esteemed by the Earl of Surrey, who greatly admired his poetical performances. Sir Thomas Wyat wrote feveral poems of love and gallantry; fome of which were published together with those of the

(a) He was first interred in the Earl of Surrey. He also translated appel of the Tower, and afterwards the Pfalms of David into English verse. He published likewise Letters to John Poynes and Sir Francis Bryan, which (Mrs. Cooper fays) " argue him a man of great sense and honour, a critical observer of manners, and very well qualified for an elegant and

genteel Satirift.'

Sir Thomas Wyat, according to fome writers, died of the plague, as he was going on an embassy to the emperor Charles V. But Anthony Wood informs us, that he was fent by King Henry towards Falmouth in Cornwall, to conduct a Spanish Minister from thence to London. And being defirous of making great expedition, he fo over-fatigued himfelf, that he was thrown into a fever, and was obliged to put up at Sherborne in Dorfetthire, where he a few days after died, in the 38th year of his age; " to the great reluctancy," fays Wood, " of the king, kingdom, his friends, and all that knew the great worth and virtues of the person." He was buried in Sherborne-church in 1541. He left behind him a fon of the fame name, who loft his head for exciting a rebellion in the reign of Queen Mary; from whom our Poet is commonly diftiguished by the ap-pellation of Sir Thomas Wyat the elder.

Vid. Athen, Oxen, vol. I. fol. 49,50

I have o bserved him (faid Henry) to be an enterprizing youth; has spirit was too great to brook subjection; and tho' " I could manage him, yet no successor of mine would ever " be able to do so; for which reason I have dispatched him in " my own time."

We have extant a small volume of elegant and tender sonnets composed by the Earl of Surrey. He was a great refiner of the English language, and is much celebrated for the sweetness and armony of his numbers. Bale and Tanner afcribe likewise to ord Surrey the following translations and poems.

Ecclefiaftes and fome Pfalms.

One book of Virgil, in blank verse.--Wood says he translated two.

Poems, addressed to the Duke of Richmond. Satires on the citizens of London, in one book.

Juvenile Poems. And a translation of "Boccace's consola-

" tion to Pinus on his exile (s)."

The author of " The Art of English Poetry" observes, that " Sir Thomas Wyat the elder, and Henry, Earl of Surrey, were the two chieftains, who having travelled into Italy, and there tasted the sweet and stately measures and stile of the " Italian poetry, greatly polished our rude and homely manner of vulgar poetry, from what it had been before; and therefore may be juftly called, The Reformers of our English
Poetry and Stile." It must, however, be observed, that the poetical productions of Sir Thomas Wyat were not equal, either with respect to imagination, or harmony of numbers, to those of the Earl of Surrey. The ingenious Mrs. Elizabeth Cooper fays of the latter, that "in purity of language, and " fweetness of found, he far surpassed his cotemporaries, and all " that had preceded him. Nay, I believe no writer that fol-

" lowed him for many years, can justly vie with him in either of these beauties. In a word, he broke through the fashion " of stanzas, and wrote so much in the manner of the present "times, that many of his lines would do honour to the most

" elegant of the moderns (t)."

Before we conclude, we shall lay before our readers a specimen or two of Lord Surrey's poetry.

THE RESTLESS CONDITION OF A LOVER DESCRIBED.

When youth had led me half the race, That Cupid's scourge had made me run; I looked back to meet the place, From whence my weary course begun :

And

(1) Vid Catal. of Royal and Noble (1) Vid. the Muses Library, edit. Authors, Vol. I. P. 1101 1738, P. 56,

And then I faw how my defire, Misguiding me, had led the way, Mine eyne too greedy of their hire, Had made me lose a better prey. For when in fighs I spent the day, And could not cloak my grief with gain; The boiling smoke did still bewray, The present heat of secret slame: And when falt tears do bayne my breaft, Where love his pleasant traynes hath fown, Her beauty hath the fruits opprest, Ere that the buds were fprung and blown. And when mine eyne did still pursue, The flying chase of their request; Their greedy looks did oft renew, The hidden wound within my breast. When ev'ry look these cheeks might stain, From deadly pale to glowing red; By outward figns appeared plain, To her for help my heart was fled. But, all too late, Love learneth me, To paint all kind of colours new; To blind their eyes that else should fee My speckled cheeks with Cupid's hue. And now the covert breaft I claim, That worshipt Cupid secretly; And nourished his facred flame, From whence no blairing sparks do fly.

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# ON THE DISCONTENT OF MEN, IN EVERY AGE AND CONDITION OF LIFE.

Laid in my quiet bed, in study as I were,
I saw within my troubled head, a heap of thoughts appear,
And every thought did did shew so lively in mine eyes,
That now I sigh'd, and then I smil'd, as cause of thoughts did

I saw the little boy, in thought how oft that he,
Did wish of God, to scape the rod, a tall young man to be.
The young man eke, that feels his bones with pains opprest,
How he would be a rich old man, to live and lie at rest.
The rich old man that sees his end draw on so fore,
How he would be a boy again, to live so much the more.
Whereat full oft I smil'd, to see how all these three,
From boy to man, from man to boy, would chop and change
degree.

And musing thus, I think, the case is very strange,

That man from wealth, to live in woe, doth ever seek to
change:

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Thus

Thus, thoughtful as I lay, I faw my withered skin,
How it doth shew my dented jaws, the slesh was worn so thin,
And eke my toothless chaps, the gates of my right way,
That opes and shuts, as I do speak, do thus unto me say:
The white and hoarish hairs, the messengers of age,
That shew, like lines of true belief, that this life doth asswape,
Bids thee lay hand, and feel them hanging on thy chin;
The which doth write to ages past, the third now coming in:
Hang up, therefore, the bit of thy young wanton time,
And thou that therein beaten art, the happiest life define.
Whereat I sigh'd, and said, Farewell my wonted toy,
Truss up thy pack, and trudge from me to every little boy;
And tell them thus from me, their time most happy is,
If to their time they reason had, to know the truth of this.



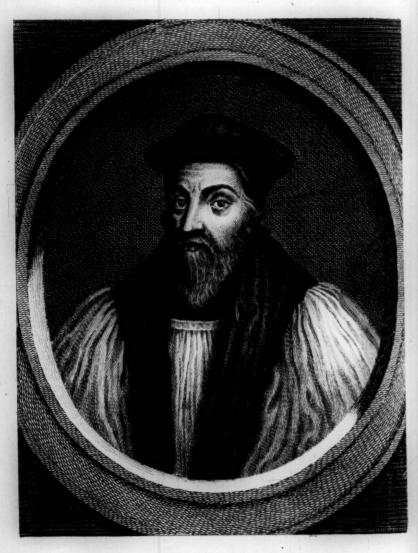
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HUGH LATIMER

Bishop of Worcester.

## The Life of HUGH LATIMER, Bishop of Worcester.

UGH LATIMER was born at Thirkesson, or Thurcasson, in Leicestershire, about the year 1470 (w). His father was a reputable yeoman, who had no land of his own, but rented a small farm, on which he maintained a large family, six daughters, and a son (w). He was brought up with his parents in his younger years, and discovering a promising genius, his friends resolved to make a scholar of him. Accordingly, after he had acquired as much learning as he could at the common schools in his own country, he was sent, at the age of sourteen, to Christ's College in Cambridge, where he applied himself closely to his studies, took the degree of Master of Arts, and entered into holy orders.

Mr. Latimer had very strongly imbibed the principles of the Romish religion, and was very warm in opposing the progress of Lutheranism. He inveighed publicly and privately against the Reformers. If any read lectures in the schools suspected of their tenets, Mr. Latimer, we are told, was sure to be there to drive out the scholars; and having an opportunity, when he commenced Batchelor of Divinity, to give an open testimony of his dislike to their proceedings, he made an oration against Melancthon, whom he treated with great severity for his impious innovations in religion. In short, Mr. Latimer's zeal for the doctrines of the Church was so much taken notice of in the University,

(u) So Mr. Gilpin fays; but, ac- dred fheep, and thin cording to fome writers, he was not found the King a

born till about 1475. or 1480. Vid. B10GR. BRIT. Vol. V. P. 2879.

(w) Mr. Latimer, in one of his court fermons in King Edward's time, inveighing against the oppression then exercised in the country by the nobility and gentry, and speaking of the moderation of landlords a few years before, and the plenty in which their tenants lived, tells his audience, in his familiar way, "That upon a farm of four pounds a year at the utmost, his father tilled as much ground as kept half a dozen men; that he had it stocked with an hun-

dred sheep, and thirty cows; that he found the King a man and horse, himself remembering to have buckled on his father's harnes, when he went to Blackheath; that he gave his daughters sive pounds a-piece at mrrriage; that he lived hospitably among his neighbours, and was not backward in his aims to the poor." An entertaining picture of an old English yeoman! Vid. Life of Bishop Latimer, edit. 1755. P. 1, 2. by William Gilpin. M. A. a gentleman to whose ingenious pen the public are also indebted for several other valuable biographical compilations.

University, that he was elected into the office of Cross-bearer in all public processions; an employment which he accepted with

reverence, and discharged with becoming solemnity.

Among those in Cambridge, who at this time favoured the Reformation, the most considerable was Thomas Bilney. He was a man of a virtuous and exemplary life; and having long observed the dissolute lives of the Monks and Clergy, he was led to doubt, whether their principles might not be as corrupt as their practice; and whether the new opinions, which were then gaining ground, might not be more than plausible. Time encreased his suspicions. He read the writings of Luther, and approved them. He conversed with Protestants, and sound many of them to be men of temper and learning. And he could not help observing among the Papists, a prevailing bitterness and rancour of style, which ill became a good cause. In short, he examined with care and attention many of the capital doctrines of the Romish Church; and of course became convinced, that

they were at once irrational and unfcriptural.

Mr. Latimer had the good fortune to be well acquainted with this worthy person. And Mr. Bilney had long conceived very favourable sentiments of Mr. Latimer. He knew that his life in the University was devout and irreproachable; he ascribed his failings to the genius of his religion; and notwithstanding his great zeal in the profession of that religion, he observed in him an open and candid temper, and much honesty of heart. Encouraged by these favourable appearances, Mr. Bilney suggested to Mr. Latimer, as opportunities offered, many things about corruptions in religion; and would frequently hint to him, that there were fome things in the Romish Church not quite confonant to primitive Christianity. Thus, by starting objections, and infufing suspicions, Mr. Bilney prepared the way for his whole creed, which at length he opened; and, by degrees, he in the end fully convinced Mr. Latimer of the numerous errors of the Romish Church, and of the great necessity of a Reformation (x).

As Mr. Latimer was naturally of a warm temper, he no fooner ceased from being a zealous Papist, than he became a zealous Protestant. And accordingly he was now very active in supporting and propagating the reformed opinions; and laboured with great affiduity to make converts, both in the town, and in the University. He preached in public, he exhorted in private; and every where pressed the necessity of a holy life, in opposition to the superstitious ceremonies and observances

which prevailed in the Romish religion.

This behaviour in Mr. Latimer, a man who had been hitherto diffinguished by his zealous attachment to the doctrines of the Church, made a considerable noise at Cambuidge; and Mr. Lati-

the generality of his brother Ecclefiaftics. But the first remarkable opposition that he met with from the Popish party, was occasioned by a course of sermons preached by him before the University during the Christmas holidays; in which he spoke his sentiments with great freedom upon many of the opinions

and usages of the Romish Church.

In these fermons, Mr. Latimer shewed the impiety of indulgences, the uncertainty of tradition, and the vanity of works of supererrogation. He inveighed against that multiplicity of ceremonies with which religion was in those days incumbered; and the pride and usurpation of the Romish hierarchy. But what he most insisted upon was, that great abuse of locking up the Scriptures in an unknown tongue; and he gave his reasons why it ought to be put into every one's hands, without the least reserve. And he endeavoured to shew what true religion was; that it was seated in the heart; and that, in comparison with it,

external appointments were of no value.

Great was the outcry raifed against Mr. Latimer on account of these discourses. He was now a preacher of some eminence, and began to display an uncommon address in accommodating himself to the capacities of the people. And the orthodox Clergy observing him to be much followed, thought it was high time to oppose him openly. This task was undertaken by Dr. Buckenham, Prior of the Black Friars, who appeared in the pulpit a few Sundays after, and with great pomp and pro-lixity, shewed the dangerous tendency of Mr. Latimer's opinions: and he particularly inveighed against his heretical notions of having the Scriptures published in English, laying open the ill consequences which would result from such an innovation. " If that herefy (faid he) should prevail, we should soon see an end of every thing useful among us. The plowman reading, " that if he put his hand to the plough, and should happen to " look back, he was unfit for the kingdom of GOD, would " foon lay afide his labour. The baker likewife reading, that " a little leaven will corrupt the lump, would give us very infi-" pid bread. The fimple man likewise finding himself com-" manded to pluck out his eyes, in a few years we should have " the nation full of blind beggars (y)."

Mr. Latimer determined to expose this solemn trisser. It may, perhaps, be thought, that the Prior's arguments were too absurd to require a serious consutation. But it should be remembered, that arguments which in more enlightened times would only excite laughter, might not be entirely without effect in an age of greater darkness and ignorance. At that time, therefore, an examination of the sorce of Prior Buckenham's reasonings, might not be without its use. However, the whole Univer

met together on Sunday, when it was known Mr. Latimer would preach. There was a certain vein of pleasantry and humour which ran through all his words and actions; and which, it was imagined, would here have full scope. And to say the truth, says Mr. Gilpin, the preacher was not a little conscious of his own superiority. To complete the scene, just before the sermon begun, Prior Buckenham himself entered the church, with his cowl about his shoulders; and with an important air seated

himself before the pulpit.

Mr. Latimer, with great gravity, recapitulated the learned Prior's arguments, placed them in the strongest light, and then rallied them with such a flow of wit, and at the same time with so much good humour, that he made his adversary in the highest degree ridiculous. He then, with great address, appealed to the people, descanted upon the low esteem in which their holy guides had always held their understandings; expressed the utmost offence at their being treated with such contempt, and wished his honest countrymen might be permitted to have the use of the Scriptures, till they shewed themselves to be such abfurd interpreters. He concluded his discourse with a few obfervations upon Scripture-metaphors. A figurative manner of speech, he said, was common in all languages: representations of this kind were in daily use, and generally understood. Thus, for instance, said he, (addressing himself to that part of the audience where the Prior was feated) when we fee a fox painted in a Friar's hood, no body imagines that a fox is meant, but that craft and hypocrify are described, which are so often found disguised in that garb. In short, our preacher's triumph over his adversary was complete. "Friar Buckenham," says Fox, with this fermon was fo dashed, that never after he durst peep " out of the pulpit against Mr. Latimer ( 2)."

He was foon after attacked by one Venetus, a foreigner, who treated him in a most scurrilous and provoking manner. Mr. Latimer, however, answered him in a graver strain than he had used towards his former antagonist. Whether, however, he ridiruled or reasoned, we are told, that with so much of the spirit of true oratory, confidering the times, were his harangues animated, that they seldom failed of their intended effect : for as his raillery had before shut up the Prior within his Monastery, so his arguments now drove Venetus from the University.

These advantages encreased the credit of the Protestant party in Cambridge, of which Bilney and Latimer were at the head. The meekness, gravity, and unaffected piety of the former, together with the chearfulness, good humour, and eloquence of the latter, contributed greatly towards giving the younger students a favourable idea of the reformed opinions. These things greatly alarmed the orthodox Clergy; and of this fort were all the heads

heads of Colleges; and the senior part of the University. Frequent Convocations were held, to prevent the progress of herefy; tutors were admonished to have a strict eye over their pupils, and academical censures of all kinds were inslicted. But academical censures were found insufficient; for Mr. Latimer

still continued to preach, and herefy to spread (a).

At length Dr. West, Bishop of Ely, hearing of Mr. Latimer's heretical preaching, and having application made to him for some exercise of his authority in the affair, determined himfelf to come to Cambridge to hear him preach. But he resolved to do this so suddenly, that Latimer should have no previous information that he was to be one of his auditors. Hearing, therefore, that Mr. Latimer was to preach a Latin fermon at the University church, he came there suddenly from Ely, attended by some persons of distinction, and entered the church when Mr. Latimer had proceeded a little way in his fermon. Mr. Latimer, seeing the Prelate and his company enter the church, defifted from speaking till they were all quietly seated. He then observed, that as he had now some new, and very honourable auditors, he thought it might not be improper to change his theme. He, therefore, took a new text, and began to treat of CHRIST under the character of the Shepherd and Bishop of fouls; and to shew how necessary it was that those who undertook the episcopal office, should imitate the example of their great Lord and Master; and he proceeded, through the remainder of his fermon, to explain the nature of the office, and of the duties, of a Christian Bishop. When he had ended his fermon, the Bishop thanked him very heartily for it; and told him, that he had never before heard the duties of the Prelacy so eloquently and judiciously explained. And the Bishop added, that he would kneel down, and kiss his foot, if he would grant him one request. " What is that, my Lord?" said Mr. Latimer. "That you will," faid the Prelate, "preach in this place" a fermon against Martin Luther, and his doctrines." Mr. Latimer, in answer, told the Bishop, that he was not sufficiently acquainted with Luther's writings to undertake to refute them.
"We are not," faid he, "permitted here even to read his
"writings: how abfurd then would it be for me to undertake to
"answer them?" He then told the Prelate, that he was convinced, that in his fermon that day before his Lordship, he had faid nothing contrary to the doctrines contained in the Scriptures; and if the writings of Luther contained no other tenets, they neither required, nor would admit of any confutation. The Bishop, upon this, departed in some displeasure, telling Mr. Latimer, that he would one day repent his having imbibed such Vol. II. 3.

notions (b). And the Prelate foon after himself preached against Mr. Latimer at Barwell Abbey, and prohibited him, by virtue of his episcopal authority, from preaching any more in any of the churches belonging to the University, or within his diocese.

This, however, was no great check to Mr. Latimer: for there happened at that time to be a Prior in Cambridge, Dr. Barnes, of the Austin Friars, who favoured the principles of the Reformers. His Monastery was exempt from episcopal jurif-diction, and being a great admirer of Mr. Latimer, he boldly licensed him to preach there. Hither his party sollowed him; and as the late opposition had greatly excited the curiosity of the people, the Friars chapel was soon unable to contain the

crowds who affembled there.

The credit to the Protestant cause which Mr. Latimer had thus gained by his preaching, he maintained by the exemplariness of his life. Mr. Bilney and he did not satisfy themselves with acting unexceptionably; but were daily giving instances of active goodness and benevolence, which malice could not scandalize, nor envy misinterpret. They spent much of their time together in friendly converse, in concerting how to advance the interests of true religion, and in forming schemes to promote the happiness of others. The place where they used to walk, was long afterwards known by the name of the Heretics Hill. Cambridge at the time was full of their good actions; their charities to the poor, and friendly visits to the sick and unhappy, were common topics.

But the virtuous and amiable lives of these excellent men had no merit with their adversaries. With them it mattered little what a man's life was, if his opinions were orthodox. They could give great allowances for the former; but the least mistake in the latter was unpardonable. Such, Mr. Gilpin justly observes, is the true spirit of Bigotry and Priestcraft; that pharifaical spirit, which, inverting the tables of the law, places

points of least importance uppermost.

This fpirit now greatly prevailed at Cambridge; and heavy complaints were carried from thence to Court of the increase of herely; and Mr. Latimer was charged with being one of the chief promoters of it. Accusations against him of this kind, and in particular that he infected the youth of the University with sedicious doctrine, at length reached the ears of Cardinal Wolsey. The Cardinal had never discovered much inclination to promote persecution for opinions; however, he sent for Mr. Latimer to appear before him, and examined him himself at York-House. But after some conversation with him, he dismission

<sup>(</sup> b ) Vid. Harleian MS. No. 423. Fol. 84, 85. in the Britift Mufenm.

miffed him courteoufly, and granted him his licence to preach

throughout England (c).

Mr. Latimer afterwards returned to Cambridge; but he fometimes preached in other parts of the country, and had once or twice the honour to preach before the King at Windsor. And he had on those occasions been taken notice of by Henry, in a manner more than ordinarily gracious. Encouraged by these tokens of Royal favour, Mr. Latimer took the liberty of writing a very bold letter to the King on an occasion of great importance to the Protestant cause. A Royal proclamation had been just published, forbidding the use of the Bible in English, and other books on religious subjects. Ever fince the Reformation had any footing in the kingdom, the promoters of it had propagated among the people a variety of tracts, some on the points then in controversy, and many others on the corruptions of the Clergy (d). These books were printed abroad, and fent over in confiderable quantities. Among other works, a translation of the New Testament was dispersed. Great were the clamours of the Clergy against publications of so dangerous a tendency. But as the Government did not interfere, the Bishops could only employ the authority of the laws then in force, in guarding each his Diocese from these invasions of heresy. Episcopal injunctions were accordingly published, and all possible care was taken. But these measures not being thought sufficient for the purpose, the Clergy prevailed upon the King to issue out a most severe proclamation against heretical books, commanding that all fuch books should be delivered up within fifteen days; and impowering the Bishops to imprison at pleasure all perions suspected of having them, till the party had purged himself, or abjured: it impowered the Bishops likewise to set an arbitrary fine upon all persons convicted. It further forbid all appeals from Ecclesiastical Courts; and obliged all civil Officers, by oath, to use their utmost endeavours to extirpate he-

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referred to, Fol. 85, 86. (d) Among other pieces against fitable to the Commonwealth, with the Clergy, one which more par- feveral other things, were also comticularly exasperated them, and made them eager to procure a suppression of fuch writings, was entitled, "The Supplication of the Beggars." It was written by one Simon Fish, of Gray's Inn. In this work, "the beggars complained to the King, that they were reduced to great mifery, the alms of the people being intercepted by companies of ftrong and idle Friars, for supposing that each of the five mendicant orders had but a penny a quarter from every houshold, and rife to a vast sum, of which the

(c) Vid. the Manuscript before indigent and truly necessitious beggars ferred to, Fol. 85, 86. were defrauded. Their being unprofeveral other things, were also com-plained of. The author also taxed the Pope for cruelty and coverousness, that he did not deliver all persons out of purgatory; and that none but the rich who paid well for it, could be difcharged out of that prifon. This was written in a witty and taking ftyle, and the King had it put in his hands by Anne Boleyn, and liked it well, and would not fuffer any thing to be done to the author." Burnet's Hift, of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 160.

refy, and affift the Bishops, Justices were to enquire, at their quarterly fessions, into the state of religion in their counties; and Sheriffs were to arrest all suspected persons, and deliver them

It was against this proclamation, which the zeal and industry of the Clergy rendered productive of very severe effects (e),

to the Bishops.

that Mr. Latimer ventured to remonstrate. And his letter to the King on this occasion, which is the genuine picture of a sincere and honest heart, was chiefly intended to point out to his Majesty the bad intention of the Bishops in procuring the proclamation. The substance of part of what he says is as fol-" St. Augustine, in an epistle to Casulanus, tells us, "That he who through fear hideth the truth, provoketh the " wrath of Heaven, as a person who fears man more than Gop. " And St. Chrysostom, to the same effect, gives it as his opinion, "That a person may betray the truth, as well by concealing it, as disguising it. These sentences, great King, occurred to " me very lately; and have had such an effect upon me, that I " must either open my conscience to your Majesty, or rank my-" felf among such persons as these two holy Fathers centure. " The latter I cannot think of .--- But, alas! there are men upon " whom fuch severe censures have no effect. There are men, " who pretending to be guides and teachers in religion, not " only conceal the truth, but prohibit others to fet it forth.
"Blind guides, who shut up the kingdom of Heaven from men, " and will neither enter in themselves, neither suffer them to " enter that would. And not content with obstructing the " word of GOD to the utmost of their own authority, they have " contrived by their subtle practices to draw in to their assistance " the Civil Power in almost all the States in Christendom. In " this nation especially, they have long imposed upon their " subjects by their delusions, and kept them in awe by their " fpiritual censures; and when they saw the truth likely to " prevail, and gather strength from their opposition, they have " at length obtained your Majesty's proclamation in their fa-" your, and have got it declared treason to read the Scripture in " English .-- Hear me, I beseech your Majesty, a few words, and " let me intreat you to call to mind the example of CHRIST " and his Apostles, their manner of life, preaching, and whole " behaviour; that comparing them with the spiritual guides of " these days, you may the better judge whether they are the true " followers of CHRIST. " It is evident, that simplicity of manners, and hearts seques-" tered from the world, were the striking characteristics of

<sup>(</sup>e) " It would (fays Mr. Gilpin) children the Ten Commandments, furprize the good people of England and the Lord's Prayer, in English, at this day to bear, that many of Such things were then called herefy. their forefathers were then burnt for Life of Latimer, P. 29. reading the Bible, and teaching their

"first preachers of the Gospel, and of our blessed LORD him"felf. Poverty in spirit was then practised as well as preached.

"Alas! it is since those days that Christian teachers, masking
their worldly hearts under a pretence of voluntary poverty,
and an exclusion from carnal things, have wormed themselves
into more than regal wealth; and have wickedly kept what
they have crastily obtained, by somenting foreign or domestic strife, in all places, as their purposes were best served;
and by blasphemously dealing out even the punishments of
Heaven against all who had resolution enough to make any
stand against their corruptions. By what arts they have
evaded a late act of Parliament against their encroachments,
your Majesty well knows.---Think not, gracious Sovereign,
that I exceed the bounds of charity in what I say: I only offer to your Majesty's consideration a rule, which was once preferibed by a greater master, By Their fruits you shall
KNOW TEEM."

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After taking notice that the true followers of CHRIST, and of truth, have in different ages been obliged to suffer persecution, he proceeds to the following effect. "As for a notion, which has been insused into your Majesty, that the Scriptures in the hands of the people might move them to rebellion, your Majesty may judge of the falshood of this likewise by the fame rule, By their fruits you shall know them. How is it possible that a book, which inculcates obedience to

"Magistrates with the greatest earnestness, can be the cause of fedition? The thing speaks itself, and discovers only how

" much their malice is at a loss for topics of invective.

"Would your Majesty know the true cause of this confederacy, as I may well call it, against the word of GOD; examine the I ves of those who are the leaders of it, and consider whether there may not be some private reasons inducing
fuch persons to keep a book in concealment, which cries out
loudly against all kinds of vice. And if your Majesty
wants to know the source of rebellions, I think a much fairer
one may be conjectured at, than the use of an English Bible.
For my own part, I have long been of opinion, that a greater
encouragement of all kinds of civil disorder could hardly
have been invented, than the church trade of pardons and
indulgences. To which may be added, the bad examples of
the Clergy, and the little care they are generally thought to

"Accept, gracious Sovereign, without displeasure, what I have written. I thought it my duty to mention these things to your Majesty. No personal quarrel, as GOD shall judge me, have I with any man: I wanted only to induce your Majesty to consider well what kind of persons you have about you, and the ends for which they counsel. Indeed, great Prince, many of them, or they are much slandered, have very

or private ends. GOD grant your Majesty may see through all " the defigns of evil men : and be in all things equal to the

so high office with which you are entrusted !"

He concluded his letter with the following emphatic words: Wherefore, gracious King, remember yourfelf: have pity upon your own foul; and think that the day is at hand, when you shall give account of your office, and of the blood that hath been shed by your sword. In the which day, that your Grace may stand steadfastly, and not be assamed, but be clear and ready in your reckoning, and have your pardon " fealed with the blood of our Saviour CHRIST, which only " ferveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him who suffered death for our fins. The spirit of GOD preserve you!" (f)

With fuch freedom did the primitive Latimer address a Prince of Henry the VIIIth's character. But the Popish party were then so prevalent, that his letter produced little effect. The King, however, was no way displeased; and received it not only with temper, but with great condescension, graciously thanking him for his well-intended advice. For Henry, notwithstanding his many vices, would frequently indulge a very generous manner of thinking. He was himself of an open temper, and was a great lover of sincerity in others. Hasty and violent as he naturally was, and impatient of controul, he would often patiently hear the truth spoken with great freedom, from those of whose fincetity he was thoroughly convinced. Mr. Latimer's plain and simple manner had made a very favourable impression upon him; and this letter did not a little contribute

towards strengthening that good opinion.

When the affair of the King's supremacy came upon the carpet, Mr. Latimer very much exerted himself at Cambridge, in forwarding his Majesty's designs. Dr. Butts, Henry's physician, was fent thither to procure the opinions of Divines and Canonists in favour of the King's views. And that gentleman, on his arrival at Cambridge, began immediately to pay his court to the Protestant party, from whom the King expected most una-nimity in his favour. Among the first, he made his application to Mr. Latimer, as a person the most likely to serve him; beg-ging that he would collect the opinions of his friends in the case, and to do his utmost to bring over those of most eminence, who were fill inclined to the Papacy. Mr. Latimer, being a thorough friend to the cause which he was to solicit, undertook it with a zeal which was natural to him; and discharged himfelf so much to the satisfaction of Dr. Butts, who seems to have been a person of great honesty, learning, and humanity, that when he returned to Court, he took Mr. Latimer along with him, with a view of procuring him fomething answerable to his merit. About

About this time Lord Cromwell, afterwards Earl of Essex, was rising into power. As this great man was a friend to the Reformation, he of course encouraged such of the Clergy as were favourably disposed towards it. Among others, Mr. Latimer was one of those for whom he entertained an high esteem, and he took all opportunities of shewing his regard for him; and he presented him to the Rectory of Westkinton in Wilteshire.

Mr. Latimer immediately refolved to repair to his benefice, and to refide upon it. His friend, Dr. Butts, furprized at his refolution, endeavoured to diffuade him from it. "You are de"ferting," faid he, "the fairest appearances of making your
fortune. The Prime Minister intends this only as an earnest
of his future favours; and will certainly in time do great
things for you. But it is the manner of Courts to consider
those as provided for, who seem to be satisfied: and you may
depend upon it, that an absent claimant stands but a poor
chance among rivals; who have the advantage of being prefent."

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Mr. Latimer was not a man on whom arguments of this kind had any weight. He had no other notion of making his fortune, than that of putting himself in a way of promoting the happiness of his fellow creatures, and advancing the interests of true religion. He knew that his friend's advice was well meant; but he also knew, that a man may be as easily deceived by the kindness of his friend, as by the deceit of his enemy. Besides, he was heartily tired of a Court, the manners of which were fo little fuited to the simplicity of his temper. He was grieved at the vices which he found there; and the more fo, because he found himself unable to oppose them: for he had neither authority, nor, as he thought, talents, to reclaim the Great. He left the Court, therefore, and immediately entered upon the duties of his parochial care; hoping to be of some use in the world, by faithfully exerting, in a private station, such abilities as GOD had given him (g)

Mr. Latimer's behaviour in this fituation was suitable to his resolutions. He thoroughly considered the nature of the office, and the importance of the duties, of a Christian Minister; and he discharged them in the most conscientious manner. Nor was he satisfied with discharging his duty in his own parish, but extended his labours throughout the county, and chiefly in those places where he had observed the pastoral care to be most neglected. He had for this purpose obtained a general licence from the University of Cambridge.

His preaching, which was in a ftrain entirely different from the preaching of the times, made him very acceptable to the people; among whom he foon established himself in great credit. He was likewise treated with much civility by the neighbouring gentry; and at Bristol, where he often preached, he was countenanced by the Magistrates. The reputation he was thus daily gaining, presently alarmed the Popish Clergy in those parts. Their opposition to him appeared first on this occasion. The Mayor of Bristol had appointed him to preach there on an Easter-Sunday: of this public notice had been given, when suddenly there came out an order from the Bishop of Bristol, prohibiting any one to preach there without his licence. Upon this the Clergy of the place waited on Mr. Latimer, informed him of the Bishop's order, and, knowing that he had no such licence, "were extremely forry that they were by that means deprived of the pleasure of hearing an excellent discourse from him." Mr. Latimer received their civility with a smile; for he had been apprized of the affair, and well knew, that these were the very persons who had written to the Bishop against him.

The Clergy in this part of the country foon opposed him in a more public manner. Some of them, in the warmth of their zeal, ascended the pulpit, and there inveighed against him with great indecency of language. Of these the most forward was one Hubberdin, an empty and ignorant Priest, whose principal talent was assurance, who could say nothing of his own, but any thing that was put into his mouth. Through this instrument, and others of the same kind, such liberties were taken with Mr. Latimer's character, that he at length thought it incumbent upon him to justify himself; and accordingly he called upon his traducers to accuse him publicly before the Mayor of Bristol. And with all men of candour he was justified; for when that Magistrate summoned both parties to appear before him, and put the accusers upon producing legal proof of what they had advanced against Mr. Latimer, nothing of that kind appeared; but the whole accusation was left to rest upon the uncertain evidence of some hearsay information.

His enemies, however, were not thus filenced; they became daily more and more inflamed against him; and at length drew up a set of articles, extracted chiefly from his sermons, in which they charged him with speaking lightly of the worship of Saints; with saying that there was no material fire in Hell; and that he would rather be in Purgatory than in Lollard's tower. These articles, in the form of an accusation, were laid before Stokesley, Bishop of London. This Prelate immediately cited Mr. Latimer to appear before him. But Mr. Latimer, instead of obeying the citation, appealed to his own ordinary; thinking himself wholly exempt from the jurisdiction of any other Bishop. Stokesley, upon this, making a private cause of it, was determined at any rate to get him into his power. He applied, therefore, to Archbishop Warham, who was prevailed upon to cite Mr. Latimer to appear forthwith in his own court; where

the Bishop of London, and some other Bishops, were commisfioned to examine him.

Mr. Latimer obeyed the Archbishop's citation. His friends would have had him leave the country; but their perfuasions were in vain. It was the depth of winter when Mr. Latimer fet out for London (b); and he laboured at the same time under a severe sit, both of the stone and cholic. But his greatest distress was, the consideration of leaving his parish so exposed; as he knew that the Popish Clergy would exert themselves to undo, in his absence, what he had hitherto done.

On his arrival at London, he found a court of Bishops and Canonifts affembled to receive him; where, instead of being examined, as he expected, about his fermons, a paper was put into his hands, which he was ordered to subscribe, declaring his belief in the doctrine of Purgatory, and the efficacy of masses for the fouls therein; of prayers to the Saints; of pilgrimages to their sepulchres and relics; the Pope's power to forgive fins; the doctrine of merit; the feven Sacraments! and the worthin of images. This paper being offered to Mr. Latimer, he read it over, and returned it again, refusing to fign it. The Archbishop, with a frown, bid min commer, to be hard upon you a intend not," faid he, "Mr. Latimer, to be hard upon you a "we bishop, with a frown, bid him consider what he did. " We Vol. II. 4.

(b) Before he set out upon his Either my Lord of London will judge

to a friend.

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"I marvel not a little, that my Lord of London, having to large a biocefe committed to his care, and fo peopled as it is, can have leifure either to trouble me, or to trouble himfelf with me, fo poor a wretch, a stranger to him, and nothing per-laining to his cure. Methinks it were more comely for my Lord, if it were comely for me to fay fo, to be a preacher himfelf, than to be a difquieter of preachers. If it would please his Lordship to take so great labour and pain, as to come and preach in my little Bishopric at Westkinton, whether I were prefent or absent, I would thank his Lordship heartily for helping to discharge me in my cure, as long as his predication was fruitful, and to the edification of my parishioners. But he may do as he pleaseth; I pray GOD he may do as well as I would wish him to do: and as to my preaching, I trust in GOD, my Lord of London cannot justly reprove it, if it be taken as I spake it; else it is not my preaching.

Reem recitas meus est, O Eidentine, libellus; ded male cum resites, incipit effe tunt.

journey, he wrote the following letter mine outward man, or mine inward man. If he will have to do only with mine outward man, how I have ordered my life, I truft I shall please both my Lord GOD, and also my Lord of London; for I have taught but according to the Scriptures, and the antient interpreters of Scripture; and with all diligence moved my auditors to faith and charity; and as for voluntary things, I reproved the abuse, witnout condemning the things themselves. But if my Lord will needs invade my inward man, and break violently into my heart, I sear then, indeed, I may displease my Lord of London, Finally, as you fay, the matter is weighty, even as weighty as my life is worth, and ought to be well looked to; how to look well to it I know not, otherwise than to pray to my Lord GOD night and day, that as he hath boldened me to preach the truth, so he will be the state of the country of the count firengthen me to fuffer for it. And I trust that GOD will help me; which trust, if I had not, the ocean fea should have divided my Lord of London and me by this time." " we dismiss you for the present: take a copy of the articles; examine them carefully; and GOD grant, that at our next

" meeting, we may find each other in better temper."

At the next meeting, and at feveral fucceeding ones, the fame scene was acted over again; for both sides continued inslexible. The Prelates, however, being determined, if possible, to bring him to compliance, began to treat him with more feverity. Of one of these examinations he gives us himself the following account. "I was brought out," says he, "to be examined in a "chamber, where I was wont to be examined; but at this time it was fomewhat altered. For whereas before there was a fire " in the chimney, now the fire was taken away, and an arras " hanged over the chimney; and the table stood near the chim-" ney's end. There was among these Bishops that examined " me, one with whom I have been very familiar, and whom I "took for my great friend, an aged man, and he fat next the table-end. Then among other questions he put forth one, a " very fubtil and crafty one; and when I should make answer, " I pray you, Mr. Latimer, said he, speak out, I am very thick of hearing, and here be many that fit far off. I marvelled at " this, that I was bidden to speak out, and began to misdeem, and gave an ear to the chimney; and there I heard a pen " plainly fcratching behind the cloth. They had appointed one there to write all my answerss, that I should not start "from them. GOD was my good Lors, and gave me an-

The Bishops thus continued to distress Mr. Latimer, regularly fending for him three times every week, with a view either to draw fomething from him by captious questions, or at length to teaze him into compliance. By these means he was so tired out, that his spirit could no longer bear the usage he met with. Accordingly, when he was next summoned, instead of going himfelf, he sent a letter to the Archbishop, in which with great freedom, he told him, " that the treatment he had of late met with, had fretted him into such a disorder, as rendered him unfit to attend them that day; that, in the mean time, he could not help taking this opportunity to exposulate with his Grace, for de-taining him so long from the discharge of his duty; that it feemed to him most unaccountable, that they, who never preached themselves, should hinder others; that as for the examination of him, he really could not imagine what they aimed at; they pretended one thing in the beginning, and another in the progress; that if his fermons were what gave offence, which he perfuaded himself were neither contrary to the truth, nor to any Canon of the Church, he was ready to answer whatever might be thought exceptionable in them; that he wished a little more regard might be had to the judgment of the people, and that a distinction might be made between the ordinances of GOD and man; that if some abuses in religion did prevail, (as was then commonly supposed) he thought preaching was the best means to discountenance them; that he wished all pastors might be obliged to perform their duty, but that at least liberty might be given to those who were willing to do so; that as for the articles proposed to him, he begged to be excused from subscribing them; whilst he lived, he never would abet superstition; and that, lastly, he hoped the Archbishop would excuse what he had written; he knew his duty to his superiors, and would practise it; but in that case, he thought a stronger obligation laid upon him."---No account is handed down to us of the particular effect which this letter produced; the Bishops, however, still continued their persecution. But, by an unexpected incident, their schemes were suddenly frustrated. The King, being informed of the persecution Mr. Latimer met with, probably by the Lord Cromwell's means, interposed in his behalf, and rescued him out of the hands of his enemies (i).

Mr. Latimer's great merit, and steady attachment to the principles of the Reformation, occasioned Queen Anne Boleyn, who favoured the same cause, to appoint him, in 1534, to be her Chaplain; and through her interest, and that of Lord Cromwell, he was, in 1535, promoted to the Bishopric of Worcester. He discharged the duties of this new station with great zeal and piety, and with uncommon diligence. In overlooking the Clergy of his diocese, which he thought the chief branch of U 2

(i) "Mr. Fox (fays Mr. Gilpin) leaves it in doubt whether he was not at length prevailed upon to subscribe the Bishop's articles: but I think it past dispute that he did not;

for if he had, what occasion had the King to interpose?"

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About the year 1528, Latimer's friend, Mr. THOMAS BILNEY, with some others, was charged with herefy, and cited to appear before a court of Bishops, Divines, and Canonists, of which Cushbert Tonstal, then Bishop of London, was appointed President. As Mr. Bishop was considered as one of the principal propagators of herefy, against him the rigour of the court was chiefly levelled. His examination was accordingly severe: every witness against him was heard with so much attention, and every deposition enlarged upon with so much bitterness, that Tonstal, who, though a Papist, was a Prelate of great moderation and humanity, despaired of mixing any temper with the proceedings of his collegues. The process

came to an end, and Mr. Bilney was condemned as an obstinate Heretic. Tonftal, who could not effectually ferve him in a judicial way, now la-boured to fave him by all the means in his power. He first fet his friends upon him, to perfuade him to recant; and when that would not do, he joined his intreaties to their's; had patience with him day after day, and with all the tenderness of humanity, begged he would not oblige him, contrary to his inclinations, to treat him with feverity. The good Bishop in the end prevailed a Bilney could not withstand the winning rhetoric of Tonstal, though he had withstood all the manaces of his lefs humane persecutors. He recanted, bore a faggot on his shoulder by way of penance, as a token of his fubmiffion, and was dismissed.

He afterwards returned to Cambridge, together with several others, who had also been under a persecution for herefy, and who were received with open arms by their friends. Amidst this mutual joy,

Bilney

the episcopal office, exciting in them a zeal for religion, and obliging them at least to a legal performance of their duty, he was remarkably active, warm, and resolute. He presided over his ecclesiastical court with the same spirit; and he was frequent and observant in his visitations. In ordaining he was strict and wary, carefully enquiring into the morals and abilities of those who offered themselves as candidates for holy orders. He was far from relaxing his labours on account of his promotion in the Church; on the contrary, he considered his duties as increasing with his dignity. He was, therefore, indefatigable in preaching; and exerted himself to the utmost in promoting the cause of virtue, and of true religion.

In many particulars in which Bishop Latimer exerted himself in advancing the interests of real religion, he was supported by

Bilney alone feemed unaffected. He flunned the fight of his acquain-tance, and received their officious congratulations with confusion and bluthes. Reflection had now brought him to himself; and Remorte of confcience had feized him for what he had done. Rettless rughts, frightful dreams, and other effects of a mind that preys upon its 18, in a foort time diffurbed his reason; and it was feared he might have committed fomething horrid, if those about him had not closely attended him. In the agonies of his despair, his pathetic and eager accusations of his friends, of the Bishop of London, and above all, of himself, were very affecting. Thus he continued for some time one of the most shocking spectacles that human nature can exhibit. His pafnon having had its course, at length subfided, and by degrees gave place to a profound melancholy. In this fiste he continued about three years, reading much, avoiding company, and in all respects observing the seve-rity of an Ascetic. During this time, and especially towards the latter part of it, he would frequently be throw-ing out obscure hints of his meditating some extraordinary d sign. He would fay, that he was now almost prepared; that he would fhortly go up to Jerusalem; and that GOD must be glorified in him. After keeping his friends a while in fuspence by this mysterious language, he told them at last, that he was fully determined to expiate his late shameful abjuration by his death. What they could op-

his resolution; and breaking at once from all his attachments in Cambridge, he set out for Norfolk, which was the place of his nativity, and which, for that reason, he chose to make the scene of his death. When he came there, he went about the country, confessing his guilt in abjuring a faith, in which he was now determined to die; and exhorting the people with great warmth against the errors of Popery.

The report of this extraordinary preacher foon reached the ears of the Bishop of Norwich, who watched over those parts with the zeal of an inquifitor. Mr. Bilney was foon apprehended, and fecured in the county goal. While he lay there waiting the arrival of the writ for his execution, as a relapfed Heretic, he gave very furprizing inftances of a firm and collected mind. He began now to recover from that abject state of melancholy, which had for thefe last three years oppressed him; and, like an honest man, who had long lived under a difficult debt, he began to refume his spirits, when he thought himself in a fituation to discharge it, Some of his triends found him eating a hearty supper the night before his execution; and expressing their furprize, he told them, he was but do-ing what they had daily examples of in common life : he was only keeping his cottage in repair, while he continued to inhabit it. The fame continued to inhabit it. composure ran through his whole behaviour; and his converfation was that evening more agreeable than his friends almost ever remembered it, the authority of his episcopal character. But in some other things he found himself under great difficulties. The ceremo-nies of the Popish worship gave him great offence; and yet, in times so dangerous and unsettled, he neither durft lay them en-tirely aside; nor, on the other hand, could he well reconcile to himself the retaining them. In this dilemma he shewed great address. He enquired into the origin of these ceremonies; and when he found any of them, as some of them were, derived from a good meaning, he took care to inculcate the original meaning, though itself a corruption, in the room of a more corrupt practice. Thus he put the people in mind, when holy bread and water were distributed, that these elements which had long been thought endowed with a kind of magical influence, were nothing more than appendages to the two Sacraments of the Lord's Supper, and Baptism. The former, he faid, reminded us of CHRIST's death, and the latter was only a fimple

representation of our being purified from fin ( ).

Whilst the endeavours of our good Prelate towards a Reformation were thus confined within his own Diocese, he was called upon to exert his talents in a more public manner, having received a fummons to attend the Parliament and Convocation. This session, which was in the year 1536, was thought a kind of crifis by the Protestants, who had now a considerable party in the Convocation, at the head of whom were Lord Cromwell, the King's Vicegerent, Cranmer, now Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Latimer, Goodrick, Bishop of Ely, Barlow, Bishop of St. David's, Fox, Bishop of Hereford, Hilsey, Bishop of Rochester, and Shaxton, Bishop of Salisbury. The Prelates at the head of the Popish party were Lee, Archbishop of York, Stokesley, Bishop of London, Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, Sherburn, Bishop of

Chichefter,

[Vid. Mr. Gilpin's Life of Latimer, P. 21—25.]

When the day of execution same being the 10th of November, (1531), as he was led out, he faid to one that exhorted him to be patient and constant, that as the mariners endured the tossing of the waves, hoping to arrive at their defired port, fo though he was now entering into a fform, yet he hoped he fhould foon arrive at the haven, and defired their prayers. When he came to the flake, he repeated the Creed, to flew the people that he died in the faith of the Apostles; then he put up his prayers to GOD with great shew of inward devotion; which ended, he repeated the 143d Pfalm, and pauled on their words of it, "Enter not into judg-" ment with thy fervant, for in thy

" fight shall no man living be justi-" fied," with deep recollection : and when Dr. Warner, that accompanied him to the flake, took leave of him with many tears, Bilney with a chearful countenance exhorted him to feed his flock, that at his Lonn's coming he might find him to doing. Many of the begging Filars defired him to declare to the people, that they had not procured his death; for that was got among them, and they feared the people would give them no more alms: fo he defired the spectarers not to be the worse to there men for his fake, for they had not procured his death. Then the fire was fet to, and his body con-fumed to after." [Burnet's Hift, of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 164.]

( & ) Gilpin, P. 59, 60.

Chichester, Nix, Bishop of Norwich, and Kite, Bishop of Carlise. The renunciation which had been lately made of the Pope's authority, gave great hopes to the Protestant party; a free enquiry into principles and practices, it was hoped, would follow; and a thorough Reformation could not then, it was thought, be at a great distance. The Papists, on the other hand, were well acquainted with the King's attachment to Popish principles; and though, in the present circumstances of things, they could not hope to be able to close up the breach with the See of Rome, they were fanguine enough to believe they might prevent it from widening farther. These opposite hopes animated the two parties; and indeed it is difficult to fay, whether the Papists or the Protestants, during this reign, had the greater influence. Henry was entirely governed by his paffions; and to these sometimes one Minister, and sometimes another, made the most dextrous address.

Affairs were in this situation when the Convocation met, which was opened by a Latin fermon, preached by Bishop Latimer, whose eloquence was at this time every where famous. "He was (fays Bishop Burnet) the most celebrated preacher of that time; the simplicity and plainness of his matter, with a ferious and fervent action that accompanied it, being preferred to more learned and elaborate composures." This task, of preaching the Convocation fermon, was affigned our Prelate by Archbishop Cranmer; who knew no man so well qualified to lay before the Clergy the corruptions of their order; and to rouze them, if possible, into a sense of their duty (1). When the Convocation began to proceed to business, the two parties attacked

Mr. Gilpin, is as follows. "We are met together, it feems, here, brethren, (faid the Bishop) to consult the settlement of religion. A very important truft is committed to us; and I hope each of us hath brought with him a resolution to discharge it properly. And, indeed, great need is there that something should be done. Superstition hath had a long reign amongst us; nor can I yet believe its tyranny at an end, whilft I fee our Clergy still immerfed in the corruptions of their fore-fathers; whilft I fee even mitred advocates, it becomes me to fpeak plainly, still espouring this cause. What an inundation of folly, to give it the lightest appellation, is daily flowing from our pulpits? Is there an abfurdity in the whole Popish Creed, is there a cor-

(1) The substance of part of what ruption in their whole ritual, which is not countenanced, even at this very day amongst us? Purgatory is still believed; images are still worshipped. And what is most griev. when external observances abound, men begin to lay a stress upon them; and of course the neces-fity of a good life is superfeded...-Rouse yourselves, my brethren, rouse yourselves at these things. Consider that an amendment of all these evils is looked for at our hands. If the Priest is remiss, what can be expected from the people? Imagine you hear, at the last day, the Almighty Judge thus rebuking us. - 'A cry against 'you cometh up into my ears; a cry against your avarice, your exactions, your tyranny. I com-manded you with industry and pains-taking to feed my sheep: instead of which you do nothing

attacked each other with great bitterness, and very warm debates ensued. In the lower House a bill was drawn up by the Romish party, the refult of much fecret caballing, which contained a catalogue of fixty-seven heretical opinions. Many of these were the tenets of Wickliff; the reft, of more modern re-This bill was fent up to the higher House, where it was zealously defended by the Popish party, and vehemently opposed by the Protestants.

This debate had now lasted some days, each day growing warmer than the last, when Lord Cromwell entered the House of Convocation, and declared, that "it was the King's pleasure, that the rites and ceremonies of the Church should be reformed

by the rules of Scripture, and that nothing was to be maintained which did not rest on that authority; for it was absurd, since that was acknowledged to contain the laws of religion, that recourse should rather be had to glosses, or the decrees of Popes, than to these (m)." This message from the King, greatly encouraged the Protestants, and in an equal degree damped the spirits of the Popish Party, and put a period to the debate in which they were then engaged.

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Among other foreign Protestants who were at this time entertained by Archbishop Cranmer, there was one Alexander Alesse. a Scotchman, who was greatly esteemed for his learning and piety, and who was much consulted by the heads of the Protestant party. This searned man Lord Cromwell brought with him to the Convocation-House, where he spoke largely against the Sacraments of the Romish Church, and proved that only two were of gospel institution. This speech produced a long and warm debate, which was managed by the Bishops of York and London, on the part of the Papists; and of Canterbury and Hereford on that of the Protestants; the latter retorting many things with great freedom against tradition and monkery,

but gluttonize from day to day, wallowing in indolence and pleafure. I commanded you to preach my commandments, and feek my glory; instead of which, you glory; instead of which, you preach your own phantafies, and feek your own profit. I com-manded that all people should dili-I comgently fearth my word: instead of which, it is your care to shut up the books of knowledge.—Too much reason have you to fear, that reading the people may under-" ftand, and understanding they may f learn to rebuke your flothfulnefs.

Since then, my brethren, the corruptions of the Clergy are fo manifeft : and fince fo ftrict an account will be demanded of our conduct, let

us at this time do fomething to shew that we have the interest of religion at heart. Let us do formething to wipe off prejudices, which I know have been conceived against some of us without-doors. And as our stations in life add a dignity to our characters, fo let them inspire us with holiness, and a zeal for the salvation of fouls, in which alone confifts the real dignity of a Christian Bishop.
All men know that we are here asfembled, and with ardent looks expect the fruit of our consultation.

Oh! my brethren, let us not disappoint their hopes."

(m) Vid. Burnet's Hist. of the

Reformation, Vol. I. P. 214.

and the ignorance of the Popish Clergy. The result of the de-bate was, that four Sacraments out of the feven were concluded to be infignificant. And the Convocation at length, with the King's approbation, agreed to certain articles of religion, in which many of the Popish doctrines were retained; but the Scriptures and the antient Creeds being made the standards of the Christian faith, and other things advanced favourable to the re-formed opinions, encouraged the Protestants to hope for a fur-ther Reformation (n). And soon after an English translation of the Bible was published, and recommended by authority to a general perusal: the people were ordered to be instructed in the principles of religion in their mother tongue; and the Clergy were enjoined not to extol images or relics for gain, or from fuperfition; nor to exhort people to make pilgrimages, as if blef-fings and good things were to be obtained of this or that Saint or image; but to instruct the Laity, to apply themselves to the keeping of GOD's commandments, and to the performance of works of charity; and to believe that GOD was better ferved by them, when they staid at home, and provided for their families, than when they went on pilgrimages; and that the money laid out in these, was better employed in relieving the indigent and diffressed.

During the fitting of the Convocation, an attempt was made by the Popish party to stigmatize Archbishop Crammer and Bi-shop Latimer by some public censure. But through their own, and Lord Cromwell's interest, they were too well established to fear any open attack from their enemies. And our Prelate, foon after the breaking up of the Convocation, repaired to his Diocefe. He had done all he could to forward the business of the Reformation; and he therefore made no longer flay in London than was necessary. For as to State affairs, he had no talents for them, and he knew that he had none, and therefore did not meddle with them. His talents were those of a private station;

(a) When these articles were published, Bishop Burnet observes, they occasioned variety of censures. These (lays he) that defired Reformation, were glad to see so great a step once made; and did not doubt, but this would make way for surther changes. They rejoiced to see the Scriptures, and the antient Creeds, made the standards of the faith, without mentioning tradition, or the without mentioning tradition, or the decrees of the Church. Then the foundation of Christian faith was truly stated, and the terms of the covenant between GOD and man in CHRIST were rightly opened, without the niceties of the schools of

either fide. Immediate worship of images and Saints was also removed, and Purgatory was declared uncer-tain by the Scripture. These were great advantages to them; but the establishing the necessity of auricular contession, the corporal presence in the Sacrament, the keeping up and doing reverence to images, and the praying to Saints, did allay their joy, yet they still counted it a victory, to have things brought under debate, and to have some groffer abuses taken

The other party were unique about troubled. Four Sacraments were pasted over, which would encourage

and within that he was determined to confine them. His whole ambition was to discharge in an upright and conscientious manner the duties of his episcopal character; and he aimed not to display either the qualifications of the Courtier, or the abilities

of the Statesman.

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How ill qualified he was to support the character of a Courtier, will sufficiently appear from the following story. It was the custom in those days for the Bishops, upon the coming in of the new year, to make presents to the King: and many of them would present very liberally, proportioning their gifts to their expectances. Among the rest Bishop Latimer, being at this time in town, waited upon the King with his offering. But, instead of a purse of gold, which was the common oblation, he presented a New Testament, with a leaf doubled down, in a very conspicuous manner, to this passage, "Whoremongers and

" Adulterers, GOD will judge."

Bishop Latimer had now been about two years resident on his Diocese, when he was called up again to town, in the year 1539, to attend the business of Parliament. But a new spirit had now insused itself into the counsels of Henry VIII. whose whole reign was little more than a continued rotation of violent passions; and he amongst his Ministers who could make the most artful address to the passion of the day, carried his point. Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was now just returned from Germany, having successfully negociated some commissions, which the King had greatly at heart. This introduced him with a good grace at Court, and he made use of his present interest Vol. II. 4.

ill affected people to neglect them; The gainful trade by the belief of Purgatory was put down; for tho' it was faid to be good to give alms for praying for the dead, yet fince both the dreadful ftories of the miferies of Purgatory, and the certainty of redeming fouls out of them by maffes, were made doubtful, the people's charity and bounty that way would foon abate. And, in a word, the bringing matters under dispute, was a great mortification to them; for all soncluded, that this was but a preamble to what they might expect afterwards."

The Bishop afterwards observes, that these articles were by some stricter persons much censured, "as being a political dawbing, in which, they said, there was more pains taken to gratify persons, and serve particular ends, than to assert Truth in a free and unbiassed way, such as became Divines, This was again excused,

and it was faid, that all things could not be attained on a fudden : that fome of the Bishops and Divines, who afterwards arrived at a clearer understanding of some matters, were not then so fully convinced about them; and so it was their ignorance, and not their cowardice or policy, that made them compliant in fome things. Besides, --- the Clergy must be brought out of their ignorance by degrees, and then the people were to be better instructed; but to drive furiously, and do all at once, might have spoiled the whole design, and totally alienated those who were to be drawn on by degrees; it might have also much endangered the peace of the nation, the people being much disposed by the practices of the Friars to rife in arms. Therefore thefe flow steps were thought the surer and better method." -- Vid. Hift. of the Reformation, Vol. 1. P. 218, 219.

with the King in favour of the Popish cause, and persuaded Henry to put a stop to the diversity of opinions which at present prevailed in his dominions. And accordingly Gardiner and the Popish party were now employed in framing the bill of the Six Articles.

This was the fituation of affairs when Bishop Latimer arrived in town. And in consequence of the influence which the Romish party had now acquired, our Prelate was accused before the King of preaching a feditious fermon. The fermon was preached at Court; and the Bishop, according to his custom, had expressed himself with much severity against whatever he observed amiss. The King had called together several of the Bishops, with a view to consult them upon some points of reli-gion When they had all given their opinions, and were about to be dismissed, one of them kneeled down before the King, and accused Bishop Latimer of preaching the above-mentioned sermon; which he faid was a libel against the King and his Miwho our Prelate's accuser was, is not certainly known, but it is conjectured to have been the Bishop of Winchester. Bishop La. timer being called upon by the King, with some sternness, to vindicate himself, was so far from denying, or even palliating what he had faid, that he boldly justified it; and turning to the King with that noble unconcern which a good conscience inspires, made this answer: " I never thought myself worthy, of nor Inever fued to be a preacher before your Grace; but I was called to it, and would be willing, if you mislike me, to " give place to my betters: for I grant there be a great many more worthy of the room than I am. And if it be your "Grace's pleasure to allow them for preachers, I could be con-" tent to bear their books after them. But if your Grace al-" low me for a preacher, I would defire you to give me leave to discharge my conscience, and to frame my doctrine according to my audience. I had been a very dolt indeed, to have " preached fo at the borders of your Realm, as I preach be-" fore your Grace." The openness and greatness of the Bishop's behaviour baffled his accuser's malice; the severity of the King's countenance changed into a gracious smile, and Bishop Latimer was courteously dismissed.

About this time the bill of the Six Articles, which had passed both Houses, received the Royal assent. By this act, which has been often justly stilled the Bloody Statute, and which was in general very agreeable to the Popish party, it was enacted, that whoever should deny the doctrine of Transubstantiation, either in speech, or by writing, should be adjudged to be Heretics, be burnt without any abjuration being admitted, and their real and personal estates be forseited to the King: and whoever should maintain the necessity of communicating in both species; aftern that it was lawful for Priess to marry; that vows of chasters.

ty might be violated; that private masses were useless; or that auricular confession was not necessary to salvation; were to be adjudged selons, and to suffer death as such, without benefit

of Clergy.

This act was no fooner published, than it gave an universal alarm to all the Protestant party, who every where cried out, that their prospect of happiness was now over: they could not now expect a toleration; for they plainly saw, that a sword was put into the hands of their enemies to destroy them. Others exclaimed, that it was difficult to say what the King intended; for it was not safe to be either of one profession, or the other. The act of Supremacy condemned the Papist, and the act of the Six Articles the Protestant.

Bishop Latimer was one of the first who took offence at these proceedings; and as he could not give his vote for the act, he thought it wrong to hold any office in a church, where such terms of communion were required. He, therefore, resigned his Bishopric, on the 1st of July, 1539, and retired into the country. There was a vein of pleasantry and good humour accompanied the most serious actions of our Prelate's life: and it is said, that when he came from the Parliament House to his lodgings, after his resignation, he threw off his robes, and leaping up, declared to those who stood about him, that "he "thought himself lighter than he ever found himself before."

When the Parliament broke up, the King nominated Commissioners, and sent them throughout the kingdom, to discover all offenders against the act of the Six Articles, that they might be punished with all the rigour of the law. In London only, upwards of five hundred persons were imprisoned on this account, after having been inveigled into confession by the Commissioners. Cranmer and Cromwell saw this persecution with great concern, but they could not prevent it. They stood alone, and were besides sufficiently engaged, in stemming a torrent which

ran strong against themselves.

During the heat of this perfecution, Bishop Latimer resided in the country, where he thought of nothing, for the remainder of his days, but a sequestered life. He knew the storm which was up could not soon be appeased, and he had no inclination to trust himself in it. But while he hoped himself secure, an unhappy accident which besel him, brought him within reach of the malice of his enemies. He received a bruise by the fall of a tree, and the contusion was so dangerous, that he was obliged to seek out for better assistance than could be afforded him by the unskilful surgeons of those parts. And with this view, he repaired to London.

When he arrived in town, he found the prospect still more gloomy: the Popish party had now triumphed over all their obstacles; and he had the mortiscation to see his patron, the Lord Cromwell, in the hands of his enemies; and a still more severe persecution commenced against the Protestants. And Mr. Latimer was foon afterwards found out in his concealment. in London, and accused of having spoken against the statute of the Six Articles, and in consequence committed to the Tower. It does not appear that any formal process was carried on against him, or that he was ever judicially examined. However, he fuffered, under one pretence or other, a long and cruel imprisonment, during all the remainder of King Henry's reign.

In the beginning of the year 1547, King Henry VIII. died; and was succeeded by his son Edward VI. a young Prince in whom, though he was only in the tenth year of his age at his father's death, there appeared the strongest indications of un-common parts, and a most excellent and amiable disposition. He was left, by his father's will, under the care of fixteen persons, during his minority; who were also entrusted with the management of the affairs of the Kingdom. These were at first equal in power; but the Earl of Hertford, foon after created Duke of Somerset, being the King's uncle, was raised above the rest, with the title of Protector of the kingdom. And his elevation to this high office was extremely agreeable to the Protestant party, because he was known to be a friend to the Reformation.

Mr. Latimer had now been upwards of fix years imprisoned in the Tower, during which time he had lived in the constant practice of every Christian virtue that becomes a suffering state. But immediately upon the change of Government, he, and all others who were imprisoned in the same cause, were set at liberty; and as some of Bishop Latimer's old friends were now in power, he was received by them with great cordiality and affec-

Heath, who had been his successor in the Bishopric of Worcester, observing Latimer's credit at Court, was apprehensive that it might be thought proper to re-instate him; and it is certain, that in the prefent situation of affairs, Mr. Latimer would have found no difficulty in dispossessing Heath (o). But he had other fentiments: age coming upon him, he thought himself now unequal to the weight of a Bishopric, and had no inclination to incumber himself with one. He might also possibly

( .) NICHOLAS HEATH was born in the city of London, and received part of his education in Christ Church College, Oxford; but was afterwards removed to Clare Hall in Cambridge, where he took his degrees in arts; and afterwards entering into holy orders, was made Archdeacon of Stafford. In 1539, he was made Bifter of Rochetter, being then Almoner to the King, and

Worcester. Put in the 3d year of King Edward VI. he was committed prisoner to the Fleet, because he would not agree with those who were appointed with him to draw up the book for ordinations; and about two years after he was deprived. Burnet fays, he opposed every thing done towards Reformation in Parliament, though he gave an entire obe-dience to it when it was enacted. was afterwards raifed to the See of But on the accession of Queen Mary, think there was somewhat of hardship and injustice in the case, with respect to Heath. However, it is certain, that he would make no fuit himself, nor suffer his friends to make any, for his restoration.

The Parliament which was now fitting had repealed the act of the Six Articles, and ordered images to be removed out of the churches; and alterations were made in the liturgy agreeable to the reformed principles: and the House of Commons also sent up an address to the Protector, desiring him to restore Mr. Latimer to the Bishopric of Worcester. The Protector was very well inclined to gratify them in this request, and accordingly he proposed to Mr. Latimer the resumption of his Bishopric; but he persisted in declining it, alledging his great age, and the

claim he had from thence to a private life.

Having thus rid himself of all intreaty on this head, he accepted of an invitation from Archbishop Cranmer, and took up his residence with him at Lambeth; where his chief employment was to hear the complaints, and to redrefs the injuries of poor people: and the active benevolence of his temper, and his readiness to perform services of this kind, were so univerfally known, that strangers from every part of England would refort to him; fo that it is faid he had as crowded a levee as that of a Minister of State, consisting of such as were vexed either by the delays of public courts and offices, which were at that time exceedingly out of order; or who were harraffed by the oppressions of the powerful and wealthy (p). And, indeed, no one could be better qualified to undertake the office of redressing injuries :

he was restored again to the Bi-Mopric of Worcester, and afterwards advanced to the Archbishopric of York, and appointed Lord Chancellor of England. When Queen Elizabeth came to the Throne, Cardinal Pole, Archbishop of Canterbury, being dead, Archbishop Heath was applied to, to crown the new Queen; but he refused, as did also several other Prelates; and afterwards refufing to take the oath of Supremacy, he was again deprived, and committed to the Tower; but was foon after fet at li-berty. He then retired to his estate in Sarrey, where he quietly passed the remainder of his days, and where he was feveral times vifited by Queen Elizabeth herself, who treated him with great kindness; being satisfied, it is faid, that he acted from a true principle of conscience. He died about the year 1579.

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Bishop Burnet says, that Archbi-

temper, and great prudence, that understood affairs of State better than matters of religion. His abilities and integrity are spoken of in high terms by feveral writers; and it is urged as an argument of his moderation, that in the first year of Queen Elizabeth, he was appointed by the Privy Council, one of the moderators in the disputes between the Papists and Protestants, Sir Nicholas Bacon being the other .- Vid. Lives of the Lords Chancellors, 8vo. Vol. I. P. 85. Lloyd's State Worthies, Vol. I. P. 413. Hift, of the Reformation, Vol. 11. P. 143. and Wood's Athense Oxonienses, Vol. I. Fol. 603.

(p) Our good Prelate himself,

giving an account of these avocations, fays, "I cannot go to my book, for poor folks that come unto me, defiring that I will speak, that their matters may be heard. Now and then I walk in my Lord of Cantershop Heath was ' a man of a gentle bury's garden, looking in my book :

injuries: for his free reproofs, joined to the integrity of his life, had a great effect upon those in the highest stations; whilst his own independence, and backwardness in asking favours for himfelf, allowed him greater liberty in asking for others.

In these employments he spent more than two years, interfering very little in any public transaction; though, if he had chose it, as his friends were now at the helm, he might undoubtedly have had confiderable weight, at least in ecclefiastical affairs. But besides that he had much distrust of his own judgment, he was a man of fuch exactness in his principles and practice, that he could not make those allowances for men and meafures, which others thought the corruption of the times rendered necessary; and, therefore, he was backward in drawing upon himself such engagements as might lead him, more or less, into what he thought a deviation from the truth, and the simplicity of the Gospel. It appears, however, that he was employed in affifting Archbishop Cranmer to compose the Homilies, which were published by authority in the beginning of King Edward's reign. These Homilies were intended to supply the want of preaching, which was now at a low ebb; and as the reformed principles were inculcated in them, it was intended by their publication to keep the Romish Clergy out of the pulpits; and to that end the book of Homilies was put into the hands of all Ministers of parishes, who were enjoined by authority to

read one every Sunday, instead of preaching.

As Mr. Latimer was one of the most eloquent and popular preachers of the age in which he lived, he was, during the three first years of King Edward's reign, appointed to preach the Lent fermons before the King. And the choice of him for this purpose was generally approved; for as great irregularities prevailed at this time at Court, a spirit of corruption, of avarice, and of great licentiousness of manners, being almost universal among the Great, he was thought one of the fittest men in the kingdom to detect, expose, and censure these vices and enormities. And in his Court fermons in consequence of this appointment, he attacked the vices of those of the highest rank with the greatest energy, and an unexampled freedom. He charged vice so home upon the consciences of the guilty, fays Mr. Gilpin, that he left no room for felf-deceit, or mifapplication: it being a more necessary part, in his opinion, of the preacher's office, to rouze men into a fense of their guilt,

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gate would speak with you. When I ter come to an hearing."

but I can do but little good at it; come there, then it is some one or for I am no fooner in the garden, and other that defireth me that I will have read a little while, but by and by fpeak, that his matter may be heard; cometh fome one or other knocking or that telleth me he hath lain this at the gate. Anon, cometh my man, long time at great costs and charges, and faith, Sir, there is one at the or that he cannot once have his matthan to discourse them merely in the didactic strain; inasmuck

as most men know more than they practife.

Upon the revolution which happened at Court after the death of the Duke of Somerfet, of which some account will be given in another place, Mr. Latimer seems to have retired into the country; and he there made use of the King's licence as a general preacher, in those parts where he thought his labours might be the most serviceable. He was thus employed during the remainder of King Edward's reign, and continued in the same course, for a short time, in the beginning of that of Queen Mary. But as soon as the re-establishment of Popery was resolved on, the first step towards it was the prohibition of all preaching throughout the kingdom, and a licensing only such as were known to be Popishly inclined; accordingly, a strict enquiry was made after the more forward and popular preachers, and many of them were taken up, and thrown into prison.

While this enquiry was carrying on in London, Mr. Latimer was in the country, preaching in his usual manner, unaffected by the danger of the times. But he was interrupted by the Bishop of Winchester, who sent him a citation to appear before the Council. He had notice of this design some hours before the messenger's arrival; but he made no other use of the intelligence, than to prepare himself for his journey. Like other eminent Reformers of that age, he chose rather to meet, than to fly from the impending storm; thinking it became those who were public advocates for the uncorrupted religion of JESUS, to shew that no dangers could deter them from an open and steady adhe-

rence to the truth.

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The messenger on his arrival sinding him prepared for his journey, expressed his surprize at it. But Mr. Latimer told him, "That he was as ready to attend him to London, thus called upon to answer for his faith, as he ever was to take any journey in his life; and that he doubted not but that GOD, who had already enabled him to stand before two Princes, would enable him to stand before a third." The messenger then acquainting him, that he had no orders to seize his person, delivered a letter, and departed. From which it appears, that they chose rather to drive him out of the kingdom, than to bring him to any public trial. "They were asraid (says Fox) less his constancy should deface them in their Popery, and consirm the godly in the truth."

Mr. Latimer, however, having opened the letter, and found it to contain a citation from the Council, determined to obey it; and, accordingly, set out immediately for London. As he passed through Smithsield, "This place (said he with a chear-"ful air) hath long groaned for me." The next day, which was the 13th of September, 1553, he appeared before the Privy-Council, who having loaded him with many reproaches, sent him to the Tower,

Mr. Latimer, during his imprisonment, suffered great hardships; but he endured them with the utmost chearfulness and resignation. Though the weather was severely cold, he was kept
without fire: upon which a servant of the Lieutenant of the
Tower happening once to come in to him, he, with a facetious
air, bid him tell his master, "That unless he took better care of
"him, he should certainly escape him." The servant reporting
his message, the Lieutenant, with some discomposure in his
countenance, came to Mr. Latimer, and desired an explanation
of what he had said to his servant. "Why, you expect, I
"suppose, Master Lieutenant," replied Mr. Latimer, "that I
should be burned; but if you do not allow me a little sire,
this frosty weather, I can tell you, I shall sirst be starved with
cold."

About the same time Archbishop Cranmer, and Bishop Ridley, were also committed to the Tower. They appear at first to have been all confined in separate rooms, but to have had the opportunity of meeting sometimes, when they were indulged with the benefit of the air in the garden of the Tower: but at those intervals they were guarded. They, however, communicated their sentiments to each other with more freedom in writing, particularly Latimer and Ridley. But, at length, these three venerable persons were all consined together in the same room. The reason of which was, that the Tower, as well as the other prisons, were now much crowded with State prisoners, as well as with those

who were confined on a religious account.

But however inconvenient it might be, in some respects, for several persons to be confined in the same room, our venerable Latimer, and his two respectable fellow sufferers, were by no means displeased with this alteration. The enjoyment of each other's company, and friendly converse, was an high satisfaction to them. And now they possessed this advantage, they prepared themselves for the constitution which they shortly expected, by mutual conferences, and reading over very diligently with one ano-

ther the New Testament.

Some time before this, a Convocation had been affembled, in which it was pretended, that the points in controverfy between the Papists and the Protestants, should be fairly argued. But as the Bishop of Winchester, and the Popish party, had now the sole management of affairs, they had so modelled the Convocation, that in the lower House only six Protestant Divines got admittance; and indeed the ablest Protestants were confined in prisons. However, by this junto of Papists, points of Divinity, and articles of faith, were settled. The Protestants being loud in their clamours against the slagrant partiality of these proceedings, the Popish party at length determined to do something in support of their cause, which should have a less exceptionable appearance; and they thought something of this kind the more incumbent upon them, because it was said among the people, that though

though the Protestants had laboured under such disadvantages in the late Convocation, they had notwithstanding the better of the argument. And accordingly it was given out, that the controverfy between the Papists and Protestants should be finally determined, in a solemn disputation to be held at Oxford, between the most eminent Divines on each fide. And Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, were appointed to manage the dispute on the fide

of the Protestants.

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In consequence of this determination, on the 10th of March, 1554, a letter was fent to the Lieutenant of the Tower, directing him to deliver the bodies of Dr. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Ridley, and Mr. Latimer, to Sir John Williams, to be conveyed by him to Oxford. They were not suffered to have They were not fuffered to have any thing with them but what they carried on their backs, their own fervants were taken from them, each had a stranger to attend him, and they were kept severally apart from one another. When they arrived at Oxford, which they did a little before Easter, they were closely confined in the common prison there, deprived of every consolation, but those of religion and conscious integrity. They were even denied the use of pen and ink from which they might easily conclude, how free the intended disputation was likely to be.

They did not, however, employ their prison-hours in vain lamentations; they endured their calamities with firmness and refignation, and as became men whose hopes of happiness were not confined to the present state of existence. Their chief resource was in prayer, in which exercise they spent great part of every day. Mr. Latimer, particularly, would often continue kneeling till he was not able to rife without help. The principal subject of his prayers was, that GOD would enable him to maintain the profession of his religion to the last; that GOD would again restore his Gospel to England, and preserve the Princess Eliza-

beth to be a comfort to this land.

An account is preserved of a conference between Ridley and Latimer, during the time of their imprisonment, which fets the temper of the latter in a strong light. The two Bishops, it is faid, were fitting in their prison, ruminating upon the solemn preparations then making for their trial, when Bishop Ridley thus broke silence. "The time," said he "is now come: we are now called upon either to deny our faith, or to fuffer death " in its defence. You, Mr. Latimer, are an old foldier of " CHRIST, and have frequently withstood the fear of death; " whereas I am raw in the service; and unexperienced." With this preface, he introduced a request, that Mr. Latimer, whom he called his Father, would hear him propose such arguments as he thought it most likely his adversaries would urge against him, and affift him in providing himself with proper answers to them. To this Mr. Latimer, in his usual strain of good humour, anfwered, that, "He fancied the good Bishop was treating him, as Vol. II. 4:

" he remembered Mr. Bilney used formerly to do, who, when " he wanted to teach him, would always do it under colour of " being taught himself. But in the present case, (said he) my "Lord, I am determined for myself to give them very little " trouble. I shall just offer them a plain account of my faith, " and shall fay very little more: for I know any thing more " will be to no purpose. They talk of a free disputation; but " I am well affured, their grand argument will be, as it was once " their forefathers, "We have a law, and by our law ye ought " to die." However, upon Dr. Ridley's pressing his request, they entered upon the examination he defired. When they had finished this exercise, Ridley broke out into the following pathetic strain. "Thus you see, good Father, how I would prepare myself for my adversary; and how I would learn by practice to be expert in those weapons, which I shall presently be obliged to wield. In Tine-dale, upon the borders of " Scotland, the place of my nativity, I have known my country-" men watch night and day in arms, especially when they had " notice of any intended inroad from the Scots. And though " by fuch bravery many of them lost their lives, yet they de-" fended their country, died in a good cause, and entailed the " love of the neighbourhood upon their posterity. And shall to not we watch in the cause of CHRIST, and in the defence of " our religion, whereon depend all our hopes of immortality? " Shall we not go always armed? ever ready to receive a watch-" ful foe? Let us then awake; and taking the cross upon our " shoulders, let us follow our Captain CHRIST, who by his " own blood hath hallowed the way that leadeth to GOD .---"Thus, good Father, I have opened my heart freely unto you. " And now, methinks, I fee you just about to lift up your eyes "to Heaven, in your accustomed manner, and turning your prophetical countenance upon me, thus to speak. --" Trust not,
my son, (I pray you, vouchsafe me the honour of this
name, for in it I shall think myself both honoured by you " and loved), trust not, I say, my son, to these word-weapons, " but remember what our LORD fays, I'r SHALL BE GIVEN " YOU IN THAT SAME HOUR WHAT YOU SHALL SPEAK. Przy " for me, O Father, pray for me, that I may throw my whole " care upon GOD, and may trust in him only in my distresses." " Of my prayers," replied the venerable Latimer, " you may be well affured: nor do I doubt but I shall have your's in " return. And, indeed, prayer and patience should be our " great resources. For myself, had I the learning of St. Paul, "I should think it ill laid out upon an elaborate defence. Yet " our case, my Lord, admits of comfort. Our enemies can de " no more than GOD permits; and GOD is faithful; who " will not fuffer us to be tempted above our strength. Be at " a point with them: stand to that, and let them say and do
what they please. To use many words would be vain: yet

" it is requisite to give a reasonable account of your faith, if "they will quietly hear you. For other things, in a wicked judgment-hall, a man may keep filence after the example of " CHRIST. As for their fophistry, you know falsehood may " often be difguised in the colours of truth. But above all " things, be upon your guard against the fear of death. " is the great argument you must oppose.---Poor Shaxton (q)! " it is to be feared this argument had the greatest weight in his " recantation. But let us be fledfast and immoveable; assuring ourselves, that we cannot be more happy, than by being such " Philippians, as not only believe in CHRIST, but dare suffer " for his fake." Such was the noble fortitude, and such were the exalted fentiments, with which these two great Reformers of

religion were inspired (r)!

On the 13th of April, the Commissioners from the Convocation, who were appointed to defend the Popish doctrines against Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, arrived at Oxford. They were thirty-three in number, of whom the most considerable were Weston, Smith, Tresham (s), and Chedsey. And these persons, having received great civilities from the University of Oxford, and settled all previous punctilios, proceeded to business. Arraying themselves in scarlet, they assembled at St. Mary's church; where feating themselves before the altar, and placing the Prolocutor, Dr. Weston, in the midst, they sent for the pri-foners. Cranmer was first brought in, whom the Prolocutor informed, after having made a short speech in praise of religious unity, that the Convocation, by her Majesty's order, taking into confideration his apostacy, and that of his brethren, had commisfioned them to endeavour to bring them back to their Mother Church;

Bishop of Salisbury, who was for Sub-Dean of Christ-church, fonie time an opposer of the Popish doctrines, and was condemned to be burnt for herefy in the reign of Henry VIII. But he was prevailed upon to recant, and acknowledge himself convinced of his errors, in confequence of which he was pardoned; and he afterwards preached a fermon in Smithfield, in defence of Transubstantiation, at the time that Anne Askew, and three men, were there burnt for denying that doctrine. Bishop Burnet says, he was also concerned in the perfecution of the Protestants in Queen Mary's time.

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(r) Gilpin, 153—156. (s) Of Dr. Tresham, one of these Commissioners, Mr. Gilpin relates the following story, as an illustration of his character. When Queen Mary

( 9 ) NICHOLAS SHAXTON, religion at Oxford, Dr. Tresham, then among those who were trutted by her in this butiness. Calling together, therefore, the Members of his College, he recommended Popery to them in a fet oration; and having talked over all the common place arguments with fufficient prolixity, he emphatically concluded with telling them, " That a parcel of very fine copes had been made to go to Windfor; but that the Queen had been fo gracious as to fend them to Chriftchurch; and that if they would go to mass, they should each have one: that upon that condition, he would, moreover, procure for them the ladybell at Bampton, which would make Christ-church bells the sweetest of any in England: and that laftly, he his character. When Queen Mary would give them as fine a water-began to think of reftoring the old fprinkle, as eyes ever beheld." Church; that for this end certain articles had been drawn up, which the Convocation had figned, and which it was expected that he too, and his brethren, would either subscribe, or consute.

The Prolocutor then ordered the articles to be read aloud, which were these. "The natural body of CHRIST is really in the Scanness of the language for the property of the contract of the contr

" the Sacrament after the words spoken by the Priest .-- In the " Sacrament, after the words of confecration, no other fub-" stance does remain, than the substance of the body and blood of CHRIST.---In the mass is a facrifice propitiatory for the fins of the quick and dead." Archbishop Cranmer denied the truth of these articles, and refused to subscribe them; as did also, Bishop Ridley, who was next brought in, and to whom they were tendered in the same manner. The Prolocutor ordered copies of the articles to be delivered to each of them, and fixed two separate days, in which, he told them, it was expected they would publicly argue against the articles which they had refused to

subscribe.

Cranmer and Ridley being dismissed, Mr. Latimer was then brought in, like a primitive martyr, in his prison attire. He had a cap upon his head, buttoned under his chin, a pair of spectacles hanging at his breast, a New Testament under his arm, and a staff in his hand. He was almost spent with pressing through the croud; and the Prolocutor ordering a chair to be brought for him, he walked up to it, and faying he was a very old man, fat down without any ceremony. The articles were then tendered to him, which he denied. The Prolocutor, upon this, telling him that he must dispute on the Wednesday following, the old Bishop, with as much chearfulness as he would have shewn upon the most ordinary occasion, shaking his palsied head, answered smiling, " Indeed, gentlemen, I am just as well quali-" fied to be made Governor of Calais," He then complained, that he was very old, and very infirm; and faid, that he had not the use of pen and ink, nor any book, but that under his arm; which he had deliberately read over seven times, without finding the least mention made of the mass. In this speech he gave great offence, by faying, in his humorous way, alluding to Transubstantiation, that he could find neither the marrow-bones, nor the finews of the mass, in the New Testament. Upon which, the Prolocutor cried out with some warmth, that he would make him find both. " That you will never do, mafter Doctor," replied Mr. Latimer. He then attempted to explain what he meant by the expressions he had made use of; but he was not permitted to speak, and the assembly broke up.

Cranmer and Ridley having each of them publicly defended their opinions on the days fixed for that purpose, Bishop Latimer likewise appeared in his turn at the place appointed. And when the Commissioners were seated, the audience formed, and the tumult of the croud in some degree subsided, the Prolocutor rose up, and acquaint d his hearers, that the cause of their meeting was to defend the orthodox doctrine of Transubstantiation; and to confute certain novel opinions, which had been of late zealously propagated in the nation. "And of you, Father," said he, turning to the old Prelate, "I beg, if you have any thing to fay, that you will be as concise as possible." This was spoken in Latin; upon which Latimer answered, "I hope, "Sir, you will give me leave to speak what I have to speak in "English: I have been very little conversant in the Latin tongue these twenty years." The Prolocutor consented; and the Bishop, having thanked him, replied, "I will just beg leave, then, Sir, to protest my faith. Indeed, I am not able to dispute. I will protest my faith, and you may then do

" with me just what you please."

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Upon this he took a paper out of his pocket, and began to read it. He had in this committed to writing, his reasons against affenting to the articles which he had been required to subscribe, and his protestation against them. But he had not proceeded many minutes, when a murmur arose on every hand, increasing by degrees into a clamour; and which was rather encouraged, than checked, by the Prolocutor. Mr. Latimer, furprized at this sudden tumult of ill-manners, paused in admira-tion at it: but presently recovering himself, he turned to the Prolocutor, and faid, with some vehemence, " In my time I have " spoken before two Kings, and have been heard for some hours " together, without interruption: but here I cannot be permit-" ted one quarter of an hour .-- Dr. Weston, I have frequently " heard of you before : but I think I never saw you till I came " before you on this occasion. I perceive you have great wit, " and great learning: GOD grant you may make a right use of these gifts!" He then gave the paper containing his protestation to the Prolocutor, who faid to him, "Since you refuse to dispute, will you then subscribe?" Upon Latimer's answering in the negative, Weston artfully led him by a train of familiar questions into an argument; and when he thought he had raised him to a proper pitch, he gave a fign to Dr. Smith, who was appointed to oppose him, to begin: who being prepared, immediately rose up, and in a pompous manner prefaced the disputation, and gave out the question. When he had done, Mr. Latimer gravely answered, "I am forry, Sir, that this wor-" shipful audience must be disappointed in their expectations: " I have already spoken my mind."

The Prolocutor observing this, began again in his artful manner to draw Mr. Latimer into an argument. "Pray, Sir," said he, "how long have you been in prison?" "About nine months, Sir." "But I was imprisoned," said Weston, "fix years." "I am heartily forry for it, Sir." "I think you were once, Mr. Latimer, of our way of thinking." I was, Sir." "I have heard too, that you have said mass in your time." "I have, Sir; and I beg of Gon forgiveness for

" it." He then asked him, why he altered his opinion, and where he got his present new-fangled notions; and thus, by degrees, led him to answer the chief arguments brought from Scripture in favour of Transubstantiation. They then began to ply him with the Fathers; and first a passage from St. Hillary was quoted. As he was about to answer, one of the Commisfioners called out to him, being probably apprehensive that Mr. Latimer would corrupt the populace by his heretical opinions, " Mr. Latimer, speak in Latin, speak in Latin; I know you " can do it, if you please." But the Bishop saying he had the Prolocutor's leave, went on in English, and told them, that, " As for the passage from Hillary, which they had quoted, he really could not fee that it made much for them; but he would answer them by another quotation from Melancthon, who fays, that if the Fathers had foreseen how much weight their authority was to have in this controversy, they would have written with more caution."

But Latimer's opponent not being fatisfied with this, endeavoured to reduce the words of Hillary into a fyllogistic argument, and began thus: "Such as is the unity of our sless with CHRIST's blood; such, nay greater, is the unity of CHRIST with the FATHER.---But the unity of CHRIST's sless with our sless, is true and substantial.---Therefore, the unity of CHRIST with the FATHER, is true and substantial." Here he paused, expecting that the Bishop would deny his Major or his Minor, as the logicians speak. But instead of that, he answered gravely, "You may go on, Sir, if you please; but, upon my word, I do

" not understand you."

The jargon of this learned Doctor being filenced, others attacked him, but with equal fuccess. He answered their questions as far as civility required, but none of them could engage him in any formal disputation. And when proofs from the Fathers were multiplied upon him, he at length told them plainly, "That such proofs had no weight with him: that the Fathers, no doubt, were often deceived; and that he never depended upon them, but when they depended upon Scripture." "Then you are not of St. Chrysostom's faith, (replied his antagonist) nor of St. Austin's." "I have told you (said Mr. Latimer) I am not, except when they bring Scripture for what they say (t)."

" not, except when they bring Scripture for what they fay (t)."

Little more was faid, of any importance, before the Prolocutor addressed himself to our old Prelate, and said, "Well, Mr. Latimer, this is our intent, to wish you well, and to exhort you to come to yourself; and remember, that without Noah's ark, (meaning the church), there is no health. Remember, what they have been that were the beginners of your doctrine; none but a few slying apostates, running out of Germany for fear of the saggot. Remember what they have been which

"have set forth the same in this Realm: a fort of SLING-BRAINS and LIGHT-HEADS, which were never constant in any one thing." Dr. Weston concluded his eloquent harangue with saying to the Bishop, "Your stubborness cometh of a vain glory, which is to no purpose; for it will do you no good when a faggot is in your beard." He then told him, that the Queen would be merciful, if he would renounce his opinions. But Bishop Latimer assured him, that it would be in vain for him to form any expectations of that kind. And he added, "I pray daily for the Queen, from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn from this religion." The Prolocutor then rose up, and dissolved the assembly, crying out to the populace, "Here you all see the weakness of heresy against the truth: here is a man who, adhering to his errors, hath given up the Gospel, and rejected the Fathers." The old Bishop made no reply; but wrapping his gown about him, and taking up his New Testament, and his staff, walked out as unconcerned as he came in.

These public disputations being now at an end, nothing remained but to pass sentence. On the Friday following, therefore, the Commissioners, seated in their accustomed form, sent for the three Bishops to St. Mary's church: where, after some affected exhortations to recant, sentence was pronounced against them, that they were no Members of the Church: and therefore they, their fautors and patrons, were condemned as Heretics. As soon as the sentence was read, Bishop Latimer lifting up his eyes, cried out, "I thank GOD most heartily, that he hath prolonged my life to this end!" To which the Prolocutor replied, "If you go to Heaven in this faith, I am thow roughly persuaded I shall never get there." The three Prelates were then separately carried away to different places of consinement; Cranmer to a prison called Bocardo, Ridley to the Sheriff's house, and Latimer to the Bailiss. And the next day a grand procession was made, in which the host, by way of triumph, was carried in state, under a canopy.

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The three Bishops were continued in close confinement at Oxford upwards of fixteen months, without any steps being taken towards putting them to the cruel death which it was intended they should suffer. This had been hitherto delayed, partly because the former proceedings against them at Oxford had been irregular, as the statutes on which they had been condemned were not then in force; and partly, as it is said, on account of some private views of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, who had the chief management of affairs.

New laws, however, in support of the Romish religion, had now been enacted; the Pope's authority was again acknowledged; the old sanguinary laws against Heretics were revived; and the most bloody perfecution of the Protestants which was eyer seen in England, followed in consequence. And a commission

fion was now granted from Cardinal Pole, the Pope's Legate A LATERE, to White, Bishop of Lincoln, Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester, and Holiman, Bishop of Bristol, empowering them to cite the Bishops Latimer and Ridley before them, and to try them for heresy. They were directed to receive them into the bosom of the Church, as penitents, if they would renounce their errors; but if they continued obstinate, they were to condemn them as Heretics, and deliver them over to the secular arm.

Accordingly the Commissioners repaired to Oxford; and on the 30th of September, 1555, having seated themselves in great state in the divinity school, the two Bishops were cited to appear before them. Ridley was first examined; and when they had done with him, Bishop Latimer was brought in. The Bishop of Lincoln, who was an eloquent man, made a pathetic speech to him, in which he earnestly exhorted him to accept the mercy which was offered him, and to acknowledge the authority of the See of Rome. Mr. Latimer then, having obtained permission to sit down, thanked the Bishop for his gentle treatment of him; but at the same time assured him, that it was in vain to expect from him any acknowledgment of the Pope's authority. He did not believe, he said, that any such jurisdiction had been given to the See of Rome; nor had the Bishops of Rome behaved, as if their power had been from GOD. He then quoted a Popish book, which had been lately written, to shew how grossy the Papists would misrepresent Scripture: and concluded with saying, that he thought the Clergy had nothing to do with temporal power, nor ought ever to be entrusted with it: and that their commission from their master, in his opinion, extended no farther than to the discharge of their pastoral functions.

To this the Bishop of Lincoln replied, "That he thought his still not quite so decent as it might be; and that, as to the book which he quoted, he knew nothing of it." At this the old Bishop seemed to express his surprize, and told him, that although he did not know the author of it, yet it was written by a person of name, the Bishop of Gloucester. This produced some mirth among the audience, as the Bishop of Gloucester sat then upon the bench. And that Prelate, finding himself thus publicly challenged, rose up, and, addressing himself to Mr. Latimer, made some observations in desence of his book. But, his zeal carrying him too far, the Bishop of London interrupting him, said, "We came not here, my Lord, to dispute with Mr. "Latimer, but to take his answer to certain articles which shall

" be proposed to him."

These articles were much the same as those, on which he had been brought to dispute the year before. They were accordingly read, and Mr. Latimer answered them all as he then did; at the same time protesting, which protestation he begged might be registered, that, notwithstanding his answers to the Pope's Commissioners, he by no means acknowledged the authorized

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riey of the Pope. The notaries having taken down his answers and protestation, the Bishop of Lincoln told him, "That as far as he could, he would shew lenity to him; that he should be called upon the next morning, when he might make what alterations he pleased in the answers which he had now given in; and that he hoped in GOD he should then find him in a better temper." To this the old Bishop answered, "That he begged they would do with him then just what they pleased, and that he might not trouble them, nor they him another day; that as to his opinions, he was fixed in them; and that any respite would be needless." The Bishop of Lincoln, however, told him, that he must appear again the next morning; and then dissolved the assembly (u).

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Accordingly, the next morning, the Commissioners sitting in the same form, Bishop Latimer was once more brought in. And the Bishop of Lincoln repeatedly urged him to renounce his opinions; but he still continuing in the same sentiments, the Prelate at length passed sentence upon him. From this sentence, Latimer appealed to the next general Council, which should be truly called in GOD's name; but the Bishop of Lincoln told him, and the Prelate was certainly in the right, that it would be a long season before such a Convocation would be called. Having said this, he committed Bishop Latimer to the custody of the Mayor, and dissolved the assembly. Sentence had been passed the same day on Bishop Ridley.

The 16th of October, about a fortnight from this time, was fixed for their execution; and on the north-fide of the town, near Baliol-College, a fpot of ground was chosen for the place of it. And in the mean time, as it was feared this affair might occasion some disturbance, Lord Williams was ordered to arm a body of the militia, and repair immediately to Oxford, to attend on the occasion.

On the day appointed, the Vice-Chancellor of Oxford, and other persons of distinction, repaired early in the morning to the place of execution; and the Lord Williams having drawn his guard around the place, the prisoners were sent for. Bishop Ridley first entered the dreadful circle, accompanied by the Mayor and one of the Aldermen; and soon after Bishop Latimer was brought in. The former was dressed in his episcopal habit; the latter, as usual, in his prison-attire. This difference in their dress made a moving contrast, and augmented the concern of the spectators: Bishop Ridley shewing what they had before been, and Bishop Latimer what they were now reduced to.

While they stood before the stake, about to prepare themselves for the fire, they were informed that they must first hear a sermon: and soon after, Dr. Smith ascended a pulpit, prepared for the purpose, and preached on these words of St. Paul. "Though

e purpose, and preached on these words of St. Paul. "Though Vol. II. 4. "I give "I give my body to be burned, and have not CHARITY, it pro"fiteth me nothing (w)." In his discourse, he treated the two
Bishops with great inhumanity; aspersing both their characters
and tenets. Both Ridley and Latimer were desirous of saying
something in answer to Smith's sermon; but they were not permitted.

An Officer then stepped up, and acquainted them, "That at their leifure they might now make ready for the stake." And the attention of the spectators at length burst into tears, when they saw these two venerable men now preparing for death. When they considered, as Mr. Fox observes, their preferments, the places of honour they held in the Commonwealth, the favour they stood in with their Princes, their great learning, and greater piety, they were overwhelmed with sorrow to see so much dignity, so much honour, so much estimation, so many godly virtues, the study of so many years, and so much excellent learn-

ing, about to be confumed in one moment.

Mr. Latimer, having thrown off the old gown which was wrapped about him, appeared in a shroud, prepared for the purpose: and "whereas before (says Mr. Fox) he seemed a withered and crooked old man, he now stood bolt upright, as comely a "Father as one might lightly behold." And when he and his fellow sufferer Ridley were ready, they were both sastened to the stake with an iron chain. They then brought a saggot ready kindled, and laid it at Ridley's feet; to whom Latimer said, "Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man. We shall this day light such a candle by GOD's grace in Eng-"land, as I trust shall never be put out." He then recommended his soul to GOD, and received the stame as it were embracing it. And after he had stroked his sace with his hand, he soon died, and to all appearance without much pain. His end was hastened by some gunpowder, which was sastened about his body; and which was brought to the stake for that purpose by Mr. Shipside, brother-in-law to Bishop Ridley.

Such was the end of HUGH LATIMER, Bishop of Worcester; one of the leaders of that glorious army of martyrs, who introduced the Reformation in England. He was a Prelate of a most exemplary and primitive character, and of the most unaffected goodness. He was indefatigable in the discharge of the duties of his profession; and that he might have the more time for that purpose, it was his general custom, we are told, to rise at two o'clock in the morning. He possessed an uncommon chearfulness of temper, and a very lively wit; and so much fortitude of mind, that none of the accidents of life could discompose him, nor could the severest trials unman him. No dangers could deter

<sup>(</sup>w) A text admirably fuited to bited, was a firiking specimen of the occasion! Without doubt, the Popish MERCY, MENEVOLENCE, and tragedy that was about to be exhi
CHARITY!

deter him from the performance of what he thought to be his duty; nor could he be drawn from it by the allurements of ambition. For though fometimes conversant in Courts, and admitted to the familiarity of Princes, he preferved to the last his

original plainness and simplicity of manners.

Bishop Latimer was not esteemed a very learned man; for he cultivated only useful learning; and that, he thought, lay in a narrow compass. He never engaged in temporal affairs, thinking that a Clergyman ought to employ himself only in his profession. And he lived rather a good, than what the world calls a great man. He had not those commanding talents, which give superiority in business; but for honesty and sincerity of heart, for apostolic zeal in the cause of religion, and for every virtue both of a public and private kind, that should adorn the Christian, he was eminent and exemplary beyond most men of his own, or indeed any other time; well deserving that evangelical commendation, "With the testimony of a good conscience, in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with slessly wisence, in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with slessly wisence, in the world."

His great merit as a preacher hath been already spoken of. No man of that age could persuade, or exhort, with equal force. And the wicked, of whatever rank, or in whatever station, he rebuked with an uncommon freedom. A collection of his fermons was published in 1570, by Augustus Bernhere, an Helvetian, or Swis, (who calls the Bishop his master), and dedicated by him to Catherine, Dutchess of Suffolk. They were printed again in 1572, and in 1635, in 4to. This collection consists of forty sermons; one of which was preached before the Convocation; seven before King Edward the Sixth; seven upon the

LORD's Prayer; and others upon particular occasions.

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Bishop Latimer's sermons, says Mr. Gilpin, are far from being exact pieces of composition. Elegant writing was then little known. Some polite scholars there were, Cheke, Ascham, and a few others, who, from an acquaintance with classical learning, of which they were the restorers, began to think in a new manner, and could treat a subject with accuracy at least, if not with elegance. But in general, the writers of that age, and especially the churchmen, were equally incorrect in their composition, and slovenly in their language. We must not, therefore, expect that Mr. Latimer's discourses will stand a critical enquiry: they are at best loose, incoherent pieces: yet his simplicity, and low familiarity, his humour, and gibing drollery, were well adapted to the times; and his oratory, according to the mode of eloquence at that day, was exceeding popular. His manner of preaching too was very affecting: and no wonder; for he spoke immediately from his heart.

We shall select one or two passages from Bishop Latimer's fer-

mons, as a specimen of his stile and manner.

In feveral of his fermons he cenfures the Clergy with much feverity, and particularly the Bishops. In one of them, preached before King Edward VI. he expresses himself thus: "Thou shalt not (fays he, addressing himself to his Majesty), be par-" taker of other men's fins. So faith St. Paul. And what is it " to be a partaker of other men's fins, if it be not fo, to make " unpreaching Prelates, and to suffer them to continue still in " their unpreaching Prelacy. If the King should suffer these 46 things, and look through his fingers, and wink at them, " should not the King be a partaker of other men's fins? And " why? Is he not supreme head of the Church? What? Is the " fupremacy a dignity, and nothing else? Is it not account-" able? I think verily it will be a chargeable dignity, when ac-" count shall be asked of it .--- If the falt is unsavoury, it is good " for nothing. By this falt is understood preachers. And if it " is good for nothing, it should be cast out. Out with them 45 then, cast them out of their office. What should they do " with cures, that will not look to them ?--- O that a man might 44 have the contemplation of Hell; that the Devil would allow " a man to look into it, and see its state, as he shewed all the " world, when he tempted CHRIST in the wilderness. On yonder side, would the Devil say, are punished unpreaching " Prelates. I think verily a man might see as far a kenning, as " far as from Calais to Dover, I warrant you, and see nothing " but unpreaching Prelates .-- As for them, I never look to have " their good words as long as I live. Yet will I speak of their " wickedness, as long as I shall be permitted to speak. No " preacher can pass it over in silence. It is the original root of all mischief. As for me, I owe them no other ill-will, but to " pray GOD to amend them. I would have them do their duty. "I owe them no other malice than this, and this is none at all." In another fermon, preached also before the King, he censures the venality of Judges, and those who had the disposal of offices. "If a Judge (fays he) should ask me the way to Hell, I " would shew him this way: first let him be a covetous man; " then let him go a little farther, and take bribes; and lattly, " let him pervert judgment. Lo, here is the mother, and the " daughter, and the daughter's daughter. Avarice is the mo-"ther; she brings forth bribe-taking, and bribe-taking per-" verting of judgment. There lacks a fourth thing to make " up the mess, which, so GOD help me, if I were Judge, should " be a Tyburn tippit. Were it the Judge of the King's Bench, "my Lord Chief Justice of England, yea, were it my Lord Chancellor himself, to Tyburn with him .-- But one will say, " peradventure, you speak unseemly so to be against the Of-ficers, for taking of rewards: you consider not the matter to 5 the bottom. Their offices be bought for great fums : how " fhould fould they receive their money again, but by bribing? You " would not have them undone? Some of them give two hun-" dred pounds, some five hundred, some two thousand; and 64 how can they gather up this money again, but by helping 64 themselves in their office ?---And is it so, trow ye? Are civil " offices bought for money? LORD GOD! who would have " thought it! Oh! that your Grace would feek through your " Realm for men, meet for offices, yea, and give them liberally " for their pains, rather than that they should give money for " them. This buying of offices is a making of bribery: for " he that buyeth, must needs fell. You should feek out for of-" fices wife men, and men of activity, that have stomachs to " do their business; not milk-sops, nor white-livered Knights; " but fearers of GOD: for he that feareth GOD, will be no " briber .-- But perhaps you will fay, We touch no bribes. No, " marry; but my mistress, your wife, hath a fine finger; she " toucheth it for you; or else you have a servant, who will say, " If you will offer my mafter a yoke of oxen, you will fare ne-" ver the worse: but I think my master will not take them. "When he has offered them to the master, then comes another " fervant, and fays, If you will carry them to the clerk of the " kitchen, you will be remembered the better. This is a friarly " fashion: they will receive no money in their hands, but will " have it put upon their sleeves."--- If our good Prelate had lived in the present age, he would have had ample scope for the warmest declamations against venality; for many and great improvements have been made in the science of bribery and corruption, fince the time of honest Latimer.

In another fermon, in which he again attacks the Prelates, he expresses himself thus: " CHRIST tells us, (says he), it be-"hoved him to preach the Gospel, for therefore was he sent, " Is it not a marvellous thing, that our unpreaching Prelates " can read this place, and yet preach so little as they do? I mar-" vel that they can go quietly to bed .-- The Devil hath fet up " a state of unpreaching Prelacy these seven hundred years, and " hath made unpreaching Prelates .--- I heard of a Bishop of " England, that went on a visitation, and when he should have " been rung into the town, as the custom is, the great bell's clapper was fallen down. There was a great matter made of " this, and the chief of the parish were much blamed for it in " the visitation: and the Bishop was somewhat quick with "them. They made their answers, and excused themselves as " well as they could: it was a chance, they faid; and it should " be amended as shortly as it might be. Among them there " was one wifer than the rest, who comes up to the Bishop: "Why, my Lord, fays he, doth your Lordthip make fo great a matter of the bell that lacketh a clapper? Here is a bell, faith " he, and pointed to the pulpit, that hath lacked a clapper these "twenty years," I warrant you, this Bishop was an unpreach-

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" ing Prelate : he could find fault with the bell that wanted a " clapper to ring him into town, but he could find no fault with

" the Parson that preached not at his benefice."

In the last of these sermons which were preached before the King, after having four times repeated these words, "Take heed, " and beware of covetouineis," he proceeds thus, " And what " if I should say nothing else these three or four hours, but these " words ?--- Great complaints there are of it, and much crying out, and much preaching; but little amendment, that I can " fee .--- Covetousness is the root of all evil. Then have at the " root; out with your swords, ye preachers, and strike at the root. Stand not ticking and toying at the branches, for new " branches will spring out again, but strike at the root, and fear " not these great men; these men of power; these oppressors

of the needy; fear them not, but strike at the root."

In this fermon he addresses himself frequently, and with great freedom, to the King. " I come now (fays he) rather as a fui-" tor to your Majesty, than a preacher: for I come to take my " last farewell in this place: and here I will ask a petition. " For the love of GOD take an order for marriages here in " England. There is much adultery now-a-days, not only in " the Nobility, but among the inferior fort. I could wish, " therefore, that a law might be provided in this behalf, and " that adulterers might be punished with death. If the hus-4 band, or wife should become fuitor, they might be pardoned " the first time, but not the second .--- And here I have another " fuit to your Majesty: when you come to age, beware what er persons you have about you. For if you be set on pleasure, or disposed to wantonness, you shall have Ministers enough to " be fartherers and instruments of it .-- Fear not foreign Princes, " and foreign Powers. GOD shall make you strong enough: 4 fear him; fear not them. Peradventure you shall have that " shall move you, and fay unto you, " Oh, Sir, such a one is a " mighty Prince, and a King of great power: you cannot be " without his friendship: agree with him in religion, or else "you shall have him your enemy." Well; fear them not; cleave to GOD; and he shall defend you; though you " should have that would turn with you, yea, even in their " white rochets .--- Beware, therefore, of two affections, Fear " and Love. And I require you, look to your office yourfelf, " and lay not all on the Officers backs. Receive bills of sup-" plication yourself. I do not see you do now-a-days, as you " were wont to do last year. Poor men put up bills every day, " and never the nearer. Begin, therefore, doing of your office " yourfelf, now when you are young; and fit once or twice in " the week in council among your Lords: it will cause things " to have good success, and matters will not be so lingered from " day to day."

We shall conclude these extracts, with Bishop Latimer's own apology for his free speaking. " England (says he) cannot a abide this geer; it cannot hear GOD's Minister, and his "threatening against fin. Though the sermon be never so good, and never so true, strait he is a seditious sellow, he " maketh trouble and rebellion in the Realm, he lacketh dif-" cretion. Now-a-days, if they cannot reprove the doctrine, " they will reprove the preacher: what! preach fuch things " NOW! He should have respect to the TIME, and the STATE " of THINGS. It rejoiceth me, when my friends tell me, that " people find fault with my discretion: for by likelihood, think " I, the doctrine is true: for if they could find fault with the " doctrine, they would not charge me with the lack of discre-"question: I pray you, when should Jonas have preached against the covetousness of Nineveh, if the covetous men should have appointed him his time? I know that preachers " ought to have diferetion in their preaching; and that they " ought to have a confideration, and respect to the place and "the time, where and when they preach: and I say here what I
would not say in the country for no good. But what then?
Sin must be rebuked: sin must be plainly spoken against."
Mr. Fox has preserved several of Bishop Latimer's letters, in

Mr. Fox has preserved several of Bishop Latimer's letters, in his Acts and Monuments; and injunctions given by Latimer to the Prior and Convent of St. Mary House in Worcester, during his visitation in 1537, have been published by Bishop Burnet, in the collection of Records at the end of the second Volume of

his History of the Reformation.

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## The Life of CUTHBERT TONSTAL, Bishop of Durham.

UTHBERT TONSTAL was born at Hatchford in Richmondshire, about the year 1474. He was a natural son of a gentleman named Tonstal, by a daughter of the Conyers samily. He became a student in the University of Oxford about 1491; but being forced to leave it on account of the plague, he went to Cambridge, where he became Fellow of King's Hall (x). After having for some time prosecuted his studies there, he travelled beyond sea, and studied in the University of Padua, which was then in the highest reputation. He there took the degree of Doctor of Laws; for it does not appear that he had taken any degree in either of our Universities. He applied himself to his studies with so much diligence and success, that Bishop Godwin tells us, "there was scarce any kind of good learning in which he was not excellent; being a very good Grecian, well acquainted with the Hebrew, a very eloquent Rhetorician, a skilful Mathematician, famous especially for Arithmetic, a great Lawyer, and a prosound Divine."

Dr. Tonstal's intellectual endowments, together with the character which he had acquired, as a man of piety and virtue, recommended him, after his return into England, to the patronage of Archbishop Warham, who constituted him his Vicar-General, or Chancellor, in August, 1511. The Archbishop also introduced and recommended him to King Henry VIII. and by that means greatly contributed towards his suture advancement. He also collated him, in December the same year, to the Rectory of

Harrow on the Hill, in Middlefex.

In 1514, Dr. Tonstal was installed in the Prebend of Stow-Longa, in the church of Lincoln, and the following year admitted Archdeacon of Chester. In 1516, he was made Master of the Rolls, a post for which his extensive knowledge in the laws had well qualified him. The same year he was sent on an Embassy, together with Sir Thomas More, to the Emperor Charles V. then at Brussels; and had the satisfaction of living there in the same house with Erasmus. This we learn from an epistle

<sup>(</sup> x ) This Hall is now incorporated with, and made part of Trinity College.

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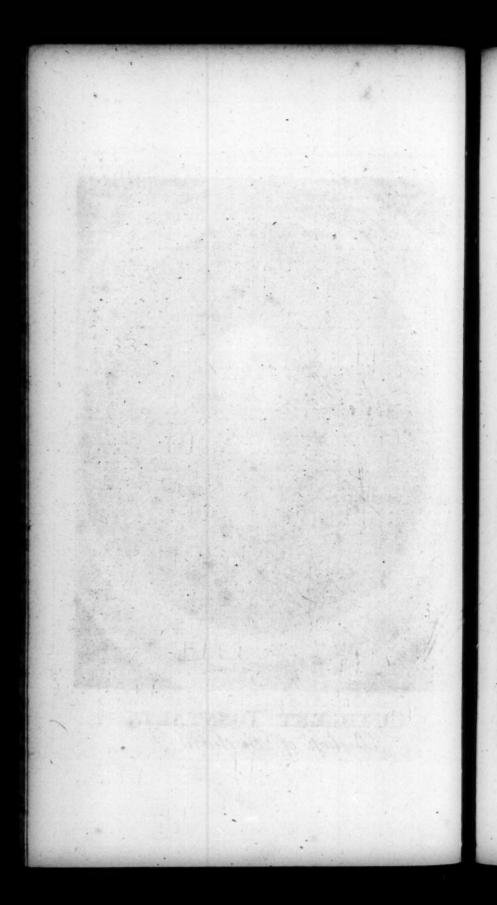
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CUTHBERT TONSTALL, Bishop of Durham O.



epiffle of Erasmus, in which he expresses himself thus: "We have here (says he) Cuthbert Tonstal, Master of the Rolls in England, Ambassador from his Prince to our Emperor, Charles V. A man, who not only excels all his cotemporative is in the knowledge of the learned languages, but is also of an exquisite judgment, of a clear understanding, and of uncommon modesty. He is likewise of a chearful and agreeable temper, but without levity. I board with him, which is a great happiness to me."

During the time that Dr. Tonstal was employed on this Embassy, he was extremely diligent in discharging the duties of his post; and as his abilities were fully equal to the office he had undertaken, nothing escaped him, in which the interest of his master, King Henry, was concerned. He perfectly understood the state of the Imperial Court, penetrated into all the designs of it, and failed not, as occasion offered, to communicate his observations, and impart his advice, either to the King, or to Cardinal Wolfey, then Prime Minister. In 1517, he returned to England; but he had not been at home above ten days, before

he was fent upon a fecond Embassy to the Emperor.

In 1519, Dr. Tonstal was collated to the Prebend of Botevant, in the church of York; and on the 26th of May, 1521, he was also made Prebendary of Combe and Hornham, in the church of Sarum; and in the same month and year, elected Dean of that church. And his great learning and abilities, and the sidelity and assiduity which he displayed in his several employments, had now so recommended him to the Royal savour, that in 1522, he was promoted to the Bishopric of London. And in 1523, he was made Keeper of the Privy Seal. In 1525, he and Sir Richard Wingsield went Ambassadors into Spain, in order to confer with the Emperor, after the King of France, Francis I. was taken prisoner at the battle of Pavia (y).

In 1527, we find Bishop Tonstal employed in prosecuting several persons in his Diocese for heresy. For he was strongly attached to the principles of the Romish Church; and upon the first appearance of the writings of Luther, he earnestly solicited Brasmus to write against them, and he bestowed some very hard names upon Luther. Brasmus, however, excused himself as well as he could; and, in his answer to Tonstal, said some things in favour of Luther. "I hear (said he) that some things are condemned in the writings of Luther; which, if they were truly examined by learned, upright, and impartial persons, would contribute to the promotion of that holy and evange-

" lical spirit, which is too much lost in the world."

But as our Prelate was of a temper naturally mild and humane, he did not carry his zeal for the Church fo far, as to cause my persons to be put to death for their opinions. On the con-Vol. H. 4. trary, he was always an advocate for milder methods of reclaiming them from their errors. He cannot, however, be entirely acquitted from the guilt of perfecution. "Tonftal (fays Dr. "Jortin) was an oppressor of the Protestants, though he did
not shed their blood; and compelled these poor people to ac-

" cufe themselves, their friends, and their nearest relations. Cursed are the theological principles, which produce such " fad effects even in good-tempered men, and eat up so much of

" their honour and humanity ( z ) !"

In July, 1527, Bishop Tonstal attended Cardinal Wolsey in his pompous Embassy into France; and in 1529, he was one of the English Ambassadors employed to negociate the treaty of Cambray. And on his return from the latter Embassy, he gave a remarkable evidence of his attachment to Popery. William Tyndal (a) had published the year before an English translation

(z) Vid. Life of Erasmus, Vol. II.

P. 711.
(a) WILLIAM TYNDAL was born about the borders of Wales, After being initiated in Grammar learning, he profecuted his studies in the university of Oxford; where having imbibed the principles of the Reformation, he privately instructed in it some of the junior fellows of Magdalen College, and other students. And he was greatly esteemed in the University for his excellent moral character, being confidered as a man of a most virtuous disposition, and of an unspotted life. So that in consideration of his merit, he was admitted a canon of the college then newly founded by Cardinal Wolfey. But he was obliged to quit it, on account of his espousing the Lutheran opinions too openly; upon which he retired to where he diligently ap-Cambridge, plied himself to the study of the holy Scriptures, and of divinity. After fome ftay at Cambridge, he went and refided at Little Sodbury in Gloucef-tershire, with Sir John Welch, Knt. who greatly esteemed him, and to whose children he was appointed tutor. And in order to give the knight and his lady good impressions of religion, he put into their hands Erafmus's manual of a Christian soldier, translated into English by himself. And with a view of propagating the principles of the Reformation as much as in his power, he frequently preached in and about Briftol.

Sir John Welch, being a very hofpitable man, many Abbots and dignified Clergymen reforted to his table; which gave Mr. Tyndal an opportu-nity to converse, and often to dis-pute, with them upon the most important points of Religion. And as he was learned, and well acquainted with the facred writings, he made no fcruple of freely declaring to them his fentiments on most points. And when they at any time declared their diffent from his opinions, he would appeal to the fcriptures, and support what he said by them. And thus they continued for a while, reasoning and contending together, till at length his opponents grew weary, and being unable to answer or convince him, began to entertain a fecret grudge against him. He complains, in his prologue to the first book of Moses, of their ill ufage towards him; testifying that he fuffered much in that country by a fort of unlearned priefts: being full rude and ignorant, (fays he), God knoweth; which have feen no more Latin than that only which they read in their porteffes & miffals, which yet many of them can fearely

Mr. Tyndal having thus brought upon himself the ill-will of the Popish Clergy, they not only reviled him as an heretic, but preferred arti-cles against him to the Chancellor of the Diocese, before whom he appeared, and was severely reprimanded and threatened, but no farther pro-

of the New Testament, which Tonstal had exerted himself to suppress. But as he had been hitherto unable to effect this, on his return from Cambray, passing through Antwerp, he sent for one Augustine Packington, an English merchant there, and defired him to buy up all the copies of Tyndal's translation of the New Testament which he could meet with. Packington accordingly, being a favourer of Tyndal, acquainted him with Ton-ftal's defign. This information was very agreeable to Tyndal; for being convinced of some faults in his version, he was de-firous of printing a new and more correct edition; but he was poor, and the former impression not being sold off, he could not undertake it: so he gave Packington all the copies that lay in his hands, for which Bishop Tonstal paid the price; and when he returned into England, caused them to be publicly burnt in Cheapfide. This had fuch an hateful appearance in it, being generally called a burning of the Word of GOD, that people from thence naturally concluded there must be a visible contra-2 A 2 riety

ceeded against at that time. However, observing that he could no longer continue quietly in that country, and that his patron, Sir John Welch, could not protect him, without bringing himself into danger, they parted by mutual consent. Mr. Tyndal then came to London, and preached for some time in the church of St. Dunstan in the west. And having conceived an high opinion of Bishop Tonftal, from his character, and the encomiums bestowed on that Prelate by Erasmus, he imagined that he should be an happy man, if he could be admitted into his service, as one of his Chaplains. For this purpose he applied to Sir Henry Guilford, Master of the horse to King Henry VIII. who was a great patron of learned men, a particular friend of Erasmus, and an acquaintance of Sir John Welch's: and he presented to him an oration of Isocrates, which he had translated from the Greek; & which, as the Greek language was then understood but by very few in England, was confidered as an evidence of uncommon erudition. Sir Henry readily complied with Mr. Tyndal's request, and not only recommended him to Bishop Tonstal, but advised him to write an epistle to his Lordthip, and earry it himself. This advice he accordingly complied with. But Tonstal's answer was, "That

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" his house was full; he had more " than he could well provide for; and therefore advised Mr. Tyndal "to feek out in London; where, he "faid, he could not well mis of employment." Not being able, however, to obtain any, he was fupported by Mr. Humphrey Monmouth, Alderman of London, a favourer of the reformed opinions, where he lived in the most tempetate and regular manner, applying himself to his stu-dies with unwearied affiduity. His thoughts were then bent upon tranflating the New Testament into English, as the only means to root out Popery, and establish true Christiani-But being sensible he could not fafely do it in England, he refolved to go abroad into Germany, as a place of greater fecurity. This he was ena-bled to do by the affiftance of Mr. Monmouth, and other well-disposed persons; who gave him an annuity of ten pounds a year, which was then thought a fufficient maintenance for a fingle man. At his first leaving England, he went as far as Saxony, where he conferred with Luther, and other learned men in those parts. He then came back into the Netherlands, and fettled at Antwerp, where was then a very confiderable factory of English merchants, many of whom were zealous Lutherans. Here he immediately fet himfelf about his

riety between that book, and the doctrines of those who treated it in that manner: and this increased both their prejudice against the Clergy, and their desire of reading the New Testament. So that next year, when the second edition was finished many more were brought over; and George Constantine, who had lately been at Antwerp, and was now taken up for dispersing heretical books, was privately examined by the Lord Chancellor, who promised him, that no hurt should be done to him, if he would discover who encouraged and supported Tyndal at Antwerp. Constantine replied, that the greatest encouragement he had received was from Bishop Tonstal, who had bought up half the impression. This answer excited much merriment: but Bishop Burnet observes, that in this affair judicious persons discerned the moderation of Tonstal. Our good Prelate would willingly put himself to considerable expence to burn the books of Heretics;

intended work, in which he had the affiftance of the learned John Fry, and a frier named William Roye, (who was afterwards burnt in Portugal), who wrote for him, and helped him to compare the texts together.

Mr. Tyndal published his translation of the New Testament in 1526, in octavo, without a name; and sisteen hundred copies were printed of the first impression, many of which were brought into England, and eagerly bought up, and read. This alarmed the Popish party, who did all they could to suppress this work, and the remainder of the impression was bought up by Bishop Tonsal, and publicly burnt. John Tyndal, our Author's brother, was prosecuted and condemned to do penance for importing and conceasing some of the copies. And Mr. Monmouth, his great friend and benefactor, was imprisoned in the Tower, and almost ruined.

Mr. Tyndal's New Testament was re-printed in 1527, and 1528, and a still more correct edition was printed in 1534. He also translated the five books of Moses, which were published in 1530; and he also translated some other parts of the Old Testament. [See P. 112, 113. of this volume.] Mr. Tyndal resided some time at Hamburgh, but afterwards returned to Antwerp, where, in 1534, he lodged in the house of Mr. Thomas Pointz, an English merchant. But at the instigation of the Popish Clergy in England, who thought him too

dangerous an heretic to live, methods were taken to bring him to destruction. And one Henry Philips was employed for the purpose, who infi-nuating himself both into Tyndal's & Pointz's acquaintance, was treated by both as a friend. But when Philips found his opportunity, he got the procurator general of the Empe-ror's Court at Bruffels, and other officers, to come and feize Mr. Tyndal; though the persons employed in this iniquitous business, could not help admiring the plainness and fimplicity of his manners. He was conveyed prifoner to the castle of Vilvorden, eighteen miles from Antwerp, where he continued in confinement about a year and an half. His friend Pointz, and the body of the English merchants, procured letters from Secretary Cromwell to the Court at Bruffels, for the release of Tyndal. But the treacherous Philips invented a false accusation against Poyntz, in order to render all his applications ineffectual; fo that the merchant was profecuted & imprisoned, but escap'd in the night. And as to Mr. Tyndal, he was now brought to his trial, and offered an advocate and a proctor: but he refused to have any, faying that he would answer for himself; which he did. However, he was condemned by virtue of the Empe-sor's decree made in the affembly at Aughburgh. And accordingly he was put to death near the castle of Vil-worden, in 1536, being first strangled,

but he had too much humanity to be defirous, like many of his

brethren, of burning the Heretics themselves (b).

In the different embassies and employments in which Bishop Tonftal was engaged, he displayed such eminent ability, and acquired fo much reputation and honour, that he was univerfally efteemed. And in the year 1530, he was translated to the rich Bishopric of Durham. Before his removal from the See of London, he had bestowed a considerable sum of money in furnishing a library in Cambridge with good books, both printed and manuscript, which he had collected abroad. And after his translation to Durham, he laid out large sums in adorning that city with public buildings, and in repairing, improving, and beautifying his episcopal houses. He declared in favour of King Henry's divorce from Queen Catherine, when that affair came to be agitated, and wrote a book on that fide of the queftion. But he afterwards changed his fentiments in that matter, and espoused the Queen's cause.

Bishop Tonstal's attachment to the principles of Popery, was not fo strong, notwithstanding the zeal which he had sometimes shewn, but that he concurred in several of the measures taken in the reign of King Henry VIII. which were favourable to the And in the reign of King Edward VI. he gave Reformation. obedience to every law which was enacted, and to all the injunctions that were made. But he always in Parliament protested against the changes in religion; which, says Bishop Burnet, he thought he might with a good conscience submit to and obey; though he could not confent to them. But in the matter of the corporal presence, he was still of the old persuasion, and wrote

about it (c).

On the 20th of December, 1551, the Bishop of Durham was committed to the Tower, upon an accusation of misprision of treason. "What the particulars were, (says Burnet), I do not " find; but it was visible, that the secret reason was, that he being attainted, the Duke of Northumberland intended to have had the dignities and jurisdiction of that Principality conferred on himself; so that he should have been made Count Palatine of Durham." It appears, however, that Tondal was charged by one Vivian Menville, with having conferred to a conspiracy in the north, for exciting a rebellion. And it is faid

calling out in his last moments, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes;" after which his body was reduced to afhes.

Such was the end of William Tyndal, a very learned and pious man, and of the most unblemished character; whose only crime was translating the fcriptures into English, for the senefit of his countrymen! But that

was amply fufficient to render him a victim to Popish bigotry and ma-

Besides his translation of the Scriptures, he also published several tracts, and other translations.

(b) Vid Hift. of the Reformation,

Vol. I. P. 159, 160. edit. 1679. (c) Vid. Hift. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 194, 195.

faid, that something of this kind was proved, by a letter in the Bishop's own hand-writing (d). And it has been conjectured, that he, being in great esteem with the Popish party, was made privy to some of their treasonable designs against King Edward's Government; but which he neither concurred in, nor betrayed. However, on the 28th of March, 1552, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, to attaint him for misprission of treason. Archbishop Cranmer spoke warmly and freely in Tonstal's favour; however, the bill passed the Lords. But when it came down to the Commons, they were not satisfied with the written evidence which was produced. They had then before them a bill, that there should be two witnesses in case of treason, and that the witnesses and the party arraigned should be brought face to face; and that treason should not be adjudged by circumstances, but plain evidence: and they, therefore, threw out the bill against Tonstal.

This method of proceeding against our Prelate having been found ineffectual, another was adopted. On the 21st of September, a commission was granted to the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and six others, impowering them to call Bishop Tonstal before them, and examine him concerning all manner of conspiracies, &c. And if he were found guilty, to deprive him of his Bishopric. Accordingly he was deprived, and continued a prisoner in the Tower during the remainder of King Edward's

reign.

In the beginning of the year 1553, the Bishopric of Durham was converted into a County Palatine, and given to John Dudley, Duke of Northumberland. But upon Queen Mary's accession to the Throne, the same year, Bishop Tonstal was not only delivered from his imprisonment, but also reinstated in his Bishopric. However, during this bloody reign, he behaved in neral with great lenity and moderation; in consequence of which his Diocese escaped the cruel persecutions which prevailed in others. Mr. Fox tells us, that when one Mr. Russel, a preacher, was before Bishop Tonstal, on a charge of heresy, and Dr. Hinmer, his Chancellor, would have examined him more particularly, the Bishop prevented him, saying, "Hitherto, we have had a good report among our neighbours: I pray you, bring not this man's blood upon my head."

Upon the accession of Queen Elizabeth, it was hoped, from the moderation which Tonstal had shewn in the preceding reign, that he might be brought to concur in the Reformation. And in a warrant which the Queen issued to some Prelates for the confectation of several new Bishops, Tonstal was the first named to officiate in the confectation. But notwithstanding this, our Prelate resused to take the oath of supremacy, and was on that

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<sup>(</sup>d) Vid. Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, Edit. 1694. P.

account deprived, in July, 1559, and was committed to the euftody of Matthew Parker, Archbishop elect of Canterbury, by whom he was entertained in a very kind, friendly, and respectful manner (e). And the Archbishop, in his frequent conversations with Bishop Tonstal, is said to have brought him off from many of the principles of Popery. And, indeed, it appears that our Prelate told Bernard Gilpin, who was nearly related to him, that in the matter of Transubstantiation, Pope Innocent III. had done unadvisedly, in making it an article of faith. And he further confessed, that the Pope committed a great fault in the affair of Indulgences, and in other things. Bishop Tonstal did not continue long in this state of retirement; for he died on the eighteenth of November, 1559, at the age of eighty-five years. He was handsomely buried in the chancel of Lambeth church, at the charge of Archbishop Parker.

Bishop Tonstal was a Prelate of great learning, moderation, and humanity. He had considerable talents, both as a Statesman, and a Courtier; and perhaps he excelled more in the latter capacity, than was quite consistent with the character of a Christian Bishop. He was very hospitable and charitable, and of a very chearful and lively conversation. He had a great command over his passions, and a temper which accidents or missortunes could not discompose. He has also been applauded for the chassity and regularity of his manners; but we must not conceal, that he has been charged with incontinence (f). He was very ready to patronize worthy and learned men, and was a

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(e) More, in his life of Sir Thomas More, (P. 65, 66.) expresses himself thus. "Though during the reign of King Henry, Tonstal went with the sway of the times, to the great grief of Sir Thomas More; yet living to the time of Queen Elizabeth, (whose godfather he was when she bewrayed the fount) in his old age seeing her take strange courses against the church, he came from Durham, and stoutly admonished her not to change religion; which, if she presumed to do, he threatened her to lose God's blessing and his. She, nothing pleased with his threats, made him be cast into Prison, as most of the Bishops were, where he made a glorious end of a consessor, and satisfied for his former crime of schism." Upon this Dr. Jortin makes the sollowing remark. "A Prison, saith this zealot. Lambeth Palace, and the Arehbishop's table, was a dreadful

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dungeon, to be fure; and as bad as those, into which the righteous Bonner, and other faints of the same class, used to thrust the poor heretics! Will men never be ashamed of these godly tricks and disingenuous prevarications?" Life of Erasmus, V.1. I. P. 108.

David Lloyd fays, that Bifhop Tonstal "lived in free custody at my Lord of Canterbury's, in sweet chambers, warm beds, by warm fires, with plentiful and wholesome diet at the Archbishop's own table: differing nothing from his former grandeur, save that that was at his own charges, and this at another's; and that he had not his former suit of superfluous fervants, that long train that doth not warm but weary the wearer thereof." State Worthies, Vol. I. P, 417. Edit. 1766.

(f) Vid. Life of Bishop Ridley, P. 108.

Arich observer of the offices of friendship .-- He published the fol-

lowing pieces:

I. IN LAUDEM MATRIMONII. ORATIO HABITA IN SPON-SALIBUS MARIÆ FILIÆ HEN. VIII. ET FRANCISCI FRANCO-RUM REGIS PRIMOGENITI. Lond. 1518. 4to. That is, "In "praise of Matrimony. An Oration pronounced on the (in- tended) espousals of Mary, daughter of King Henry VIII. "and Francis, eldest son of the French King." It must be obferved, that this marriage, though agreed upon between the two Courts, was never actually folemnized.

II. DE ARTE SUPPUTANDI LIBRI QUATUOR, CUTHEBERTI TONSTALLI. That is, A Treatife of Arithmetic, in four books. London, 1522. 4to. Printed by R. Pinson, and several times reprinted. A very beautiful Edition in 4to. was printed in 1538, at Paris, by Robert Stephens.

III. DE VERITATE CORPORIS ET SANGUINIS DOMINI NOSTRI JESU CHRISTI IN EUCHARISTIA, &c. That is, Of the Truth of Transubstantiation. Paris, 1554. 4to. Bishop Burnet observes, "that the Latin style of this book is much " better than the divinity and reasonings in it."

IV. COMPENDIUM ET SYNOPSIS IN DECEM LIBROS ETHI-CORUM ARISTOTELIS, That is, An Abridgement of Aristotle's Ethics. Paris, 1554. 8vo.

V. CONTRA IMPIOS BLASPHEMATORES DEI PRÆDESTINA-TIONIS, &c. That is, Against the impious Blasphemers of Goo's Predestination. Antwerp, 1555, 4to.

VI. Godly and devout Prayers, in English and Latin.

Several letters and small pieces of his have been also published fince his death. In particular, in the second Volume of Burnet't History of the Reformation, Collection of Records at the end, P. 106. is a letter of Tonstal's to the Lord Protector and the Council in the Reign of Edward VI. tending to prove the subjection of the kingdom of Scotland to the Crown of England. He mentions in this letter, some important writings which he had fent to lay before the Council, in order to prove that point. Particularly the homage which King William of Scotland made to Henry II. King of England; by which the Scottish King granted, that all the Nobility of his kingdom should be subjects to the King of England, and do homage to him: and that all the Bishops of Scotland should be under the Archbishops of York: and that the King of England should give all the Abbies and honours in Scotland, at least that they hould not be given without his consent.



## The Life of SEBASTIAN CABOT.

EBASTIAN CABOT was born at Bristol, about the year 1477 (g). He was the son of that eminent Venetian Pilot John Cabot, who resided much in England, and particularly in the city of Bristol. The father, who was a man perfectly skilled in all the sciences requisite to form a complete seaman, educated his son Sebastian in that manner which was best calculated to enable him to excel in his own profession. He instructed him in the knowledge of those parts of the mathematics, which were then best understood, particularly arithmetic, geometry, and cosmography; and by the time our young seaman was seventeen years of age, he had already made several trips to sea, in order to add to the theoretical knowledge which he had acquired, a competent skill in the practical part of navigation.

The first voyage of consequence in which Sebastian Cabot was engaged, seems to have been that made by his father, for the discovery of unknown lands; and, as it is said, of a north-west passage to the East-Indies. John Cabot was encouraged to this attempt by the American discoveries of Columbus. It was in 1493, that Columbus returned from his first expedition; and in 1496, John Cabot obtained from King Henry VII. letters patent, impowering him and his three sons, Lewis, Sebastian, and Sanctius, to discover unknown lands, to be annexed to the Crown of England. And Cabot and his sons were laid under an obliga-

tion to return to the port of Bristol.

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John Cabot had also a permission from the King, to take fix English ships in any haven of the Realm, of the burthen of two hundred tons and under, with as many mariners as should be willing to go with him. In consequence of this licence, the King caused a ship to be sitted out at Bristol, to which the merchants of that city, and of London, added three or four small vessels, freighted with proper commodities. And accordingly John Cabot, attended by his son Sebastian, set sail with this sleet, in the spring of the year 1497.

They failed happily on their north-west course, till the 24th of June in the same year, about five in the morning, when they discovered the island of Baccalaos, now much better known by Vol. II. 5.

<sup>(</sup>g) Vid. Dr. Campbell's Lives of the Admirals, Vol. I. P. 343. Edit. 1742.

the name of Newfoundland; which they took possession of in the name of the King of England. The very day on which they made this important discovery, is known by a large map, drawn by Sebastian Cabot, and cut by Clement Adams, which hung in the privy gallery at Whitehall; whereon was this in-fcription under the author's picture. "Effigies Seb. Caboti, " Angli, Filii Jo. Caboti, Venetiani, Militis aurati, &c." And on this map there was likewise the following account of the

discovery, the original of which was in Latin.

"In the year of our LORD 1497, John Cabot, a Venetian, and his fon Sebastian, with an English sleet, set out from Bristol, and discovered that island which no man before had attempted. This discovery was made, on the four and twentieth of June, about five of the clock in the morning. This land he called PRIMA VISTA, (or First Seen), because it was that part of which they had the first fight from the sea. The island, which lies out before the land, he called the island of St. John, probably because it was discovered on the festival of St. John Baptist. inhabitants of this island wore beasts skins, and esteemed them as the finest garments." To which Purchas adds, " In their wars they used bows, arrows, pikes, darts, wooden clubs, and slings. They found the foil barren in some places, and yielding little fruit: but it was full of white bears, and stags, far larger than those of Europe. It yielded plenty of fish, and those of the larger kind, as feals and falmon. They found foles there above a yard in length, and great abundance of that kind of fish which the Savages called Baccalaos. They also observed there partridges, as likewise hawks and eagles; but what was remarkable in them, they were all as black as ravens (b)."

Fabian fays, that there were brought unto Henry VII. " three " men taken in the new found island: these, says he, were " cloathed in beafts skins, and did eat raw flesh, and spake such " speech that no man could understand them, and in their de-" meanour like brute beafts, whom the King kept a time after; " of the which, upon two years after, I saw two apparelled after " the manner of Englishmen, in Westminster Palace, which that

" time I could not discern from Englishmen, 'till I was learned " what they were ; but as for speech, I heard none of them ut-" ter one word."

Cabot and his fleet failed afterwards down to Cape Florida, and then returned (i) with a good cargo, and the three Savages just mentioned, into England. And King Henry conferred

(b) Vid. Lediard's Naval History, Vol. I. P. 86.

(i) " Cabot (as it is related by Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was employed afterwards by Queen Elizafinding the feas ftill open, might and
beth on the like fervices) failed very
far westward, with a quarter of the

Cathay, if he had not been prevented

north, on the north fide of Terra de Labrador, the eleventh of June, till he came into the north latitude of ferred the honour of Knighthood on John Cabot. This discovery made by the Cabots was, indeed, of great importance. For it was, in fact, the first time that the Continent of America had been seen, Columbus being unacquainted therewith, till his last voyage, which was the year following, when he coasted along a part of the Ishmus of Darien. And, as Dr. Campbell justly observes, Newfoundland, as it was the first of our Plantations, so it hath been a source of riches, and naval power to this nation, from the time of its discovery. And, therefore, it may be truly faid of the Cabots, father and fon, that they were the authors of our maritime strength, and opened the way to those improvements, which have fince rendered us fo great and flourishing a

After this expedition, there is a confiderable chasm in the life of Sebastian Cabot; for we have no distinct accounts of what he performed for the space of twenty years together, in which we cannot suppose that so able a man would continue in a state of inactivity. Nor have we any account when or where his father, John Cabot, died; though it was probably in England. As to Sebastian Cabot, there is reason to believe that he performed several voyages, of which we have now no accounts preserved, which is much to be regretted. " It is not to be doubted (fays Mr. Lediard), but a man fo curious, and of fo much knowledge and experience, as it appears Sebastian was, kept a particular detail of what he had feen, and what happened to him during his voyages. But by what accident, or neglect, the world has been deprived of it, is unknown."

The next transaction concerning him, of which we meet with any account, was in the eighth year of the reign of King Henry VIII. and our accounts relating to this are by no means clear. It feems Sebastian Cabot had entered into a strict corre-

fpondence.

by the diffentions between the master and the mariners. But this we find, by the discovery made in those parts fince that time, he could not have performed."--Vid. Lediard, as be-

But in a discourse said to be made by Sebastian Cabot to Galeacius Butrigarius, the Pope's Legate in Spain, the former (if the account of the discourse be genuine) expressed him-self thus: " Understanding by reafon of the fphere (fays he) that if I should fail by way of the north-west, I should, by a shorter tract, come into India;—I began, therefore, to sail towards the north - west, not thinking to find any other land than that of Cathay, and from thence to turn towards India. But, after some

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to ed days, I found that the land ran towards the north, which was a great disappointment to me. Nevertheless, failing along by the coast, to fee if I could find any gulph that turned, I found the land fill continent, to the fifty-fixth degree, under our pole. And feeing that the coast stretched there towards the east, despairing to find the passage, I turned back again, and sailed down by the coast of that land towards the equinoctial, (thinking still I should find the passage to India), and came to that part of the continent which is now called Florida; where my provisions failing, I departed from thence, and returned to England,"-Lediard, Vol. I. P. 86, spondence with Sir Thomas Pert, then Vice-Admiral of England, who had a house at Poplar, and procured him a good ship. of the King's, in order to make discoveries. But it appears as if he had now changed his route, and intended to have paffed by the fouth to the East-Indies; for he failed first to Brazil, and missing there of his purpose, shaped his course for the islands of Hispaniola and Porto Rico, where he carried on some traffic, and then returned, failing abfolutely in the defign upon which he went; not through any want either of courage, or of conduct, in himself, but from the faint-heartedness of Sir Thomas Pert,

his coadjutor (k).

It was probably this disappointment which induced Sebastian Cabot to leave England, and go over to Spain; which he did, where he was treated with very great respect, and appointed Pilot-Major, or chief Pilot of Spain, and by his office entrusted with the reviewing all projects for discovery, which in those days were many and important. His great capacity and character induced many wealthy merchants to treat with him in the year 1524, about a voyage to be undertaken at their expence, by the new-found passage of Magellan (m), to the Moluccos. And Cabot accordingly agreed to undertake the

voyage.

He fet fail from Cadiz, with four ships, about the beginning of April, 1525, first to the Canaries, and then to the islands of Cape Verde, and thence to Cape St. Augustine, and the island of Patos, or Geese; and near Bahia de todos los Santos, or the Bay of All Saints, he met a French ship. He is said to have managed very ill with respect to provisions, which he was in much want of when he came to the same island; but there the Indians were very kind to him, furnishing him with provisions for all his ships. But Cabot was on this occasion guilty of an action, which reflects great dishonour on his memory. For he carried away with him by force four fons of the principal men of the place, notwithstanding the generous treatment which he had received. A flight specimen of European gratitude and humanity! But the poor uncultivated Indians have so often received

( k ) " If manly courage had not been wanting in thefe our days, at fuch time as our Sovereign Lord of noble memory, King Henry VIII. about the same year of his reign, furnished and fent out certain ships under the governance of Sebastian Cabot, yet living, and one Sir Tho-mas Pert, whose faint heart was the cause that the voyage took none effect: if, I say, such manly courage had not at that time been wanting, it might happily have come to pass, that the rich treasury called Perularia, name in 1520.

(which is now in Spain, in the city of Seville, and so named, for that in it is kept the infinite riches brought thither from the new-found land of Peru) might long fince have been in the Tower of London, to the King's great honour, and wealth of this Realm."——Vid. Hakluyt's principal Navigations, Voyages, and Difcoveries of the English nation, Edit.

1589. P. 515.
(m) Ferdinand de Magellan difcovered the Streight called by his

much worse treatment from the civilized inhabitants of this part of the globe, that an action of this kind will scarce excite our wonder.

Cabot proceeded from this place to the river of Plate, having left ashore, on a defart island, Martin Mendez, his Vice-Admiral, Captain Francis de Rojas, and Michael de Rodas, because they had opposed his conduct; and in conclusion, he went not to the Spice Islands, both because he had not provisions, and because the men would not fail under him, fearing his management in the Streights. He failed up the river of Plate, and about thirty leagues within the mouth, found an island which he called St. Gabriel, about a league in compass, and half a league from the continent next Brazil. There he anchored, and with the boats, three leagues higher, discovered a river he called San Salvador, or St. Saviour, very deep, and a fafe harbour for the ships on the same side of Brazil; whither he brought up his ships, and unloaded them, because the mouth of the river had not much water. And having built a fort, and left fome men in it, he refolved to proceed up that river with boats, and a flat-bottomed caraval, in order to make discoveries; thinking that, if he did fo, though he did not pass through the Streights to the Spice Islands, his voyage would not be altogether fruitless. Having advanced thirty leagues, he came to a river called Zarcarana, and finding the inhabitants of the neighbouring coast to be good rational people, he erected another fort, calling it Santi Spiritus, i. e. of the Holy Ghost, and by another name, Cabot's Fort. He thence discovered the shores of the river Parana, which is that of Plate, where he found many islands and rivers; and keeping along the great stream, at the end of two hundred leagues, came to another river, which the Indians call Paraguay, and left the great river on the right, thinking it bent towards the coast of Brazil; and running up thirty-four leagues, found people tilling the ground, which he had not feen before. But he there met with so much opposition, that he advanced no further; having killed many of the Indians, who flew twenty-five of his Spaniards, and took three that were gone out to gather Palmetos to eat (n).

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Whilst Sebastian Cabot was thus employed, James Garcia was fent from Galicia, with one ship, a small tender, and a brigantine, to make discoveries in the river of Plate, without knowing that the other was there before him. He entered that river about the beginning of the year 1527, having sent away his own ship, alledging that it was too large for that discovery; and, with the smaller vessels, came to an anchor in the same place where Cabot's ship lay; and directing his course towards the river Parana, which lies north and north-west, arrived at the fort built by Cabot. About one hundred and ten leagues above this

port.

port, he found Sebastian Cabot himself in the port of St. Anne; and soon after they returned together to the fort of the Holy

Ghoft, and from thence fent messengers into Spain.

Those who were dispatched by Sebastian Cabot, were Francis Calderon, and George Barlow, who gave a very fair account of the countries bordering on the river la Plata, shewing how large a tract of land he had not only discovered, but subdued; and producing gold, filver, and other rich commodities, as evidences in favour of their Admiral's conduct. And the demands which they made in his name were, that a fupply should be fent of provisions, ammunition, and goods proper for traffic, and also a competent recruit of foldiers and feamen. However, the merchants by whom Cabot's fquadron was fitted out, would not agree to this; but chose to refign their rights to the Crown of Castile. The King then took the whole upon himself; but was fo dilatory in his preparations, that Sebastian Cabot, being quite tired out, having been five years employed in this expedition, determined to return home; which he accordingly did, embarking the remainder of his men, and all his effects, on board the largest of his ships, and leaving the rest behind him.

It was the spring of the year 1531, when Cabot arrived at the Spanish Court, and gave an account of his expedition. It appears, however, that he was not well received there: for he had raised himself enemies by treating his Spanish mutineers with so much severity; and his owners were disappointed by his not having pursued his voyage to the Moluccos. He kept his place, however, and continued in the service of Spain many years after,

till he came over into England.

It is supposed to have been about the latter end of King Henry the VIIIth's reign, that Sebastian Cabot returned into England, where he resided at Bristol. But in the beginning of the reign of King Edward VI. this eminent seaman was introduced to the Duke of Somerset, then Lord Protector, with whom he was in great savour, and by whom he was made known to the King, who took great pleasure in his conversation, being much better versed in the studies to which Cabot had applied himself, than could have been expected from his youth. For this young Monarch knew, not only all the ports and havens in this island, and in Ireland, but also those in France, their shape, method of entrance, conveniencies and inconveniences; and, in short, could answer, we are told, almost any question concerning them that a failor could ask (0).

In consequence of the high esteem in which Cabot was held by King Edward, and his uncle the Protector, a pension was granted to him by letters patent, dated January 6, 1549, of 1661. 13s. 4d. a year. And, according to Hakluyt, this anauity was granted him as Grand Pilot of England. From this time he continued highly in the King's favour, and was confulted upon all matters relating to trade, and particularly in the great case of the merchants of the Steel Yard, in 1551. These merchants are fometimes called of THE HAUNSE, because they came from the Hanse Towns, or free cities in Germany; and femetimes Almains, from their country. They fettled in England about the reign of King Henry III. and brought in grain, cordage, flax, hemp, linen cloth, wax, and fleel; from whence the place in Dowgate ward, where they dwelt, was called the Steel-Yard; a name which it still retains. The Kings of England encouraged them at first, and granted them considerable privileges; and, amongst others, that of exporting our woollen cloths. By degrees, however, the English coming to trade themselves, and importing many of the commodities in which these Germans dealt, great controversies arose between them, the foreigners on all occasions pleading their charter, which the English merchants treated as a monopoly, unsupported by the laws of the kingdom. And accordingly the company of merchantadventurers, at the head of which was our Sebastian Cabot, in 1551, exhibited to the Council an information against these merchants of the Steel-Yard, to which they were directed to put in their answer, which they thereupon did. And after several hearings, and a reference to the King's Solicitor-General, his Counfel learned in the law, and the Recorder of London, a decree passed, whereby the merchants of the Steel Yard were declared to be no legal corporation. However, licences were afterwards granted them from time to time, for the exportation and importation of goods.

In the same year, Sebastian Cabot laid proposals before the King, for the discovery of the north-east passage to China and the Indies. And accordingly three ships were fitted out for that purpose, the command of which was given to Sir Hugh Willoughby, a man of confiderable abilities, of much experience, and of great courage. And instructions were delivered to Sir Hugh, as Commander in Chief of these ships, drawn up by Sebastian Cabot, which are still preserved entire in Hakluyt, and are a standing proof of his great knowledge and abilities ( p ). Sir Hugh Willoughby failed from Ratcliff, with the ships under his command, on the 10th of May, 1553, and on the 18th of the fame month cleared from Gravesend. In the beginning of Avguft, he lost fight of his second ship, which was commanded by Captain Richard Chancellor, and which he never met with af-

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(p) The title of these Instructions of the mystery and company of the ran thus: "Ordinances, Instructions, and Advertisements, of and for the direction of the intended and places unknown, the 9th of very of regions, dominions, iflands, and places unknown, the 9th of May, in the year of our Loan GOD, 1553.

voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and delivered, by the Right Worshipul Sebastian Cabot, Esq; Governor

terwards; but in the same month he first discovered Greenland; though the Dutch endeavour to deprive us of that honour. His utmost progress was to 72 of N. Lat. and then finding the weather intolerably cold, the year far spent, and his ships unable to bear the sea, he put into the haven of Arzina, in Lapland, on the 18th of September. But being not able to come out from thence, he was found there the next spring frozen to death, with all his ship's company, having the notes of his voyage, and his last will, lying before him, whereby it appeared that he lived till January, 1554. But Captain Chancellor, in the fecond ship under Sir Hugh Willoughby's command, and of which he loft company, after many dangers and difficulties, penetrated to Archangel in Muscovy, being the first person who discovered the passage to that place; from whence, after having made another voyage thither, he brought over an Ambassador from the Czar of Muscovy, with presents to Queen Mary, and an invitation to establish a trade to those parts; but the ship was cast away on the coast of Scotland; and Captain Chancellor, in faving the

Russian Ambassador, was unfortunately drowned himself.

In consequence of the discovery of the passage to Archangel,
a charter was granted in the first year of Queen Mary's reign,
to a number of merchants, who were incorporated together, in order to carry on the trade to Russia. And of this company Sebastian Cabot was appointed Governor for life, on account of his being principally concerned in fitting out the first ships employed in that trade. After this, we find him very active in the affairs of the company, in the year 1556; and in the journal of Mr. Stephen Burroughs, it is observed, that on the twenty-seventh of April that year, he went down to Gravesend, and there went on board the Serch-thrift, a small vessel fitted out under the command of the faid Burroughs for Russia, where he gave generously to the failors; and on his return to Gravesend, he extended his alms very liberally to the poor, defiring them to pray for the success of this voyage. We find it also remarked, that, upon his coming back to Gravesend, he caused a grand entertainment to be made at the fign of the Christopher; where, fays Mr. Burroughs, for the very joy he had to see the towardness of our intended discovery, he entered into the dance himfelf: a circumstance, which shews the chearfulness of his temper. This is the last particular related concerning him : and it is conjectured that he died some time either in this, or in the next year, when he was upwards of seventy years of age (q).

Sebastian Cabot was a seaman of extraordinary abilities; and by his capacity and industry contributed not a little to the service of mankind in general, as well as of this kingdom. For he was the first who took notice of the variation of the compass, which is of such vast consequence in navigation, and concerning which the Learned have busied themselves in their enquiries ever since.



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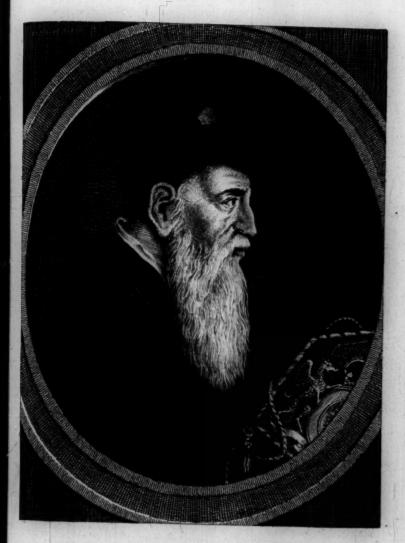
## The Life of STEPHEN GARDINER. Bishop of Winchester.

TEPHEN GARDINER was born at Bury St. Edmund, in the county of Suffolk, about the year 1483. He is supposed to have been the natural son of Dr. Lionel Widville, Dean of Exeter, and Bishop of Salisbury, brother to Elizabeth, Queen Confort to King Edward IV. But that Prelate, being folicitous to conceal this affair from the world, bestowed his concubine on one of his meaner servants, whose name was Gardiner; and this name the infant bore, being by this contrivance born in wedlock. No particulars occur relative to young Gardiner's education, or the manner in which he passed his youth, till he was sent to the Univerfity of Cambridge, where he studied in Trinity Hall with much diligence and success. He was there distinguished for his quick parts, his elegance in writing and speaking Latin, and for his skill in Greek.

He afterwards applied himself entirely to the study of the civil and canon law; and in 1520, he received the degree of Doctor of civil law, and the year following he was also made Doctor of canon law. And the reputation which he had acquired at Cambridge, recommended him to the notice of some great men; and, as it is faid, he was patronized by Thomas Howard, Duke of Norfolk. It is, however, certain, that he was taken into the fervice of Car-

dinal Wolsey, to whom he was appointed Secretary.

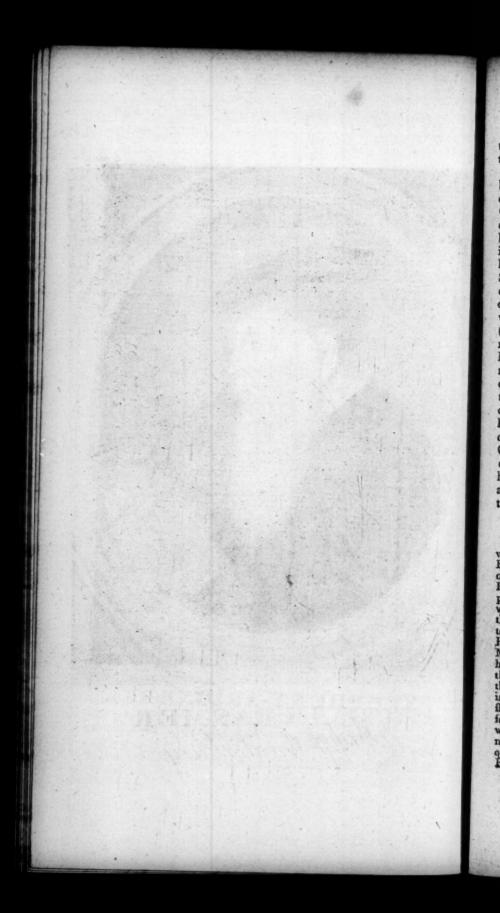
He was in this situation when an incident happened, which made him known to the King, and gave rife to his farther advancement. The Cardinal, his mafter, having projected the treaty of alliance with the French King, Francis I. in 1525, employed Gardiner, of whose talents he had an high opinion, to draw up the plan of it. And King Henry, who chanced at that time to come to the Cardinal's house at More Park in Hertfordshire, found Gardiner busy at this work. Henry, therefore, looked at what was done, and liked the performance extremely well, the performer's conversation better, and his fertility in the invention of expedients best of all. His Majesty accordingly expressed his satisfaction to Wolsey, who appeared much pleased therewith: and from this time Dr. Gardiner was admitted into the



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STEPHEN GARDINER,

Bishop of Winchester.



the fecret of affairs, and entirely confided in, both by the King and the Cardinal.

In 1528 (r), he received a public mark of that confidence, being sent to Rome, in order to negociate the affair of the King's divorce from Queen Catharine. Edward Fox, Provost of King's College in Cambridge, and Almoner to the King, went with him on this Embassy; but Gardiner was the chief, being esteemed the best Civilian in England at this time: and having been admitted into the King's and the Cardinal's cabinet council for this affair, he is stiled in the Cardinal's credential letters to the Pope, Primary Secretary of the most fecret councils. And he was now in fuch extraordinary request with the Cardinal, that in these letters he called Gardiner, THE HALF OF HIMSELF, THAN WHOM NONE WAS DEARER TO HIM. And he wrote, that he should unlock his (the Cardinal's) breast to the Pope, who, in hearing him speak, might think he heard the Cardinal himself. When Gardiner and his colleague arrived at Orvieto, where the Pope then was, the former used very free language with his Holiness, shewing him the danger he was in of losing the King, by playing a double game in the affair of the divorce, and how much injury he would do to Cardinal Wolfey, if he disappointed his expectations. By this method he procured all that his instructions required, and a commission was obtained for determining the matter of the divorce, directed to the Cardinals Wolfey and Campejus. In this whole affair Gardiner exerted great diligence and dexterity: and Provost Fox being fent home with a full account of the negociation, the industry, spirit, and ingenuity of Gardiner, was highly applauded by the King, the Cardinal, and Anne Boleyn. During Gardiner's stay at the 2 C 2

vanced age, Dr. RICHARD FOX, Bishop of Winchester, and founder of Corpus Christi College in Oxford. He was the fon of Thomas Fox, a person in mean circumstances, and was born at Ropesley, near Gran-tham, in Lincolnshire, about the latter end of the reign of King Henry VI. He was educated at Magdalen College in Oxford, where he greatly diffinguished himself; but the plague obliging him to retire from thence, he removed to Pembroke hall for further improvement to Paris,

(r) This year died in a very ad- usurpation of Richard III. And Fox was introduced, probably by Bishop Morton, so Henry, Earl of Rich-mond, who was then meditating a descent upon England, in order to dethrone the usurper; and, with the rest of the English who were at Paris, he bound himself by oath to take the Earl's part. And Richmond accordingly received Dr. Fox into fecret familiarity; and having applied to the French King, Charles VIII, for affiftance in his intended expedition, but being called away before he could obtain his defire, he in Cambridge. And when he had before he could obtain his desire, he staid a competent time there, he went lest the farther prosecution of this matter to Dr. Fox, whom he thought where he studied divinity and the ca-non law. In this place he became ac-quainted with Morton, Bishop of in him; for he acted with such in-Ely, who had fled thither during the dustry and prudence, that he foon ob-

Papal Court, Pope Clement VII. fell dangerously ill; upon which Gardiner was employed to do every thing in his power to support the interest of Wolfey in the Conclave, and to promote his election to the Popedom, in case of Clement's death; but as

Court of France. And after Henry had gained the battle of Bosworth, and in consequence ascended the Throne of England, he appointed Dr. Fox to be one of his Privy Counfellors. About the same time Fox was collated to the Prehend of Bishopston, in the Church of Sarum; and in 1486, to the Prehend of South Grantham, in the same

In 1487, Dr. Fox was raised to the Bishopric of Exeter, and appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal. He was also made principal Secretary of State, and Master of St. Croffe, near Winchester. And the King continually employed him, either in mat-ters of State at home, or in Embaf-fies of importance abroad. In 1492, he was translated from Exeter to the Bishopric of Bath and Wells; and in 1494, he was removed to the See of Durham. He was afterwards chosen Chancellor of the University of Cam-bridge, which office he held till 1502; and in 1500, he was translated to the See of Winchester.

Bishop Fox continued to have great weight and influence in all public affairs, during the whole reign of Henry VII. who appointed him in his will one of his executors, and particularly recommended him to his fon and fuccessor, Henry VIII. Lord Bacon observes, that Bishop Fox was "a wife man, and one that could see through the Present to the Future." And he also says, that Cardinal Morton and Bishop Fox were " vigilant men, and feeret, and fuch as kept watch with the King, (Henry VII.) almost upon all men else. They had been both versed in his affairs, before he came to the Crown, and were partakers of his adverse fortune." But upon the accession of Henry VIII. Bishop Fox's credit greatly declined at Court, the was instrumental in promoting the rife of Wolfey, in opposition to

tained men and money from the the Earl of Surrey. However, in Court of France. And after Henry 1510, he was fent Ambassador to France, in conjunction with the Earl of Surrey and the Bishop of Durham, who concluded a treaty of alliance with Lewis XII. About the fame time a sharp dispute arose be-tween him and Archbishop Warham, concerning the extent of the juris-diction of the prerogative court. The dispute at length grew so high, that an appeal was made to the Pope: but it being referred back to Pope: but it being referred back to the King, he determined it amicably in 1513. This fummer he attended the King in his expedition into France, with a large retinue, and was at the taking of Terouenne. And shortly after, in conjunction with Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorfet, he concluded a new treaty with the Emperor Maximilian against with the Emperor Maximilian against France. But in 1515, being no longerable to bear the repeated mortifi-cations he received from Cardinal Wolfey, to whose rife he had greatly contributed, he withdrew in discon-

tent to his own Diocefe.

In 1522, Bishop Fox founded a free-school at Taunton in Somersetshire; where he had a fine manor as Bishop of Winchester, and he built a convenient house for the master. He did also the same at Grantham, near the place of his nativity. He had the misfortune to lose his fight about ten years before his decease. However, he attended the Parliament in 1523. But Cardinal Wolfey, taking advantage of his infirmities, would fain have persuaded him to resign his Bishopric to him, and to be content with a pension. The old Bishop, however, stoutly rejected the advances and infinuations of the Cardinal for this purpole. For he di-rected the messenger, who came from Wolfey with this proposal, to tell his master, "That though, by reason of his blindness, he was not able to distinguish white from black, yet he could discern between true and false,

his Holiness recovered from his disorder, the English Cardinal was obliged to lay aside all thoughts, at least for the present, of filling the chair of St. Peter. Wolsey, however, was very well satisfied with the pains which Gardiner had bestowed in this affair on his behalf, and was indeed loud in his praises. For Gard ner had rendered another important service to the Cardinal; namely, reconciled the Pope to the endowment of his two Colleges at Oxford and Ipswich, out of the revenues of the dissolved lesser Monasteries.

It appears from a letter which Gardiner wrote to the King, during his refidence at the Papal Court, that he gave it to his Majesty as his opinion, that all farther solicitations to the Pope with respect to the divorce would be lost time, as Clement was, in his judgment, immoveable in the resolution to do nothing effectual himself; however, he might not improbably be brought, he said, to confirm such sentence, as his Majesty could draw from the Legates. And Henry being sully convinced of the propriety of this advice, recalled Dr. Gardiner, resolving to make use of his abilities in managing the Legantine Court; and, therefore, he did not suffer the proceedings to be begun before the Cardinals, till Gardiner's return; who, when the affair came on in the Legantine Court, acted there as one of the King's chief Council.

Soon after Gardiner's arrival in England, he had the Archdeaconry of Norfolk bestowed on him by Bishop Nyx, of Norwich, for whom he had obtained some favours from the Pope. He was installed the first of March, 1529. This appears to have been his first preferment in the Church; but in the State he made a more rapid progress. For the King being desirous that he should employ all his abilities in his service, introduced him immediately into the

Ministry, by appointing him to be Secretary of State.

He now began to have a confiderable share in the administration of publick affairs; but he was more particularly advised with by the King in that which lay nearest to his heart, the business of the divorce. And when, in consequence of the Pope's attachment to the Emperor, and his correspondent instructions to Cardinal Campejus, that Legate declared the cause of the divorce avoked to Rome, it was Secretary Gardiner, who in conjunction with Fox the Almoner, found out Cranmer, and discovering his opinion with

right and wrong: and plainly enough faw, without eyes, the malice of that ungrateful man, which he did not fee before. That it behoved the Cardinal to take care, not to be so blinded with ambition, as not to foresee his own end. He needed not trouble himself with the Bishopric of Winchester, but rather should mind the King's affairs."

Bishop Fox was buried on the south side of the high altar in Winchester cathedral, in a chapel erected by himself. He was a man of very considerable political abilities; and, indeed, appears to have been more of the artful Statesman, than of the Christian Prelate.

relation to the King's divorce, communicated it to his Majesty; which proved the means of the King's extricating himself out of that, till then thought, insuperable difficulty. Bishop Burnet, however, informs us, that though Fox and Gardiner communicated Cranmer's advice to the King, yet it was " with this difference, that Gardiner had a mind to make it pass for their own contri-

" vance; but Fox, who was of a more ingenuous nature, told the

"King from whom they had it."

The new method of proceeding in the affair of the divorce which was now adopted, that of endeavouring to procure the opinions of the most learned men, and the several Universities of Europe, in the King's favour, which was proposed by Cranmer, contributed to hasten the ruin of Wolsey. And the Cardinal, in his distress, applied to his old servant, Secretary Gardiner. And some pains hath been taken to prove, that Gardiner displayed, on this occasion, much sincere gratitude and friendship to his old master (s). But, after all, this does not very clearly appear. The very earnest, and even mean manner, in which Wolfey folicited Gardiner to apply to the King in his behalf, and the frequency of his folicitations for that purpole, are a kind of presumption, that Gardiner shewed no great forwardness to promote the Cardinal's interests (f). And though, a short time after some pressing letters of Wolsey to Gardiner, the Cardinal received his pardon, and a confiderable sum of money, and was restored to the Archbishopric of York, it does not appear with much evidence, that this was in consequence of any warm folicitation of Gardiner in his behalf; but feems rather to have been the result of the personal regard which the King still retained, and which in several instances he discovered, for his old Minister and favourite (t). It appears, indeed, that Gardiner, in 1530, at the defire and recommendation of the Cardinal, introduced the Provost of Beverley to the King, who took him into his patronage and protection: but this cannot be confidered as any very confiderable fervice. In short, Cromwell exerted himself in his mafter's behalf in a warm, open, and active manner, and his fervices were apparent to all; and his behaviour has, therefore, been justly and generally applauded. But both the gratitude, and services of Gardiner, appear to be very problematical.

In 1530, Gardiner was employed to manage the University of Cambridge, so as to procure their declaration in favour of the

King's

P. 2096.
While Cromwell was careful to discharge his debt of gratitude to his old fallen master the Cardi-nal, by pleading his cause successfully in the House of Commons, the disgraced Cardinal found it necessary to

supplicate ungrateful Gardiner, and remind him of his obligations, in order to prevail with this forgetful man to employ his interest with the King in behalf of his unhappy master."-Life of Bishop Ridley, P. 110. (t) Vid. P. 54. of this Volume.

King's cause. In this difficult point his old collegue, Dr. Fox, was joined with him; and they employed great pains, artifice, and ad-

dress, in accomplishing the purpose they aimed at.

The great diligence which Dr. Gardiner exerted in accomplishing the King's purposes, was very amply rewarded by his Majesty, in the ecclesiastical preferments which he thereupon bestowed upon him. In the spring of the year 1531, he was installed Archdeacon of Leicester, resigning that of Norfolk, which he held before; and in September following he also resigned that in favour of his coadjutor, Dr. Fox, who became afterwards Bishop of Hereford. But on the 27th of November, the same year, he was consecrated Bishop of Winchester. Gardiner was not, it seems, at the time, apprized of the King's design of conferring on him this rich Bishopric. For Henry would sometimes rate him soundly, and at the instant he was bestowing on him this preferment, put him in mind of it. I have," said the King, "often squared with you, Gardiner, (a word he used for those kind of rebukes), but I love you never the worse, as the Bishopric I give you will convince you."

It appears, indeed, that Henry had let Gardiner into the fecret, that he could fometimes look very angry, and talk very loud, with-out meaning much harm: and, therefore, when Gardiner knew this, he could stand a Royal rattling very well; or, to use his own words in a letter to the Duke of Somerset, " he folded it up in " the matter," and bore it patiently. He relates himself (\*) an incident of this kind, which happened before he was fo well acquainted with the King's temper, as he was afterwards. The Earl of Wiltshire and Gardiner had been joined together in some affair of consequence, which had not been managed in such a manner as to give the King satisfaction: upon which Henry treated Gardiner, in the presence of the Earl, with such a storm of words as quite confounded him. But before they parted, the King took Gardiner into his chamber, and told him, that he was indeed very angry, yet not particularly with him, though he had used him so, because he could not take quite fo much liberty with the Earl. Henry had another practice, which he called WHETTING. This was foolding with pen and ink. And Gardiner tells us, that when some of the Courtiers faw letters to him in that stile, they looked upon him as undone, whilst himself, being better acquainted with his temper, was under no fuch apprehensions.

Bishop Gardiner sat in the Court with Archbishop Cranmer, in 1533, when the latter pronounced the sentence, by which Queen Catherine's marriage was declared null and void. The same year he went as Ambassador to the French King at Marfeilles, where he was soon after sollowed by Dr. Bonner. And

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<sup>(</sup>u) See a letter of Gardiner's to and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 718, the Protector Somerset, in Fox's Acts 719. Edit, 1641.

our Prelate was there at the time of the interview between the French King and the Pope, and of the consequences of which Henry and his Council were very suspicious. It was, indeed, with a view of discovering the designs of the Holy Father and the French Monarch, in this interview, that Gardiner was now fent over. For it was apprehended that the Pope was hatching some mischief against England, and that he was now inciting the Emperor, and other Princes, to make war upon us. And indeed he had boafted, that he would fet all Christendom against the King of England. And the Emperor, in discourse, had averred, that, by the means of Scotland, he would avenge his aunt Queen Catherine's quarrel. Archbishop Cranmer, at this juncture, had also secret intimation of a defign to excommunicate him, and interdict his church. Whereupon, as the King by Bonner had made his appeal from the Pope to the next General Council, lawfully called, so by the King and Council's advice, the Archbishop soon after did the same : sending his appeal with his proxy, under his feal, to Bonner, defiring him, together with Gardiner, to confult together, and to intimate his appeal in the best manner they could think expedient for him.

Bonner, who was employed in this affair as well as Gardiner, and who was appointed to succeed him as Resident in France, has, in a letter to Lord Cromwell, represented the behaviour of Gardiner, whilst he was employed on his foreign Embassies, in a manner not much to his advantage. " The Bishop of Winchester," fays he, " when any man is fent in the King's affairs, and by his " Highness's commandment, unless he be the only and chief inventor of the matter, and fetter forth of the person, will not only " use many cavils, but also great strangeness of countenance and " cheer to the person that is sent: over and beside, as small com-" fort and counsel as may be in the matter, rather disfunding and "discouraging the person earnestly to set forward his message, than boldening and comforting him, as was his duty, with help and counsel to adventure and do his best therein. The experience " whereof I have had myfelf with him at Roan, and at Marfeilles, " and now last of all at my return from Spain; where neither my " diligence in coming to him, and using him in the beginning with " all the reverence I could, neither the King's letter written to " him in my favour, nor yet other thing could mollify his hard " heart and cankered malicious stomach, but that he would spite-" fully speak, and unkindly do, as indeed he did, to his great shame " and my dishonesty. He cannot be content that any joined in " commission with him, should keep house, but to be at his ta-" ble, wherein either he searcheth thereby a vain glory and pride " to himself, with some dishonour to the King, as who saith, " there were among all the King's Ambassadors but one able to " maintain a table, and that were he: or else he doth the same " for an evil intent and purpose, to bring them thereby into his

" danger,

danger, that they shall fay and do as liketh him alone, which I suppose verily hath been his intent. He having private " hatred against a man, will rather satisfy his own stomach and " affection, hindering and neglecting the King's affairs, than relenting in any part of his flurdy and stubborn will, give familiar and hearty counsel (whereby the King's Highness
matters and business may be advanced and set forward) to
him that he taketh for his adversary (k)." This character of not yielding to others, but being stubborn and wilful in his opinion, with which, among other things, Bonner charges him in this letter, was given him so generally, that Gardiner himself bears testimony to it in a letter to Lord Cromwell, in which he tells him, "I am in some men's judgment too strait in charging " myself: but I will have mine own will therein, that I may be " called SELF-WILLED for fomething." And, indeed, he acknowledges this infirmity, in his treatife, DE VERA OBEDIENTIA, faying, "I confess plainly of myself, I could do nothing with a worse will, nor more against my mind, than to shrink " from any thing that I had been before persuaded in, whatsoever " it were (w).

On Gardiner's return from his French Embassy, he was called upon, together with the other Bishops, to acknowledge the King as supreme head of the Church, and to take the oath appointed for that purpose. This he not only readily complied with, but also published a defence of the King's supremacy, with this title, DE VERA OBEDIENTIA; i. e. Of true Obedience. His pen was made use of upon other occasions; and he never declined vindicating the King's proceedings in the business of the divorce, the subsequent marriage, or the throwing off the dominion of the Romish See; and his writings upon these subjects acquired him at that time confiderable reputation. But notwithstanding Gardiner's ready compliance with all the King's measures, and his writings in defence of them, he was still strongly attached to the Romish superstitions, or at least very

defirous of supporting them.

In 1535, Archbishop Cranmer having begun to make a provincial visitation, fent a monition to Bishop Gardiner, acquainting him that he should visit his Diocese. But Gardiner (says Vol. II. 5. 2 D Mr.

ments, Vol. II. P. 381, 382, 383, Edit. 1641. may be feen Bonner's letter to Cromwell at large, from which the above is taken. And it contains one of the most curious dialogues, which, we suppose, ever passed between two Ambassadors, namely, Gardiner and Bonner; especially when it is confidered that one of them was a Bishop at that time, and the other afterwards. But it is

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( k ) In Fox's Acts and Monu- too long, and indeed Gardiner's language in some places too coarse and indelicate, for us to insert. Besides the character of Gardiner which is above given from this letter, Bonner, in another part of it, fays, that he fuppofes Gardiner " in malice and diffain may be compared to the Devil in Hell, not giving place to him in pride at all."

( w) Vid. Ridley's Life of Bishop

Ridley, P. 110, 111.

Mr. Strype) "who never loved the Archbishop, and being a " great upholder of the old Popish superstitions, was the more si jealous of this visitation, opposing himself as much as he " could against it; and would have picked an hole in Cran-" mer's coat, for stiling himself, in the instrument of the Proer cefs, Totius Angliæ Primas." Gardiner infinuated, that this was an high reflection upon the King, and detracted much from his supremacy. And, therefore, he went and made a complaint of this to Henry himself. And he also pretended to his Majesty, that the Clergy of his Diocese would be driven to great streights, and mightily oppressed, if it should be now visited again, having been visited but sive years before, by Cranmer's predecessor, Warham. But whatever Gardiner might pretend, it appeared very evidently, that the confe of his open pretend, it appeared very evidently, that the cause of his oppofition, was a defire to evade the Archbishop's visitation, and thereby prevent his inspection into the corruptions of the Dio-cese of Winchester. For as to his exception to the Archbishop's title, and pretence that it was derogatory to the King's honour, that was nothing but a piece of artifice, by which he hoped to interest the King in his favour. The title assumed by Cranmer, was no other than what had been used by his predecessors, and which Gardiner had never before objected to; and as to the Archbishop himself, he had so little value for names or titles, that if that in question had any way interfered with the King's supremacy, he would have been earnestly solicitous to relinquish it. But the title, when affumed by the Archbishop's predeceffors, had never been thought inconfistent with the Pope's supremacy; and, therefore, could not be inconfiftent with the King's (x).

In 1536, Bishop Gardiner vigorously opposed, both in the Convocation, and in private with the King, several steps which were taken by the Protestant party, to promote the Resormation; and particularly, a proposal which was made in the Convocation by Archbishop Cranmer, to petition the King for leave to make an English translation of the Bible; because many of those who at present seemed to admit the propriety of translation, had yet made much objection to the version of

Tyndal (y).

About this time Gardiner went over again to France, to refume his Embassy; and he procured the removal of Reginald Pole, then Dean of Exeter, out of the French dominions, as an enemy of his master, King Henry. And, before his return, being applied to by Cromwell, at the King's direction, for his opinion about the project of a religious league with the Protestant Princes of Germany, he, supposing this would contribute to promete the Reformation, declared himself against it, and of-

<sup>(</sup>x) Vid. Strype's Memorials of (y) Vid. Burnet's Hift, of the Archbishop Cranmer, P. 33. Reformation, Vol. I. P. 195.

fered many artful reasons of a different nature in support of his opinion. And in 1538, he was sent Ambassador, with Sir Henry Knevit, to the German Diet at Ratisbon, where he is said to have acquitted himself well with respect to his commission; but he there fell under some suspicion of holding a secret correspondence with the Pope. And there has been thought reason to believe, that he was under private engagements with the Romish Pontiss, to introduce Popery again into England. And this suspicion of Gardiner's holding such a correspondence, occasioned some misunderstanding between him and his collegue, Sir Henry Knevit, who gave some intimation of it to the King. However, Gardiner was not brought into any trouble on this account, during Henry's reign.

Notwithstanding King Henry's rupture with the Pope, he was still strongly attached to most of the superstitious doctrines of the Romish Church; and Gardiner, after his return from Germany, laid hold of every savourable opportunity of strengthening that attachment. In particular, he represented to the King, that nothing would so much contribute to secure him, both at home and abroad, from all the mischief which the Pope was contriving, as to shew a great zeal against Heretics, and chiefly against the SACRAMENTARIANS, by which name those were distinguished, who denied the doctrine of the real presence. And as this was a doctrine which the King had always been very zealous for, he was the more easily persuaded to be severe on that head.

An occasion of exercising such severity, presented itself as opportunely as could be wished. It happened that at that time one John Lambert was brought before the Archbishop of Canterbury for herefy in this point. He had been Minister to the English factory at Antwerp; where being acquainted with William Tyndal and John Frith, he imbibed from them a further knowledge of the reformed opinions, in which he had been before partly instructed by Bilney. But Sir Thomas More, then Lord Chancellor, ordered the merchants at Antwerp to difmiss him: upon this he came over into England, and was taken up by some of Archbishop Warham's officers. But Warham died foon after, and Lambert obtained his liberty. He afterwards kept a school in London; and hearing Dr. Taylor, afterwards Bishop of London, preach on the doctrine of the real presence, he went to him, and presented to him in writing his reasons for disbelieving that doctrine. Taylor shewed this paper to Dr. Barnes, who was bred among the Lutherans, and retained their sentiments upon this subject; and he thought, as they did, that nothing would more obstruct the progress of the Reformation, than the propagating that doctrine in England. He and Taylor, therefore, carried the paper to Archbishop Cranmer, who was at that time of the Lutheran opinion in this article, as 2 D 2

Latimer also then was ( z ). And Lambert being brought before them, they endeavoured to make him retract his paper; but in vain; for Lambert, by a fatal resolution, made his appeal to the King. This Gardiner laid hold on, and perfuaded Henry to proceed folemnly and feverely in the affair; and he was prevailed upon to do it in a manner, that should shew how well qualified he was to be the Head of the Church, and in which he

might at once display his learning, and his orthodoxy.

Accordingly letters were dispatched to many of the Nobility and Prelates, that they might come and fee the trial of Lambert; in which the King intended to fit in person, and to manage a part of the argument. And on the day appointed, the King appeared with great state in Westminster-Hall, attended by many of the Prelates, Nobility, Clergy, and King's Council. Lambert was then brought to the bar, and the process was opened by an oration made by the Bishop of Chichester. After which the King, with a stern countenance, commanded Lambert to declare his opinion concerning the Sacrament of the Altar. And Lambert began his reply by acknowledging the great goodness of the King, in thus hearing the causes of his subjects; and he likewise bestowed some commendations on his Majesty's judgment and learning. In this Henry interrupted him, telling him in Latin, that he came not there to hear his own praises set forth; and therefore commanded him to speak to the matter in question. And when Lambert did fo, and denied that CHRIST's body was really present in the Sacrament, the King endeavoured to confute him from Scripture. After which, Henry commanded Archbishop Cranmer to refute Lambert's opinion. The Archbishop treated Lambert with much mildness and civility; and after they had argued together for some time, Bishop Gardiner, who seemed to think Cranmer argued but faintly, interposed in the argument. Eight other Bishops also entered the lists against Lambert; and the disputation, such as it was, continued five hours, till at length the poor man fatigued, confounded, and brow-beaten, was reduced to filence. The King then asked him if he was convinced, and whether he would live or die? He answered, "That he committed his foul to GOD, "and submitted his body to the King's clemency." But Henry told him, that if he did not recant, he must die; for he would not be a patron of Heretics. And as Lambert refused to recant (a), the King commanded Lord Cromwell, as his Vice-

( 2 ) With respect to this article, Luther taught, with the Romith Church, that the very natural body and blood of CHRIST were in the Sacrament; but he faid this was not

bread and wine, with the fubstance of which it was miraculously mixed.

<sup>(</sup>a) Mr. Hume fays, "Lambert possessed that courage which consists in obstinacy." But this unfortunate (as the Papists maintained) by con- man gave no other evidence of obfiverting the bread and wine into them, nacy, than in refusing to violate his but by being introduced into the conscience, by making a public and

gerent, to read the fentence against him, which he accordingly did. We cannot but condemn Cromwell, for his ready compliance with the King's will in this transaction; nor indeed was Cranmer altogether free from blame, though he does not feem to have been very active in the affair. In confequence of Lambert's sentence, he was soon after burnt in Smithfield, and with circumstances of unusual barbarity. A tragical scene, which was the refult of Bishop Gardiner's cruel and artful advice to

King Henry (b).

In 1539, Gardiner gave another inftance of his zeal for the Popish doctrines, and his desire of promoting persecution, by exerting himself in procuring the act of the Six Articles, commonly called the Bloody Statute; of which we have already the state of the Six Articles, commonly called the Bloody Statute; of which we have already the state of Sistem Latimer. It is said. given some account in the Life of Bishop Latimer. It is faid, and there is the highest reason to believe it, that this act was framed by Gardiner. It is certain, that he zealously promoted it in the House of Lords, to the utmost extent of his influence. Soon after Dr. Robert Barnes, and two others, were burnt in Smithfield for herefy; and the death of Barnes has been particularly attributed to Gardiner (c).

Upon the fall of Lord Cromwell, in 1540, Bishop Gardiner was elected Chancellor of the University of Cambridge; and after Cromwell's death, Gardiner's influence at Court encreased; and he employed all that influence in support of the Popish religion. Indeed, our Prelate was a most notable defender of all old customs and practices, however superstitious, or however absurd. For when Sir John Cheke, who was celebrated for his skill in the Greek tongue, endeavoured to introduce into the University of Cambridge that method of pronouncing the Greek language which is now practifed, of giving each vowel

folemn profession of his belief in a those times, and a very good judg-doctrine which he was convinced was ment."—Hist of the Reformation, doctrine which he was convinced was false. The same Historian, who seems extremely unwilling that his readers should suppose a man might fuffer on a religious account from good motives, attributes his perfeverance even to the stake to a principle of vanity alfo. But certainly the man who would be burnt to death from a principle of vanity, must possess it in no ordinary degree. - Vid. Hume's Hift. of England, Vol. IV. P. 209, 210. 8vo. Edit.

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Bishop Burnet says, Lambert was " a learned and good man. His an-occasion of my death, I pray GOD swers to the articles objected to him forgive them, as I would be forgiven by Warham, and a book which in his myself. And Doctor Stephen, Bishop imprisonment he wrote for justifying his opinion, which he directed to the

Vol. I. P. 254.

(b) Vid. Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 426. Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, P. 65. Burnet's Hift. of the Refor-

mation, Vol. I. P. 252.
(c) The innocence of Gardiner with respect to this charge, has, however, been inferred by some, though without much reason, from Barnes's words at the stake, which seemed to imply a doubt. Barnes's words imply a doubt. Barnes's words were: " They which have been the of Winchester, that now is, if he have fought or wrought this my King, do shew both great learning for death, either by word or deed, I pray

and dipthong their distinct and several founds, Gardiner, as Chancellor of the University, interposed his authority; and, from his aversion to all reformation, which he opposed under the name of Novelty and Innovation, he inhibited under penalties Cheke's pronunciation, and enjoined the old confusion to be religiously observed, by a public edict. This was dated in June, 1542; and, by this decree, the old corrupt founding of the Greek was confirmed, and the scholars were enjoined to make no variation, and that upon these penalties; namely, if he were a Regent, to be expelled out of the Senate; if he flood for a degree, not to be admitted to it; if a scholar, to lose his scholarship; and the younger fort to be chastised. And, in short, the decree ran, "That none should philosophize at all in " founds, but all use the present. And that if any thing were " to be corrected in them, let it all be left to authority." Cheke, in defence of himself, said what he had done was in vindication of Truth. But Gardiner exclaimed, QUID NON MORTALIA PECTORA COGIT VERI QUÆRENDI FAMES ? "What does not the itch of feeking out TRUTH compel men " to do?" And bade Cheke not be the author of removing " an evil well placed ( d )."

About this time the English translation of the Bible, which had been published, and by the authority of the Lord Vicegerent Cromwell, in 1536, ordered to be laid in churches, was brought under examination in the Convocation, and many of the Bishops were appointed to peruse it. For several complaints had been brought against it : and, indeed, it was beheld with a very evil eye by the Popish party. For they well knew, that the promoting of an acquaintance with the Scriptures, was very unfavourable to their cause. But they could not directly oppose it, because the King had determined in favour of an English version. The way they took, therefore, was to cavil at the translation, as an unfaithful one, and to load it with as many faults as they could. This they did in hopes of getting it condemned, at the same time promising a better translation; but in the making and publishing of which, they knew it would be

easy to procure many delays.

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feigning, as ever CHRIST forgave them that put him to death,"

and the two other Protestants, were managing in England; for those who burnt in Smithfield for heresy, three were for the Pope were hanged, and Papists were in the same place those who were against him were hanged and quartered, for owning the burned," Pope's supremacy, and denying the King's. There being fix in all, one of each was put upon an hurdle, a Cheke, P. 19.

Papist and a Protostant, and in this

GOD forgive him, as heartily, as manner they were drawn to the place freely, as charitably, and without of execution. A Frenchman, who gning, as ever CHRIST forgave was present at this extraordinary sem that put him to death." spectacle, told his friend in Latin, At the same time that Dr. Barnes, "That they had a strange way of

No man could be more offended with the English version of the Bible, than Bishop Gardiner. And he had one very curious conceit concerning it, which he laid before the Convocation. He pretended, that there were many words in the New Testament of such Majesty, that they were not to be translated, but must stand in the English Bible as they were in the Latin. An hundred of these words he put into a writing, which was read in the Convocation. " His defign in this was visible (fays " Bishop Burnet); that if a translation must be made, it should be fo daubed all through with Latin words, that the people of should not understand it much the better for its being in Eng-" lish. A taste of this the reader may have by the first twenty of them; Ecclesia, Penitentia, Pontifex, Ancilla, " CONTRITUS, OLOCAUSTA, JUSTITIA, JUSTIFICATIO, " IDIOTA, ELEMENTA, BAPTIZARE, MARTYR, ADORARE, " SANDALIUM, SIMPLEX, TETRARCHA, SACRAMENTUM, SIMULACHRUM, GLORIA. The defign he had of keeping " fome of these, particularly the last save one, is plain enough; " that the people might not discover that visible opposition, " which was between the Scriptures and the Romish Church, in " the matter of images. This could not be better palliated, " than by difguifing these places with words that the people un-" derstood not .--- And Cranmer found, that the Bishops were " resolved, either to condemn the translation of the Bible, or to or proceed fo flowly in it, that it should come to nothing. Therefore he moved the King to refer the peruling of it to the two " Univerfities ( e)."

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About this time King Henry having formed a defign to go over into France, in order to profecute the war there; and having previously summoned a Parliament, Archbishop Cranmer endeavoured to lay hold on this occasion to make some further progress in the work of Reformation, which had for some time been obstructed, and also to get the severe acts about religion moderated. But Gardiner vehemently opposed all the Archbishop's endeavours for this purpose. Cranmer's influence, however, so far prevailed, that an act was passed, intituled, "An act for the advancement of true religion, and the abolish-"ment of the contrary;" which was favourable to the reformed religion. But though Gardiner and his party could not hinder the passing of this act, they found means to clog it in such a manner with provisoes, that it came far short of what the Archbishop had intended. For though the English translation was allowed to be read, yet this permission was not granted to perfons of all ranks. Every Nobleman and gentleman was allowed to have the Bible read in their houses; and noble Ladies, and gentlewomen, and merchants, might read it themselves. But no men or women under those degrees. And no book was to be printed printed about religion without the King's allowance; and the act of the Six Articles was declared to be of the same force as

before (f).

In 1543, Bishop Gardiner was one of the Commissioners appointed to conclude a treaty of peace with Scotland, and also a treaty of marriage between the young Queen of Scotland and the Prince of Wales. But whatever public employments he was engaged in, the principal object of his attention feems to have been, the preventing the progress of the Reformation, and what was called the New Learning, to the utmost of his power. And whenever he was engaged in the perfecution of those he called Heretics, it was utterly in vain for them to produce any arguments in support of their opinions. If the Bishop of Winchester was invested with a fufficient degree of fecular power, he paid no regard to the strongest arguments, from reason, or from Scripture. A Clergyman named Seton, a man of parts and learning, being brought before Gardiner for a fermon he had preached in London, and having defended himself and his opinions in a manner which the Prelate was unable to answer, Gardiner faid to him, "Mr. Seton, we know ye are learned, and " plenteously endued with knowledge in the Scriptnres, yet " think not that ye shall overcome us. No, no, set your heart at rest; and look never to have it said, that ye have overcome " the Bishops. For it shall not be so (g)."

This year, 1543, Bishop Gardiner, being in much favour with the King, thought it a favourable opportunity to set some measures on foot, that would have a tendency to stop the progress of the Reformation. He had been informed, that there were many Heretics in Windsor. He, therefore, moved the King in Council, that a commission might be granted for searching suspected houses in that town, in which it was said there were many books against the Six Articles. In consequence of this, four persons, Anthony Persons, Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, and John Marbeck, were taken up, and tried and condemned for heresy; and three of them were afterwards burnt. The last of them, Marbeck, who was pardoned, was charged with compiling an English Concordance. And Fox tells us, that when this man was examined before the Council, Gardiner observed, that there had been a Concordance compiled in Latin for the ease of preachers; but, he added, "If such a book should go" forth in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue."

But Gardiner was not content with having been the means of bringing to the stake a few Protestants of inconsiderable note. He had taken a much higher aim. The Archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer, was the great support of the reformed opinions;

and

<sup>(</sup>f) Vid. Strype's Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, P. 99.

and Gardiner had long been his inveterate enemy. He, therefore, laid a very deep plot to ruin the Archbishop, together with feveral of his Protestant friends. And for this purpose he carried on two intrigues at the same time; one at Windsor, and another at Canterbury. Befides the profecutions against those at Windsor, of whom we have already spoken, his emissaries were employed in preparing indictments against Sir Philip Hobby, and Sir Thomas Chardine, both of the Privy Council, together with feveral Ladies and others. At Canterbury, they began by preferring accusations against Dr. Ridley, Chaplain to the Archbishop, and three other preachers, who were favoured by him. But what they had principally in view, was to collect whatever they could, hearfays and reports, or any thing elfe, which, by the subtilty and malice of Gardiner, might be formed into an accusation against Cranmer. Gardiner's principal agent in this dark and iniquitous business, was one Dr. London, a man well fitted for the purpose. Archbishop Parker stiles him, " a flout and filthy Prebendary (b)." A book of articles of accusation against Cranmer was accordingly put into the King's hands. But by means of intercepted letters, some from Gardiner, and others from his agent London, the whole scheme was discovered; and the King being thoroughly convinced of its malevolence, the whole defign was crushed. And as to Bishop Gardiner, the King from this time conceived a worfe opinion of him than he had ever done before (i). Gardiner, however, feems to have been engaged in other attempts after this, and in this reign, to ruin Cranmer, but they were without effect ( k). Vol. II. 5.

(b) Dr. London was afterwards, by means of some letters which had been intended for Gardiner, but which were intercepted, convicted before the Council of perjury, and sentenced to ride through Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, with his face towards his horse's tail, and a paper upon his head declaring his crime; and to stand in the pillory in each of those towns. He was afterwards sent to the Fleet, where he died.

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to the Fleet, where he died.

(i) Vid. Memorials of Archbishop
Cranmer, P. 109---123. Hist. of the
Reformation, P. 327. and Life of

An attempt is made in the Biographia Britannica to palliate Gardiner's behaviour in this affair, by intimating that he did it by way of retaliation, for an attempt that had been made by the Duke of Suffolk, and Gardiner's enemies, to make the King believe that he, Bishop Gardiner, was en ployed in it; and he was not tried and executed for denying the King's supremacy, till the following year. The occurrence, therefore, which Gardiner is supposed the fame sentiments with his Seeretary, German Gardiner, who was a series of the fame sentiments with his Seeretary. The scheme laid against Cranmer, was in 1543 3 and German Gardiner's Secretary. The scheme laid against Cranmer, was in 1543 3 and German Gardiner, the Bishop's Secretary, was employed in it; and he was not tried and executed for denying the King's supremacy, till the following year. The occurrence, was in 1543 3 and German Gardiner, the Bishop's Secretary, was employed in it; and he was not tried and executed for denying the King's supremacy, till the following year. The occurrence, was employed in it; and he was not tried and executed for denying the King's supremacy, till the following year. The occurrence, where for which Gardiner's beneated the by the Duke of Suffolk, and Gardiner's secretary.

executed for denying the King's fupremacy. But what is thus alledged in extenuation of Gardiner's behaviour with respect to Cranmer, is not of the least weight, and indeed has scarce any foundation. For, in the first place, there is no reason whatever to suppose, that Cranmer infinu-ated any thing to the King, to Gardiner's difadvantage, on account of the conviction of his Secretary. And, in the fecond place, the plot laid by Gardiner and his emissaries for the ruin of Cranmer, was a year prior to the conviction and execution of Gardiner's Secretary. The fcheme laid against Cranmer, was in 1543 3 and German Gardiner, the Bishop's Secretary, was employed in it; and he was not tried and executed for denying the King's supremacy, till the following year. The occurrence, therefore, which Gardiner is supposed to have refented, had not then hap-

In 1544, our Prelate's Secretary, whose name was German Gardiner, and who was much in his mafter's favour, was condemned and executed for defending the Pope's supremacy. Upon this, according to Fox, the King being in conference with the Duke of Suffolk, and others of the Council, was fully perfuaded, that Gardiner's Secretary, " being in such special fa-" your with his master, would never stand so stiff in defence of " the Bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority, without " his faid master's both advice, knowledge, and persuasion." Henry, therefore, gave directions to the Duke of Suffolk, to take to his affistance two or three of the Council, and cause Gardiner to be committed to the Tower, in order that he might answer to fuch things as should be objected to him. But before this was effected, the Prelate receiving intimation of what was intended, repaired to the King. Henry, when he faw him, told him, he wondered that his Secretary should in so notorious a manner offend against him and the laws; and that it was thought he, the Bishop, was not clear in the affair, but that he was indeed of the same opinion with his Secretary (1). However, (the King told him) if he would honestly confess the truth, he would pardon him; but if he dissembled, he should receive no favour at his hands. Upon this, Gardiner fell on his knees before the King. and acknowledged, that he had for a long time been of the fame opinion with his Secretary; but he befought his Majesty's pardon, and "there bewailing himself, promised from that time for-"ward to reform his opinion, and become a new man." Henry thereupon granted Gardiner his pardon, agreeable to his promife; which was no small disappointment to the Duke of Suffells and others who was a friends to the Duke of Suffells and others who was a friends to the Duke of Suffells and others who was a friends to the Duke of Suffells and others who was a friends to the Duke of Suffells and others who was a friends to the Duke of Suffells and others who was a friends to the Duke of Suffells and others who was a friends to the Duke of Suffells and others who was a friends to the Duke of Suffells and others who was a friends to the Duke of Suffells and others who was a friends to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and others who was not suffell to the Duke of Suffells and the Duke of Suffells and Suffells a folk, and others, who were no friends to our Prelate ( m ).

In 1545, Bishop Gardiner was employed in Flanders, in soliciting a league between the Emperor, and the French King, and And during his absence, Cranmer endeavoured to procure the King's confent for the abolishing of some prevailing superstitions, such as the Vigil, and ringing of bells all the night upon Allhallows, and the covering of images in the time of Lent, with the lifting up the veil that covereth the cross upon Palm Sunday, the kneeling to the cross at the same time, and creeping to it. But this was prevented by Gardiner; who receiving information of it, artfully wrote word to the King, that his business was in a good train; but he befought him not to suffer any innovations in religion or ceremonies; for if he did.

of Winchester, says, that he was Henry VIII. P. 565.
"fuspected to dislike secretly the (m) Acts and Monuments, V. II.
King's proceedings: which was P. 646, 647. Edit. 1641.
made more probable, when not 12.00

(1) Lord Herbert, after having long after his Secretary, German observed, that the King withdrew Gardiner, was executed for denying much of his favour from the Bishop the King's supremacy."—Hist, of

there would be no hopes of his succeeding with the Emperor ( n ).

Gardiner returned from Flanders about January, 1546. And foon after, he and the Popish party found means to set on foot a persecution of the Protestants, upon the statute of the Six Articles. In particular, a charge of herefy was brought against Mrs. Anne Ascough, sister to Sir Francis Ascough, of Lincolnshire, a Lady of unblemished life, and exemplary piety, of a sharp and ready wit, and better education than was common in those of her sex. They hoped by falling upon her, to have drawn out of her confessions some matters against the Dutchess of Suffolk, the Countess of Sussex, the Countess of Hertford, the Lady Denny, the Lady Fitzwilliams, and some of the Council. She underwent feveral examinations ( o ); but they could not get out of her what they wanted, and therefore they endea-voured to extort it by the rack. When she had for some time endured this torture, and it was found insufficient for the purpose they aimed at, the Lieutenant of the Tower was ordered to put her on the rack again. But this his humanity refused; and upon this, it is faid, the Lord Chancellor, (Wriothesley) who was a zealous Papist, threw off his gown, and drew the rack himself, torturing her as long as life could support it. And when they found they could not obtain the end they aimed at, they contented themselves for the present with burning the poor Lady; and with her Nicholas Belenian, John Adams, and John Lassels, all on the same account; that was, for speaking against the corporal presence in the Sacrament, in disobedience to the Six Articles. Sir George Blage, one of the gentlemen of the King's Privy Chamber, was also committed to Newgate on the Sunday before Mrs. Ayscough suffered, and condemned to the fire on the Wednesday following. But the King hearing of it, was greatly offended with the Lord Chancellor, for coming so near him, and even to his privy chamber, and commanded him immediately to draw out his pardon. As foon as Sir George was released, and came into the presence, the King cried out, as he was accustomed

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135, 136.

(o) Fox has preserved an account of some of her examinations, as given by herself. One of them was before the Council at Greenwich. She was there asked by Lord Wriothesley, the Chancellor, what her opinion was concerning the Sacra-ment. "My answer (fays she) was this. I believe that so oft as I, in a Christian congregation, do receive the bread in remembrance of CHRIST's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I re-

(n) Vid. Strype, as before, P. 134, ceive therewith the fruits also of his most glorious passion. The Bishop of Winchester bad me make a direct answer. I said, I would not fing a new fong of the LORD in a strange land. Then the Bishop said I spake in parables. I answered, it was best for him; for if I shew the open truth, (quoth I) ye will not accept it. Then he faid I was a parrot. I told him again, I was ready to fuffer all things at his hands, not only his re-bukes, but all that should follow befides; yea, and all that gladly." The next day she was brought again to call him, "Ah! my Pig!" "Yes," faid Sir George; " IF " your Majesty had not been better to me than your Bishops,

" your Pig had been roasted e're this time (p)."

Queen Catherine Parr, to whom King Henry had now been married about three years, was a favourer of the Reformation. She was, therefore, very obnoxious to Gardiner and the Popish party. She was much given to reading and studying the Scriptures, and the King would frequently permit her to confer with him on religious subjects; and she would at these times endeayour to persuade the King to complete the Reformation which he had begun, by purging his Church of England from the superstitions which yet remained. Henry had always hitherto taken this in good part; for the Queen was very dutiful and affectionate in her behaviour, and studious of conforming herself to his will. But Henry was now grown very corpulent and difeafed, and his illness heightened the natural impatience of his temper. During his illness and confinement, it was customary for the Queen, when she thought it would be agreeable to the King, at some convenient season of the day, to visit him in his chamber: and Henry always received her with great kindness, and indulged the freedom of her conversation without displeasure. But one day the came into his chamber, when Gardiner, with others of the Popish party, were with the King; and she falling upon her old topic of perfecting the Reformation, his Majesty shewed some tokens of dislike, contrary to his customary behaviour to her, and breaking off the discourse, talked of other matters. And when the Queen was retired, Henry brake out into this expreffion, " A good hearing it is, when women become such clerks! " and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old age to be taught by my wife!"

Gardiner failed not to improve this opportunity. With equal fubtilty and malice, he struck in with the King's displeasure, and faid all that he could devise against the Queen, to increase his resentment. In order to aggravate the Queen's insolence in disputing with his Majesty, he slatteringly extolled Henry's great learning and depth in divinity; and he inferred, that those who would contradict him in words, wanted not the will, but the power only, to overthrow him in deeds. And then he infinuated, that he and his friends could make great discoveries, of their own knowledge, relating to the Queen; but her faction was fo

powerful,

before the Council, and again interrequired her to confess ' the Sacra-" ment to be flesh, blood, and bone." fpeak with her in private, but that the declined; and when he told her shat the thould be burnt, the an-

fwered, " that fhe had fearched all rogated concerning the Sacrament; the Scriptures, yet could never find and the fays that Lord Lifle, Lord that either Chaist or his Apostles Effex, and Bishop Gardiner, earnostly put any creature to death." She was afterwards fent to Newgate, though ment to be flesh, blood, and bone.' extremely ill, and in great pain. Vid.
The Bishop atterwards desired to Acts and Monuments, Vol. 11, P. 576. (p) Vid. Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley, P. 176-178, powerful, that they could not do their duty to their Prince, with fafety to themselves. By these infinuations, and others of the fame kind, Henry was fo far prevailed upon, that articles were prepared against the Queen, and figned by the King: for without that, it was not fafe for any to impeach the Queen. It was also determined to seize some Ladies, who were the Queen's nearest relations, and chief confidants, and to indict them on the statute of the Six Articles; these were the Lady Herbert, fister to the Queen, the Lady Lane, and Lady Tyrwhit, all of her privy chamber: and upon feizing them, it was intended to fearch their closets and coffers, in hopes fomething might be found, which might be made use of against the Queen. very day, and even the hour was appointed, and made known to the King, when they were to be seized. But Wriothesley, the Chancellor, who had engaged in this affair with Gardiner, accidentally dropped the bill of articles that had been prepared against the Queen; which being taken up by one of her friends, was carried to her. She feeing the contents, and the King's hand fet to them, had reason to think herself lost. This threw her into a violent disorder, which her physicians could not reach: till Dr. Wendy, having been privately informed by the King of the defign, with a first injunction of secrecy, declared to him that her malady was in the mind. This induced the King to vifit her, which he not only did, but behaved to her with great tenderness; and this seasonable kindness greatly abated the violence of her diforder. When she was a little recovered, by the advice of Dr. Wendy, who was her friend as well as physician, she went to wait upon the King; who received her kindly, and on purpose set on a discourse about religion. She had been prepared by Dr. Wendy, and therefore an-fwered, "That women by their creation at first were made sub-" ject to men; that they, being made after the image of God, " as the women were after their image, ought to instruct their wives, who were to learn of them. And she much more was " to be taught of his Majesty, who was a Prince of such excel-lent learning and wisdom." "Not so, by St. Mary," said the King, " you are become a Doctor, Kate, to instruct us, (as we 4 take it) and not to be instructed or directed by us." To which the replied, " That it feemed he had much mistaken the free-" dom she had taken to argue with him; since she did it to en-" gage him in discourse, in order that he might thereby pass the " time the more agreeably, and be the less sensible of the painful " indisposition with which he was afflicted; and that she at the " fame time might receive profit by his Majesty's learned dif-" courfe : in which last point she had not missed of her aim, " always referring herfelf in these matters, as she ought to do, to his Majesty." And is it even so, Sweet-heart?" faid the King? " then are we perfect friends again." And embracing

her, he expressed great joy as this declaration of her's, dismissing

her, after other discourse, with assurances of his love.

In the mean time the Queen's enemies were entirely unacquainted with this reconciliation. The very next day had been appointed for carrying her, and the Ladies before-mentioned, to The day being fine, the King went to take a little the Tower. air in the garden, and fent for the Queen; who came, attended by the three Ladies of her privy chamber, to bear him company. While they were together, the hour appointed being come, the Chancellor, ignorant of what had happened, entered the garden, with about forty of the guard, to arrest the Queen. But the King, who knew the business he was come about, stepped aside to him, and after a little discourse, was heard to call him "Knave, " aye errant knave, a fool, and beaft;" and bid him presently avaunt out of his fight. The Queen, who knew not that the evil which had been intended her was so near, nor on what errand the Chancellor and his guard were now come, endeavoured to pacify the King, and to intercede in the Chancellor's behalf, against whom he seemed to discover so much anger.

"Ah, poor soul," faid the King, "thou little knowest how ill

she deserves this grace at thy hands. On my word, Sweetheart, he hath been towards thee an errant knave. And so " let him go." Thus was this design against Queen Catherine Parr frustrated; which, says Bishop Burnet, "as it absolutely disheartened the Papists, so it did totally alienate the King " from them; and in particular from the Bishop of Winchester, " whose fight he could never after this endure (q)."

But though King Henry could never bear the fight of Gardiner after this transaction, yet we are told that the Prelate would shuffle himself in among the Counsellors, and proceed with them to the Anti-chamber, waiting till they had done with the King, and then go down with them again, to preferve the appearance of still retaining the King's confidence, and of having a share in public business. And it appears, that Gardiner introduced Admiral Annibault, the French Ambassador, to the Anti-chamber, when that Minister came to have his last private audience of Henry; but the King ordered, that Gardiner should proceed no further, nor be acquainted with the subject of their conversation (r). Another time the King seeing him with some of the Privy Counsellors, expressed much dislike, and asked, "What " he did there?" He was answered, that the Bishop came to

(9) Vid. Hift. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 344, 345. Life of Bishop Ridley, P. 179—182. Lord Herbert's Hift. of King Henry VIII.

P. 622, 623. Edit. 1683.
It is observed by Lord Herbert, that a submission made by Bishop

Gardiner to the King, foon after this affair, is extant in our records ; tho whether on account of this, or for fome other cause, does not appear. (r) Vid. Guthrie's Hiftory of England, Vol. II, P. 1121.

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inform his Majesty of a benevolence granted by the Clergy. The King hearing this, called him immediately to deliver his

message; and having received it, went away. King Henry's disorder increasing, he ordered his will to be again drawn out, and to leave out the name of Bishop Gardiner, whom he had before appointed to be one of his executors. Sir Anthony Browne, who was a great friend of the Bishop's, mentioned this omission to the King, as a negligence he supposed of the Secretary; and then reminded him of the Bishop's great deservings and abilities. "Hold your peace," said the King; "I remembered him well enough; and of good pur-" pose have left him out. For surely if he were in my testa-" ment, and one of you, he would cumber you all; and you " should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature. " Marry, (proceeded the King), I myfelf could use him, and " rule him to all manner of purposes, as seemed good unto me, " but so shall you never do; and, therefore, talk no more to " me in his behalf." Sir Anthony, however, out of his friendship for Gardiner, took another opportunity of moving the King in the Prelate's behalf. But Henry was fo much difpleased at this, that he threatened to strike Sir Anthony too out of his will, if he did not cease his importunity in that mat-

ter (1).

King Henry died, on the 28th of January, 1547, after a reign of thirty-feven years and nine months, and in the fifty-fixth year of his age. A Prince of fo diversified and various a character, and so different from himself at different times, that, as Lord Herbert has justly observed, " his history is his best character " and description." Upon the accession of King Edward VI. Archbishop Cranmer, being earnest in his endeavours to promote the Reformation, to which he found the Protector Somerfet well inclined, laboured all he could to bring the Bishop of Winchester to a concurrence, or at least to an acquiescence. But all his endeavours for this purpose were without effect; for Gardiner opposed every measure that was taken favourable to the Re-

formation, to the utmost of his power.

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He began with writing to the Protector, to disfuade him from fuffering any innovations to be made in religion, alledging, among other reasons, that it was improper to attempt any thing of that kind during a minority. And being informed that the inhabitants of Portsmouth had removed and broken the images of CHRIST and some of the Saints, he wrote about it with great warmth to one Captain Vaughan, who waited on the Protector, and was then at Portsmouth. He desired to know whether he should send one to preach against this "great and detestable inno-" vation," as he termed it. " I would use preaching," said Gardiner,

<sup>( : )</sup> Vid. Life of Ridley, P. 133. and Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. F. 647.

Gardiner, " as it should not be occasion of any further folly where a folly is begun; and to a multitude persuaded in the opinion of destruction of images, I would never preach. For (as Scripture willeth us) we should cast no precious stones be-" fore hogs. Such as be infected with that opinion, they be " hogs, and worse than hogs, if there be any grosser beasts than " hogs be, and have been ever fo taken; and in England they " are called Lollards, who denying images, thought there-" withal the crafts of painting and graving to be generally fu-" perfluous and naught, and against GOD's laws. In Ger-" many, fuch as maintained that opinion of destroying of " images, were accounted the dregs cast out by Luther, after " he had tunned all his brewings in CHRIST's religion, and fo " taken as hog's meat. For the reproof of whom Luther wrote " a book specially, and I have with mine eyes feen the images se standing in all churches, where Luther was had in estima-" tion. For the destruction of images containeth an enterprize to subvert religion, and the state of the world with it, and " especially the Nobility, who by images set forth and spread abroad, to be read of all people, their lineage, parentage, with remembrance of their state and acts." He afterwards observed, in the same letter, that he took the design of demolishing images to be "fuch an enterprize against CHRIST's re-"ligion, as there cannot be a greater by man exceptiate with the Devil's infligations (1)." Such were the ideas of our Prelate concerning the heinoufness of the crime of destroying images, and such the apprehensions which he had formed, or pretended to form, of the horrible confequences which would refult from it!

Gardiner happened about this time to be present at a sermon preached by Dr. Ridley before the King, in which Ridley took occasion to treat of the abuses of images in churches, and ceremonies, and also of the practice of using holy water for the driving away Devils. But our Prelate not relishing Ridley's fentiments on these subjects, favoured him with a letter on the occasion, a few days after; in which he observes, that the precept in the Mosaic law "forbiddeth no more images now, than "another text forbiddeth to us puddings." He afterwards makes a distinction between images and idols; and admits that images may be abused, but nevertheless offers many reasons in defence of the use of them. As to holy water, he said a virtue might be in water as well as in CHRIST's garment, St. Peter's shadow, or Elisha's staff. And he ascribes the esticacy of holy water for driving away Devils to the invocation of GOD's name, and gives the holy water only the office and ministry of a vehicle to convey that virtue, " as the special gift of curation mi-

( e ) Vid. Gardiner's letters published by Fox in his Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 712, 713.

inistered by the Kings of this Realm, not of their own frength, but by invocation of the name of GOD, hath been fused to be distributed in rings of gold and filver."---" If (fays he) the strength of the invocation of the Name of GoD to drive away the Devils, cannot be distributed by water, why can it be distributed in filver to drive away diseases, and the dangerous one of the Falling Evil?" We think the latter part of our learned Prelate's reasoning here was not entirely destitute of force; for we are indeed inclined to be of opinion, with him, that holy water may be to the full as efficacious in driving away Devils, as the holy rings, whether of

gold or filver, were in driving away diseases.

Gardiner wrote feveral letters to the Protector Somerset. In one of them, in which he grievously complains of the irreverence and indignity with which the images had been treated at Portsmouth, he makes very honourable mention of the late King, Henry VIII. and speaks of a conversation which passed between that Prince, and himself, and the Archbishop of Canterbury, in which Henry discussed the subject of images, in so learned a manner, that, Gardiner fays, " all the Clerks in " Christendom could not amend it." In another letter to the Protector, our Prelate complains of certain fatirical rhimes, which had been published against the keeping of Lent. And he arges many reasons, both religious and political, for the observation of Lent. He acknowledges, however, that he was not himself a great lover of fish. But "these good words," fays he, " I give, although I love it not myself: for such as " love not fish, should nevertheless commend it to others, to the " intent the flesh by them foreborne, might be to such as love " that only the more plenty (u)."

With a view of forwarding the Reformation, a Royal visitation was now set on foot by the influence of Archbishop Cran-Vol. II. 5.

( u ) Mr. Strype tells us, that the fatyrical rhimes which were now made about Lent, and of which Gardiner complained as above, were called Jack of Lent's Testament, and publicly fold in Winchester market: therein (says he) Stephen Gardiner, the Bishop, was touched, who was a great man for keeping it. For in the ballad Stephen Stocksish was bequeathed in this will to Stephen Gardiner."

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Mr. Strype also observes, that several books were now published by Bale, and other Protestants, against Popery, and concerning such as had suffered under the cruettes of the Church of Rome, One of those

published by Bale was, "a Vindication of the Lady Anne Ascue, (or Ayscough) who suffered the cruel death of burning about the end of king Henry's reign: whose cause the Papists studiously had rendered bad. This book he intitled, The Elucidation of Anne Ascue's martyrdom. Which was this year publicly exposed to fale at Winchester, and the parts thereabouts, as a reproach to the Bishop of Winchester, who was the great cause of her death. Four of these books came to that Bishop's own eyes, being then at Winchester." - Memorials of Archbishop Cranmer, P. 206, 207.

mer; but this was vigorously opposed by Gardiner, as were also the Homilies which were now appointed to be read in churches. Upon this, Sir John Godsalve, one of the visitors appointed on this occasion, but a friend to the Bishop of Winchester, wrote a letter to him, defiring him to be more discreet, and not run the hazard of ruining himself, and losing his Bishopric. But to this our Prelate returned an answer, which "has more of a Christian, and of a Bishop in it, (says Burnet) than any thing I ever faw of his." In this letter he expresses much respect for the laws of the kingdom, and talks with much plausibility of his contempt of the world, and his resolution to suffer any thing,

rather than violatehis conscience.

Gardiner also made great opposition to Erasmus's Paraphrase of the New Testament, which was translated into English, and appointed to be had in every parish church throughout England. Among other of his objections to it, one was, that some of the fentiments contained in it were inconfistent with the Homilies, which were also enjoined to be read in churches, He said Erasmus wrote his Paraphrase "when his pen was wanton;" and he agreed with them that faid, " Erasmus laid the eggs, and " Luther hatched them.', And he also observed, " that of all " the monftrous opinions that have risen, evil men had a " wondrous occasion ministered to them from that book;" and that the words and terms of the Paraphrase, " were able to sub-" vert, if it were possible, as CHRIST faith, the Elect;" and that if it was to be publicly used in the kingdom, it would be " able to minister occasion to evil men to subvert, with reli-" gion, the policy and order of the Realm."

In consequence of the opposition shewn by the Bishop of Winchester to the proceedings of the Protector and the Council, he was cited to appear before the Council, on the 25th of September, 1547. It was alledged against him, that he had written to some of that board, and spoken to others, many things in prejudice and contempt of the King's visitation; and that he had declared his intention of refusing to set forth the Homilies and injunctions. He was accordingly examined before the Council; and as he there refused to promise either to receive the Homilies, or pay obedience to the visitors if they came into his Diocese, he was committed close prisoner to the Fleet, where he was strictly kept, and but indifferently used, notwithstanding

he fent frequent petitions for redrefs.

Some days after his imprisonment, he was sent for to the Deanery of St. Paul's by Cranmer, who discoursed with him in company of some other Bishops, and endeavoured to bring him to comply with their proceedings towards a Reformation. The Archbishop "dealt very gently with him, (says Strype) and told "him, That he was a man, in his opinion, meet to be called to the Council again: but withal said, that he stood too much in obstinacy; that it was perverse frowardness, and not any zeal

for the truth. And laboured to bring him to allow the book " of Homilies, and the Paraphrase of Erasmus." He could not, however, be prevailed upon; but " afterwards Cranmer " (fays Burnet) knowing what was likely to work most on Gar-"diner, let fall some words of bringing him into the Privy-" Council, if he would concur in what they were carrying on. But that not having its ordinary effect upon him, he was carried back to the Fleet." He continued in this confinement till the 24th of December, when the Parliament broke up, and was at length fet at liberty by the King's general pardon. He was never charged with any offence judicially; and was probably kept in confinement during the fitting of Parliament, with a view of preventing his making any opposition there to the measures which were now adopted. This, however, was censured, and indeed justly, as an invasion of liberty; and, upon the whole, the proceedings of the Protestant party against Gardiner in this affair, appear to have been irregular and illegal ( w ).

The Bishop of Winchester being now at liberty, repaired to his Diocese; " where (fays Burnet) there still appeared in his " whole behaviour great malignity to Cranmer, and to all mo-" tions for Reformation; yet he gave such outward compli-" ance, that it was not easy to find any advantage against him." However, in 1548, he was again complained of in the Council, for having fecretly detracted from the King's proceedings. It was also said, that after his return to his Diocese, when he was released from his confinement, he had raised much strife and contention, and had caused all his servants to be secretly armed and harnessed, and had put public affronts on those whom the Council sent down to preach in his Diocese; for in some places, to difgrace them, he went into the pulpit before them, and warned the people to beware of fuch teachers, and to receive no other doctrine but what he had taught them (x). In confequence of these complaints against our Prelate, he was once more brought before the Council, who reproached him for his behaviour, and directed him to keep his house till he gave satisfaction, which he was to do by preaching a fermon before the King and Court in a public audience, and for the matter of which he was to be directed in what he should fay by Sir William Cecil. He did accordingly preach, on St. Peter's day, but in a manner very contradictory to the purpose required. His text was Matthew viii. 15. from whence he took occasion in acknowledging the King's supremacy to deny that of his 2 F 2

proceedings against Gardiner were a more acceptable man."but he being generally hated, they (x) Hift. were not fo much centured, as they Vol. II, P. 68.

<sup>(</sup> w) Bishop Burnet says, " These would have been, if they had fallen on thought too severe, and without law; the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 70. but he being generally hated, they (x) Hift. of the Reformation,

Council, whom he treated very contemptuously (y). In confequence of this behaviour, he was sent to the Tower the next day after, the 30th of June, 1548, where he was kept so close a prisoner for a year, that, we are told, his Chaplain was admitted to him only once, when he was ill, and then restrained

because his life was not thought to be in danger.

But foon after, the affairs of our Prelate feem to have put on a more promising appearance. When the Protector's fall was projected, Gardiner, we are told, was deemed a necessary implement for the purpose, and his head and hand were both employed in bringing it about; for it is faid that the original draught of the articles against Somerset was made by him. Upon this change in the Council, he had fuch affurances of his liberty, and entertained so great hopes of it, that Stowe tells us, he provided new apparel to make his appearance in when he was released from his confinement, which he took it for granted would have been within a few days. But in this our Prelate flattered himself too much; for the change occafioned in the state of public affairs by the deposition of the Duke of Somerset from the Protectorship, brought no change with respect to the condition of Gardiner. Finding himself, therefore, thus disappointed, he wrote letters to the Lords of the Council, in part of which he expressed himself thus. " I " have continued here (faid he) in this miserable prison now " one year, one quarter, and one month, this same day that I " write these my letters, with want of air to relieve my body; " want of books to relieve my mind; want of good company, "the only folace of this world; and finally, want of a just cause why I should have come hither at all." This application was, however, of no advantage to him : but Stowe tells us, that " the Lords took it in good part, and laughed very merrily "thereat, faying, he had a pleasant head; for reward whereof, "they gave him leave to remain still in prison five or fix weeks " after, without faying, or fending any word to him." Not-withstanding this, Gardiner renewed his address to the Lords of the Council, to the same purport as before; but without effect; and he had been two years within a few days in the Tower, when the Duke of Somerset, who was now restored to a place in the Council, went with others, by virtue of an order of Council, the 9th of June, 1550, to confer with him in that place.

In this conference, they proposed to release him upon his submission for what was past, his promise of obedience for the suture, and his testifying his approbation of all the measures that had been taken towards the Reformation. The two last points Gardiner consented to, and actually signed all that was expected from him; but resuled his affent to the first, insisting upon his innocence. Sir William Herbert and Secretary Petre

went

went to him fome time after, and pressed him to make the acknowledgments which were required of him, without exception: but this he refused, and said that he would never defame himself; for when he had done it, he was not sure but it might

be made use of against him as a confession.

Shortly after, Bishop Ridley was sent to him, together with Herbert and Petre, who brought him new articles. He read all these, and said, "he desired first to be discharged of his " imprisonment, and then he would freely answer them all, so " as to fland by it, and fuffer if he did amiss; but he would " trouble himself with no more articles while he remained in " prison, since he desired not to be delivered out of his trou-

" bles in the way of mercy, but of justice."

On the 19th of July he was brought before the Council, and the Lords told him, that they fat by a special commission to judge him, and asked him whether he would subscribe the last articles which had been fent him; but he answering in the negative, the fruits of his Bishopric were sequestered, and he was required to conform within three months on pain of deprivation. Strype, however, informs us, that " notwithstanding this fentence, the Council favourably ordered, that the Bishop's house and fervants should be maintained in their present state, until the expiration of the three months; and that the matter in the mean time should be kept secret." But nevertheless, the liberty which he had before of walking in some open galleries, when the Duke of Norfolk (now also prisoner in the Tower) was not in them, was taken from him, and he was again shut up in his chamber ( z ).

At the expiration of the limited time, the Bishop of Winchester still refusing to comply with what was required of him, he was, shortly after, deprived of his Bishopric for disobedience and contempt of the King's authority, by a court of Delegates, wherein Archbishop Cranmer presided, after a trial which lasted from December 15, 1550, to the 14th of February, 1551, in two and twenty fessions. Gardiner protested against his Judges, and objected to their commission; and when sentence was about to be given against him, appealed from the Delegates to the

King; but no notice was taken of his appeal.

The

( 2 ) Burnet says, these proceedings against Gardiner were "much censured, as being contrary to the liberties of Englishmen, and the forms of all legal proceedings. It was thought very hard to put a man him, and without any farther enquiry into it, after two years durance to put articles to him. And they which Reformation, Vol. II. P. 151.

spoke freely, said it savoured too much of the inquisition. canon law not being rectified, and the King being in the Pope's room, there were fome things gathered from the canon law, and the way of proin prison upon a complaint against ceeding Ex officio, which rather him, and without any farther enquiry excused than justified this hard meafure he met with."-Hift. of the

The next day Bishop Gardiner's case was debated in the Council, who came at length to this resolution, that, "Foras-\* much as it appeared he had at all times, before the Judges of " his cause, used himself unreverently to the King's Majesty, and slanderfully toward his Council, and especially yesterday, 46 being the day of his judgment given against him, he called his Judges HERETICS AND SACRAMENTARIES, they being " here the King's Commissioners, and of his Highness's Coun-" cil; it was therefore concluded, by the whole Board, that he " should be removed from the lodgings he hath now in the "Tower to a meaner lodging, and none to wait upon him but " one by the Lieutenant's appointment, in such fort as, by the \* 45 refort of any man to him, he have not the liberty to fend out to any man, or to hear from any man. And likewise, that his books and papers be taken from him, and seen; and that " from henceforth he have neither pen, ink, nor paper, to write " his detestable purposes, but be sequestered from all confe-" rences, and from all means that may ferve him to practife any " way." Three weeks after this, by the King's appointment, Dr. Ponet, Bishop of Rochester, was admitted Bishop of Winchefter.

Gardiner continued in confinement in the Tower during the remainder of King Edward's reign: but the rigour of the order of Council concerning him, appears to have been abated; for in that interval he wrote feveral controverfial pieces, composed a variety of Latin poems, and translated into verse several passages in the books of Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, and Job, and other poetical parts of the Old Testament. And he kept up his spirits very well in his present adverse circumstances; being wont (we are told) to say very considently, as either believing it, or defiring to be thought to believe it, that he should live to see another turn, and another Court, in which he should be as great as ever.

King Edward VI. died on the 6th of July, 1553; after which a short struggle was made in favour of Lady Jane Gray, of which we shall have occasion to speak more particularly elsewhere; but on the 19th of the same month, Queen Mary was publicly proclaimed. On the third of August, she made her solemn entry into the Tower; upon which Gardiner, in the name of himself and his fellow prisoners, the Duke of Norsolk, the Dutchess of Somerset, the Lord Courtney, and other persons of rank, made a congratulatory speech to her Majesty, who gave them all their liberty. David Lloyd tells us, that Mary kissed Gardiner in the Tower, and called him her prisoner (a). On the eighth of the same month, he personmed, in the Queen's presence, the obsequies for the late King Edward, whose body was buried at Westminster, with the

English service by Archbishop Cranmer, the funeral sermon being preached by Bishop Day. On the ninth, Bishop Gardiner went to Winchester-House in Southwark, after a confinement of fomewhat more than five years (b). And on the twenty-third he was declared Chancellor of England; but his patent did not pass till the twenty-first of September (c). However, being raised to this high post, he became Mary's first Minister, and was entrusted with the chief management of public affairs.

Mary, on her accession to the Throne, had publicly declared, that she would force no man's conscience on account of religion. But it foon appeared, that there was very little fincerity in her declarations of this kind (d). She had indeed resolved, as foon as ever she could, to re-establish Popery, and reconcile the nation to the See of Rome. And the first step which was taken towards this, was to prohibit all preaching throughout the kingdom; and to licence only fuch as were known to be popishly inclined; Gardiner being impowered to grant such licences under the Great Seal.

The Popish party, who were now in high spirits, began with great eagerness to re-establish their old superstitions. And in many places they fet up images, and introduced the Latin fer-vice, with the old rites again. This was against law, because the acts passed in the reign of King Edward, in support of the Reformation, were still in force: but these proceedings were encouraged

(b) Dr. Poynet, who had been placed in the See of Winchester in the room of Gardiner by King Ed-ward, fled out of the kingdom on the accession of Mary.

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(c) Dr. Smollet afferts, in his History of England, (Vol. VI. P. 159. 8vo. Edit.) that "Mary committed the Great Seal of England to Gardiner, even before his pardon was expedited: fo that he fat as Judge in Chancery, while he himself was under fentence of death," But our Historian is entirely mistaken in this particular; for Gardiner was fo far from being under fentence of death, that it does not appear that fuch a fentence was ever thought of against

(d) The infincerity of Mary's promifes was foon rendered fufficiently apparent by her behaviour to the inhabitants of Suffolk. At the time that Lady Jane was pro-claimed Queen in many towns near London, great numbers nevertheless Bruffels, to see to the execution of repaired to the standard of Mary, the injunctions against any that should

forms us, " a great body of Suffolk men gathered about her, who were all for the Reformation. They defired to know of her, whether the would alter the religion fet up in King Edward's days; to whom the gave full affurances, that the would never make any innovation or change, but be contented with the private exercise of her own religion. Upon this they were all possessed with such a belief of her fincerity, that it made them resolve to hazard their lives and effacts in her quarrel." But foon after Mary's accession, the prohibited all persons from preaching, but those who were licensed, which was done with a view of silencing the Protestants: but "in Suffolk, those of the control of the that profession took a little more liberty than their neighbours, prefuming on their great merit, and the Queen's promises to them. But there was a special letter fent to the Bishop of Norwich's Vicar, himfelf being at Bruffels, to fee to the execution of particularly, as Bishop Burnet in- preach without licence, Upon this,

encouraged by the Council. However, Sir James Hales, one of the Judges, who thought he might with the more freedom fpeak his fentiments, because he had zealously defended Mary's title against the partizans of Lady Jane Grey, gave a charge to the Justices in Kent, when he was on his circuit there, to see that King Edward's laws, as they were still in force and unrepealed, should be put in execution. But for this, without any regard to his former zeal and fervices, he was put into the Marshalsea, from thence removed to the Compter, and from thence to the Fleet; and in consequence of the severity with which he was treated, fell into a frenzy. However, he was afterwards fet at liberty; but never came to himself again, and not being taken proper care of, drowned himself. "This," fays Burnet, " with the usage of the Suffolk men, was much censured; and " from thence it was faid, that no merits or fervices could fe-

" cure any from the cruelties of that religion."

As none of the laws passed in the reign of Edward relative to religion, were yet repealed, the Protestant Clergy still continued to perform public worship, and to celebrate the holy Sacrament, as before. And the people attended with the more feri-ousness and diligence, as they had no doubt but this would be fpeedily put a stop to. And indeed Gardiner was determined to stifle the Reformation with all possible expedition and vigour. One way he had to do this, was to fend his spies into all the churches in London. And these would come into the churches, and disturb the Ministers with rude words and actions, even in the time of divine service; and then go to the Bishop, and make their informations. And the Ministers were thereupon brought before him, and then committed, unless they would comply. And this, fays Mr. Strype, in the very beginning of the Queen's reign, when the preachers acted only according to the laws then in force (e).

On the first of October, Bishop Gardiner crowned Queen Mary; and a pardon was thereupon proclaimed. But it was not an over-gracious one; for all the prisoners in the Tower and Fleet were excepted, and fixty-two besides. Most of those

excepted

Queen in mind of her promise. This from hence all faw what a severe gorule her that was their Head; but name was Dobbe; fo he was ordered to stand three days in the pil- (e) Memorials of CRANMER, lory, as having said that which tended P. 312.

some came from Suffolk to put the to the defamation of the Queen. And was thought insolent; and she returned them no other answer, but, in which the claiming of former proThat they being Members, thought to mises, that had been made by the Queen when she needed their affisthey should learn, that the memory ought to obey the Head, and not to Hist. of the Reformation, think to bear rule over it. One of P. 237, 246. It appears, indeed, think to bear rule over it. One of P. 237, 246. It appears, indeed, that Mary was well acquainted with that Mary was well acquainted with tance, was to be accounted a crime." Hift. of the Reformation, Vol. II. more confidence than the rest; his that excellent Popish maxim, That no faith is to be kept with Heretics.

excepted were Protestants; and two of them were Grafton and

Whitchurch, the printers of the Bible.

On the tenth of the same month, Gardiner opened the first Parliament in Mary's reign (f). In this Parliament, an act was made for the confirmation of the marriage of the Queen's mother, Catherine of Arragon, to King Henry VIII. and in the preamble of the act the affair of the divorce, which was spoken of as impious and illegal, was thrown almost entirely upon Cranmer. " By this act (fays Bishop Burnet) Gardiner had performed his promise to the Queen, of getting her illegitimation taken off, without any relation to the Pope's authority. But in the drawing of it, he shewed that he was past all shame: when he could frame such an act, of a business which himself had so violently and fo fervitely promoted .-- The laying it all upon Cranmer, was as high a piece of malice and impudence as could be devised: for as Gardiner had been setting it on, long before Cranmer was known to King Henry; so he had been joined with him in the commission, and had given his assent to the sentence which Cranmer gave (g)." By this act the Princess Elizabeth was illegitimated; and from this time the Queen her fister began to treat her with much severity.

The next bill that was fent from the Lords to the Commons, was for the repealing King Edward's laws concerning religion. It was fent down on the 31st of October, and argued fix days in the House of Commons: but in the end it was carried, and fent back to the Lords. The preamble of it fet forth the great diforders that had fallen out in the nation by the changes that had been made in religion, from that which their forefathers had left them by the authority of the Catholic Church; and thereupon all the laws that had been made in King Edward's time about religion, were now repealed; and it was enacted that, Vol. II. 5. from

(f) Mr. Strype tells us, that would be to obtain her purpose, to overthrow all that had been established concerning religion in her brother's days. And therefore when this Parliament was to be fummoned. the impeached the free election of Members, by dispatching abroad into the several counties her letters directing the choice. And such Knights and Burgeffes were chosen by force and threatening for many places, as were judged fit to ferve her turn. And divers that were duly chofen, and lawfully returned, were thrust out, and others without any order or bishop Cranmer received any real faw put in their places."—Memomends for the injustice that he rereals of Archbishop Cranmer, P. 319. ceived in this case, nor that it was

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at R, (g) Vid. Hift of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 254.—The writer of Gardiner's article in the Biographia Britannica, after having acknow-ledged that the throwing the whole blame of the affair of the divorce upon Archbishop Cranmer, was " against all truth and justice, fince Gardiner had to the full as great a fhare therein as he;" fays further, " but to make that venerable Prelate (Cranmer) fome amends, upon an humble letter acknowledging his fault in the business of Queen Jane, he received a pardon." We cannot, however, be of opinion, that Archbishop Cranmer received any real from the 20th of December following, there should be no other form of divine service, but what had been used in the last year of King Henry VIII (b). Another act was passed, by which those who should molest or disturb the Clergy on account of the re-established Popish service, or should profane the Eucharist, or pull down crosses, crucifixes, or images, were subjected to

severe penalties.

During the fitting of this Parliament, the Convocation being affembled as usual, were employed in debating on the subject of the real presence in the Sacrament. It had, however, been so managed, that there were no more than fix who fat in this Convocation on the Protestant side; and these were reviled, threatened, infulted, and interrupted in their arguments. And the Convocation at length determined in favour of Transubstantiation. Weston, the Prolocutor, having been hard pressed by some of the Protestants, said to them, "You have the WORD, " but we have the sword:" truly pointing out, says Burnet, wherein the strength of both causes lay.

Several Protestant Prelates were now deprived of their Sees, on different pretences; and several Papists, some of whom had been deprived in the reign of Edward, were appointed to fill the vacant Bishoprics. Hooper was deprived of the See of Worcester, for his marriage, and other demerits; Bird was deprived of the Bishopric of Chester, on account of his being married; and Harley and Farrar were deprived of the Bi-shoprics of Hereford and St. David's, for wedlock and herefy; Taylor was deprived of the Bishopric of Lincoln, under pre-tence of his having a bad title, and on account of his sentiments

intended he should receive any. It is true, a pardon for the treason with which he was charged, was granted him: but with what view? This question has already been answered by more than one historian; That they might burn him for an Heretic. This was the Popish mercy which was intended for Cranmer, and this was the mercy which he at length received, though it was for fome time suspended for political reasons respecting Gardiner. "This (fays Mr. Strype) was the resolution that was taken concerning Cranmer in this matter: (because for shame, they could not deny bim a pardon when others far more guisty, and deeper in the business, had it). That he should be pardoned the treason as an act of the Queen's grace, and then he should be proceeded against for herely; for

die they were refolved he should. Memorials, P, 32x.

(b) Thus, within four months after the accession of Queen Mary, all the laws in favour of the Reformation which had been enacted during the reign of King Edward, were repealed. And yet we are told (Biograph. Brit. Vol. III. P. 2114.) that " Gardiner made no great hafte in restoring Popery, or in calling over Cardinal Pole as the Pope's Legate." It is true, that no law was yet enacted, by which the Pope's fu-premacy was re-established in Eng-land; but every thing could not be done at once; and we think it was fearcely possible that Gardiner should have made more hafte in the reftora-tion of Popery than he did. To fet afide, in lefs than fix months, all that had been done in King Edward's

ments concerning the Eucharist; and Cranmer was deprived of the Archbishopric of Canterbury, for treason. The commission for the deprivation of these Prelates was directed to Bishop Gardiner, Bonner, Bishop of London, and the Bishops of Chi-

chester and Durham (i).

These proceedings induced the Protestants to apprehend a severe persecution. Great numbers of them, therefore, fled the kingdom; some to Strasburgh, some to Wesel, some to Embden, some to Antwerp, and others to Switzerland, and other places, to the number of eight hundred, and upwards. Among these were Scory, late Bishop of Chichester; Barlow, Bishop of Bath and Wells; Coverdale, Bishop of Exeter; and Bale, Bishop of Osfory ( &). David Lloyd tells us, that Gardiner threatened concerning these exiles, that "he would watch their " fupplies, fo that they should eat their nails, and then feed on " their fingers ends (1)." Indeed, the Bishop of Winchester had ever shewn himself an hearty friend to persecution, before he had received any provocation from the Protestants; and, therefore, as he had in the preceding reign really received some persecution from them, though in no respect comparable to what he had before caused Protestants to suffer; it was natural to suppose, that he would now promote persecution to the utmost of his power, not only from that love of it which he had so often, shewn, but also from a spirit of retaliation.

Accordingly we find, that great numbers of the Protestants were now thrown into prison. "For Winchester (says Mr. Strype) did resolve to make quick work, to reduce, if he could, the Realm to the old religion. So that they came into the Marshalfea thick and three-fold for religion, fent by him thither. And that they might be fure to fuffer hardship enough, when the Bishop's Almoner, Mr. Brooks, came to this prison with his master's alms-basket, he told the porter, that it was his Lord's pleasure, that none of the Heretics that lay there, should have

reign in favour of the Reformation any great violence in the beginning in fix years, was, we apprehend, being of his administration." But accordin fix years, was, we apprehend, being fufficiently expeditious. As to Gardiner's not hastening the coming of Pole into England, his motives for that are fufficiently obvious; and we have not the least reason to suppose, that his conduct in this respect arose from any unwillingness to acknowledge the Papal fupremacy. The true state of the case was this : Gardiner confidered Pole as a formidable rival; and was apprehensive that, on the Cardinal's arrival in England, he would be raifed to the Archbishopric of Canterbury, which was the object of his own ambition.

It is also said in the Biograph.

Brit, that Gardiner " did not express

ing to Mr. Strype, (Memorials of Cranmer, P. 312.) Gardiner caufed many of the Protestant Clergy to be imprisoned for conforming to King Edward's laws, whilft those laws were still in force; which, we think, was acting with sufficient violence against men, whom he could not legally act against at all. And certainly this was not very confiftent with that respect for the laws, and the consti-tution, for which Gardiner has been applauded.

(i) Vid. Strype's Memorials of

Archbishop Cranmer, P. 309.
(k) Strype, as before, P. 314.
(/) State Worthies, Vol. I. P. 333.

any part of his alms. And that if he knew any of them had any part thereof, that house should never have it again so long as he lived. To which the porter replied, " That he would have a care of that, he would warrant him; and that if they had " no meat till they had some of his Lordship's, they should be " like to starve. And so he bad him tell his Lord; and added,

"That they should get no favour at his hand ( m)." Peter Martyr, a learned and celebrated Protestant Divine, a native of Italy, who had been made Divinity Professor at Oxford by King Edward, but who was now obliged to leave the kingdom, observes, in a letter to Calvin, that "although the " infirmity of fome of the Protestants betrayed them, yet great was the constancy of far more than he could have thought. " So that he doubted not but England would have many famous "martyrs, if Winchester, who then did all, should begin to rage according to his will." The same learned man says, in another letter, "That he had many scholars in England, studies in the same of whose havest was all the same of whose havest was all the same of the same dents in divinity, not to be repented of, whose harvest was almost ripe. Whom he was forced to see, either wandering " about in uncertain fituations, or remaining at home unhap-" pily subverted. And that there were in this kingdom many " holy as well as learned Bishops, that were then in hard confinement, and foon to be dragged to the extremest punishments, as if they were robbers."

Bishop Gardiner was now rechosen Chancellor of Cambridge, and restored to the Mastership of Trinity Hall there, of which, among his other preferments, he had been deprived in the preceding reign; when the Protector would have had him refign that house into the hands of the Crown, giving out that from his affection to the civil law, he was inclined to erect a College for promoting that study, and to endow it with the revenues of that foundation, and of Clare Hall. But Gardiner apprehending some design or casualty might intervene between the diffolution of the old, and the fettling of this new foundation, civilly declined the motion; informing his Grace, that the way to advance the study of the law, was by promoting the present professors of that faculty, then so generally discouraged, and not by founding a new College for the future students thereof, fince Trinity Hall alone could breed more Civilians, than all England did prefer according to their deferts. This remark, we are told, cost Gardiner the Mastership, but is supposed to have faved the foundation.

In the beginning of the year 1554, Ambassadors arrived from Charles V. King of Spain, and Emperor of Germany, in order to adjust a treaty of marriage, which had been for some time in agitation, between Queen Mary and the Emperor's fon Philip. " In the managing of this treaty (fays Burnet) Gardiner " had the chief hand; for he was now the Oracle at the Coun-" cil Board. He had thirty years experience in affairs, a great " knowledge of the Courts of Christendom, and of the state " of England; and had great fagacity, with a marvellous cun-" ning, which was not always regulated by the rules of candour " and honesty. He, in drawing the articles of the marriage, " had a double defign: the one was to have them fo framed, " that they might eafily pass in Parliament; and the other was, " to exclude the Spaniards from having any share in the Go-" vernment of England, which he intended to hold in his own

" hands ( n )."

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This projected marriage was extremely odious to the nation in general; and though the articles of it were drawn with great art and plausibility, and seemingly much in favour of England, yet, when they were published, they gave no satisfaction to the people. The friends to the Reformation were under great apprehensions, that this marriage would put a period to all their hopes, and not only that Popery would be confirmed, but that a Spanish Government and Inquisition would be established. And those who considered the civil liberties of the kingdom, without any reference to religion, concluded that England would in confequence of this match become a Province to Spain; and in confequence be subjected to the most arbitrary Government in Christendom. In short, the general discontent was so great, that it gave rise to the insurrection under Sir Thomas Wyat. The Duke of Suffolk, and Sir Peter Carew, were also engaged in this conspiracy. This rebellion, however, was at length quelled; but " the effusion of blood after it (fays Burnet) was thought too liberal; and this excess of punishment was ge-" nerally cast on Gardiner, and made him become very hateful " to the nation."

On the 18th of March, the Princess Elizabeth was committed to the Tower, it being pretended that she was privy to Wyat's conspiracy against the Queen, and she was accordingly very strictly examined by the Council on this subject. Sir Thomas Wyat, however, publicly acquitted the Princess of this charge on the scaffold, at his execution; and as the Princess defended herself extremely well, and nothing could be produced against her, they at length released her from her confinement in the Tower. It is, however, faid that the Queen was advised to take Elizabeth off; and that this defign was carried fo far, that a writ for her execution was fent down to the Tower. And it is affirmed by several writers, that Gardiner was the Princes's greatest enemy; and that he let fall some bitter speeches, which were understood to refer to her: such as, " We may shake off the leaves, and lop the branches; but if we do not destroy

<sup>(</sup>n) Hift, of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 267.

" the root, the hope of Heretics, we do nothing." However, there are some other writers, by whom the truth of this is dif-

puted.

In April, a new Parliament being assembled, it was opened with a speech by Gardiner, as Chancellor. He had previously taken measures to prevail upon the Commons to give their fanction to the Spanish match, by giving pensions to the most considerable Members; some had one hundred, and some two hundred pounds a year, for their votes on this occasion ( .). first act which was passed in this Parliament, was of a fingular nature; and imported, that the Prerogative Royal was attached to the person who enjoyed the Crown, whether male or female; and confequently, that the Queen possessed all the rights of her progenitors, according to the constitution of England. act was opposed by some as a trifling and absurd one; the matter itself, it was faid, being so self-evident, that it could admit of no doubt. But we are told, that this act was planned by Gardiner, with a view of hindering Philip from taking possesfion of the Administration, and rendering himself absolute in England. The Commons also passed a bill for reviving the statutes made against Lollardy, but the Lords threw it out after the second reading, as they did also some other bills which had been contrived against the Protestants. Both Houses, however, ratified the treaty of marriage with the Spanish Prince (p).

On the 20th of July, Philip arrived at Southampton, with a fleet of fixty ships. We are told by Sir William Monson, that the Admiral of England fired at the Spanish Squadron, when Philip was on board, because they had not lowered their top-

( 0 ) Vid. Hift, of the Reforma-

tion, Vol. II. P. 277.

(p) Before the arrival of Philip, a report had been spread about, that the Queen was with child by her Chan-cellor, Bishop Gardiner. This rumour had got as far as Norfolk; and the Earl of Suffex, Lord Lieutenant of that county, endeavoured to find out the author of this foul fcandal upon her Majesty; and several persons were examined concerning it. And Mr. Strype tells us that, in the course of this enquiry, one Laurence Hunt, of Diffe in Norfolk, came to Robert Lowdal, chief Constable, and told him, " That he did hear fay, that the Queen's Majesty was with child by the faid Bishop, and that his wife did tell him so." And when his wife tell him fo." And when his wife was examined, the faid, the had it of one Sheldrake's wife. And when Sheldrake's wife was examined, the faid, the had it of her husband. And cords, Vol. II. No. 14.

when he was examined, he faid, he had it of one Wilby of Diffe. And Wilby being examined, faid, he had it of one John Smith, of Cock-freet. And John Smith faid, he had it of one widow Miles. And she being examined, faid, she had it of two men; but what they were she could not tell, nor where they dwelt. What followed of this, fays Strype, I know not. Only there is a memorial of one John Albone, of Trunch in Norfolk, who was indicted for faying, "That the Queen was with child by Winchester.

Bishop Burnet says, that this report of the Queen was fo much refented at Court, that her Majesty wrote a letter to the Justices in Norfolk, to enquire into those false reports, and to look to all that spread false news in the county. This letter is preserved by Burnet in his collection of Re-

fails, as a mark of deference to the English navy in the narrow feas. The Queen met the Spanish Prince at Winchester, where they were married by Gardiner, and their nuptials solemnized with great state and magnisscence. Philip was in the twenty-feventh year of his age, and Mary turned of eight and thirty. After the ceremony of the marriage, they were proclaimed King and Queen of England, France, Naples, and Jerusalem, with the addition of many other pompous titles. From Winchester they removed to Windsor, where Philip was installed a Knight of the Garter.

Gardiner was still continued in the chief management of public affairs; and, in order to ingratiate himself with Philip, he preached a sermon at St. Paul's on the 30th of September; in which, after he had inveighed against the preachers in King Edward's time, which was now a common topic with the Popish Clergy, he launched out into very liberal encomiums of King Philip, affirming him to be as wise, sober, gentle, and temperate, as any Prince that ever was in England; and if he did not prove so, he was content that all his hearers should esteem him

an impudent liar.

Illin h ttoond

On the 11th of November, Mary's third Parliament was affembled. And " it foon appeared," fays Burnet, " that all " things were fo well prepared by Gardiner's policy, and the " Spanish gold, that it would be an easy matter to carry every " thing in this fession." It had now been determined, that Cardinal Pole should come over into England, as the Pope's Legate; and therefore the first thing the Parliament did, was to repeal the act of attainder which had been passed against Pole in the reign of Henry VIII. The Cardinal landed at Dover on the 21st of November, and three days after he came to London; and being introduced to the King and Queen, was by them very joyfully received. And the Parliament being summoned to attend their Majesties in the House of Lords, the Cardinal de-clared the subject of his Legation, which was to invite the Par-liament to reconcile themselves and the kingdom to the Apostolic See, and to return into the bosom of the Catholic Church. This gracious offer being accepted with a due degree of submisfion and gratitude, the Parliament and kingdom in consequence obtained absolution from the Legate, in the name of his Holinefs. And an act was foon after passed, by which the authority of the Roman Pontiff was re-established in England, though under certain limitations. A bill was also brought in for re-viving the statutes made in the reigns of Richard II. Henry IV. and Henry V. against Heretics. It was brought into the House of Commons on the 12th of December, and fent up to the Lords on the 15th, who passed it on the 18th of that month.

It has been urged as an argument of Gardiner's moderation, that during the time he had hitherto prefided in the Administration, since the accession of Mary, no persons had yet been put to

death on account of religion. We have, however, not the least reason to suppose, that this arose from any reluctance to persecution in Gardiner. The true state of the case was, that till this time there was no law in force in this reign, which would justify the putting Protestants to death. Attempts had been made to procure an act for that purpose in the second Parliament of Mary's reign, but without success, the bill being

thrown out by the Lords.

As a law, however, was now enacted, fufficient to answer the purposes of cruelty and bigotry, it was very speedily put into execution; and a very fevere and bloody perfecution was commenced against the Protestants, which was chiefly carried on by the Prelates Gardiner and Bonner (q). They began with John Rogers, who was Prebendary of St. Paul's, and a man eminent for piety and learning. He had already been imprisoned a year in Newgate; but he was now brought before Gardiner, and the rest of the Council, on the 22d of January, 1555, and examined by them. He was brought before them again on the 28th and 29th of the same month; and he told Gardiner, that he had been treated illegally, as well as cruelly. " My Lord, " (faid he) ye have dealt with me most cruelly; for ye have put " me in prison without law. — I have been a full year in New-" gate at great cost and charge, having a wife and ten children so to provide for, and I had never a penny of my livings; which was against the law." However, as he refused to renounce his opinions, he was declared an obstinate Heretic, ordered to be degraded, and delivered into the Sheriff's hands. When he had received sentence, he defired that his wife might be permitted to come to him in prison; but that Gardiner refused, and would not allow that she was his wife, on account of his being a Priest. He was burnt in Smithfield on the 4th of February, and fuffered with great fortitude. As his unhappy wife and children were not permitted to come to him in prison, they were necessitated to take their last farewell of him in the street. He was offered a pardon at the stake, on condition of his recantation, but he pobly refused to accept it. Four days after this, Laurence Saunders, a Protestant Clergyman, who had been examined in London by Bonner and Gardiner, was burnt for herefy at Coventry. He had been imprisoned one year and a quarter. He feems to have been removed into the country to fuffer death, with a view of striking terror into others there, who might be infected with herefy.

The

(q) "The perfecution was carner, and Bishop Bonner; in whose ried on against the Gospellers with Dioceses were London and Southmuch fierceness by those of the wark, and the next bordering country. much fierceness by those of the wark, and the next bordering coun-Roman persuasion, who were gene-ties, wherein were the greatest num-rally exceeding hot as well as igno-bers of professors."—Strype's Merant; chiefly headed by two most morials of Cranmer, P. 16a. cruelly natured men, Bishop Gardi-

The day after this, the 9th of February, Hooper, late Bishop of Gloucester, was likewise burnt in that city for heresy. He had been tried and condemned in Southwark by Bishop Gardiner, Bonner, Bishop of London, and the Bishops of Durham, Landaff, and Chichester, who were appointed Commissioners for that purpose. He suffered inexpressible torment at the stake, being burned as it were by piecemeal; for the wind, which was vehement, blew the flame of the reeds from his body; and the faggots, being green, did not kindle easily; so that all his lower parts were confumed, before his vitals were attacked. One of his arms dropped off, but with the other he continued to beat his breast; and he was heard to pray till his tongue, fwoln with the violence of his agony, could no longer permit him utterance. He was three quarters of an hour in torture,

which he endured with admirable constancy.

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The fame day, Dr. Rowland Taylor, Vicar of Hadley, was consumed in the flames at that place, in the view of his friends and parishioners. He was a Clergyman of great piety and benevolence, and had been imprisoned from about the beginning of Queen Mary's reign. For Gardiner and the Popish party had thrown the most eminent and able Protestants into prison, from the beginning of this reign; and there they detained them till they had procured a law for putting Heretics to death ( k). But the particular reason for which Dr. Taylor was first taken up, was his opposing some Romish Priests, who came to Hadley, and resolved to say mass in his church. This Taylor openly declared against, as he had an undoubted right to do, as the laws of King Edward were still in force. However, the Romish Priests prevailed, and drove Taylor out of his church; and he was afterwards fent for up to London, to appear before Gardiner, who received him (fays Burnet) with his ordinary civilities of Traytor, Villain, Heretic, and Knave. Taylor answered, He was none of these; and put Gardiner in mind of the oaths he had fworn, both to King Henry and King Edward. Gardiner said, An unlawful oath was not to be kept; and charged him with opposing the celebration of the mass in his church. But Taylor told him, that as he was Parson of Hadley, it was against all right, conscience, and laws, that any man should come into his charge, and endeavour to infect his flock with the idolatrous mass. However, Gardiner committed 2 H

of the Protestants were put to death, when the law would not warrant it. "Protestants (says he) were already not only imprisoned, but put to death, without any warrant of law, but only by virtue of commissions from the Queen, and the Lord Chancellor. Whereupon, when one in the Convo-

( k ) Mr. Strype tells us, that some cation started this objection, That there was no law to condemn them? Weston, the Prolocutor, answered, It forcetb not for a law : we have a commission to proceed with them : and when they be dispatched, let their friends sue the law." Memorials of Cranmer, P. 349.

him to prison, where he suffered a long confinement, being deprived of his Living, till his final condemnation. There were some circumstances of uncommon barbarity attended his execution. When he was conducting to the stake, he said to the people, that he had taught them nothing but GOD's holy word, and was now about to seal it with his blood; upon which one of the guards struck him on the head. He was then fixed in a barrel of pitch, and one of the spectators slinging a saggot at the good old man, which wounded him severely, so that his whole visage was covered with blood, he replied, "Oh friend," I have harm enough; what needed that?" When he repeated the 51st Psalm in English, one of the guards struck him on the mouth, bidding him speak Latin; and while he was employed in recommending his soul to GOD, another cleft his head with an halbert in such a manner, that his brains came out, and he expired. Indeed, the scene of inhumanity and unprovoked cruelty which was here exhibited, is not easily to be parallelled.

John Bradford was condemned for herefy about the same time with those now put to death; but Gardiner suspended his execution for the present, though he was burnt in Smithfield about the middle of the year. Many other Protestants were also now thrown into prison; but Gardiner now transferred to Bonner the business of persecuting them. It is supposed that he now declined acting in this bloody work, from a conviction that it contributed but little towards the purpose intended; namely, stopping the progress of heresy. But it is abundantly more probable, from a confideration of Gardiner's character and general conduct, that his inclination to promote persecution was nothing lessened; but that he considered that the business might as well be done by another, without his appearing so openly in it, by which he had already rendered himself sufficiently odious (1). This, at least, is certain, that after a short suspension. the flame of perfecution broke out again with redoubled fury, though Gardiner still continued to preside in the Administration.

On

(1) To this purpose the ingenious Mr. Gilpin observes, that "Bonner was indeed little more than an agent in the hands of Gardiner, who on many occasions chose rather to sit concealed, and work mischief by proxy. It suited the darkness of his disposition, and he found in Bonner an instrument entirely adapted to his purpose; open ears, an impetuous temper, raging zeal, a hardened heart, and an obtinate perseverance; so that Gardiner had only to wind him up occasionally, and give him a

proper direction; and the zealot moved with the regularity of a machine, and with what impetuofity his director impressed," Life of Latimer, P. 144.

It is certain, that the cruel executions which have been above mentioned, were disapproved not only by
the Protestants, but by all modestate,
and humane Papiss. 'The whole
nation (says Burnet) stood amazed at
these proceedings, and the burning of
such men, only for their consciences,
without the mixture of any other

On the 30th of March, Dr. Robert Farrar, late Bishop of St. David's, was burnt for herefy at Caermarthen. He had been examined before Gardiner and the Council; but refufing to recant, was fent down into Wales, and there condemned, and put to death. In the course of his examination before the Council, Gardiner told the Bishop, that he was a froward fellow, and a FALSE KNAVE; a polite mode of expression, which was not uncommon with our Prelate. Besides Bishop Farrar, many other persons were committed to the slames about this time, in

different parts of the kingdom.

On the 18th of May, Bishop Gardiner, together with the Earl of Arundel and the Lord Paget, went over to Calais, to a kind of congress which was held there, in order to mediate a peace between France and Spain; but this they could not effect, but could only procure a truce. While they were employed in this negociation, the Pope died; and the Queen thereupon wrote very pressing letters to Gardiner and his colleagues, to engage the Powers with whom they were treating, to consent that Cardinal Pole should be raised to the Papal dignity: but in this also they were unsuccessful; for Pope Paul IV. was elected. Gardiner returned again to England on the 26th of June. During his absence, the Great Seal had been committed to the custody of the Marquis of Winchester.

The new Pope is faid to have been an inveterate enemy to Cardinal Pole; but knew not how to vent his hatred towards him, on account of his having done fuch an eminent fervice to the Church, as the reconciling of England to the Holy See. Gardiner, however, wrote privately to Rome, alledging what he could against Pole, in order to heighten the Pope's aversion to him. For Gardiner hoped to be made a Cardinal, and to get Pole recalled, and himself made Archbishop of Canterbury. The Pope was refolved, on the first occasion, to take the Legatine power from Pole, and give it to Gardiner; but Pole was fo 2 H 2 much

kept till those laws were passed by which they were now burnt. So that, remembering Gardiner's plea for himfelf in his imprisonment, when he defired to be first tried and difhe was committed, before new mat-

thing, fo much as pretended against shewed itself. In King Edward's them. And it was looked upon as a time, Papifts were only turned out of horrible cruelty, because those men their benefices, and at most impri-had acted nothing contrary to the foned; and of those there were but laws: for they were put in prison, at very sew: but now, that could not first for smaller matters, and there serve the turn, but barbarous cruelties must be executed on innocent men only for their opinions. One piece of feverity was taken notice of among the rest: The Council fent for those who were to be burnt in charged in the particular for which the country, and required of them a promife to make no speeches; otherter was brought against him; all wife they threatened to cut out their men faw now, how much more tongues immediately: fo they, to justly those men might have de- avoid that butchery, promised to obey manded the like at his hands. But those cruel orders." Hist, of Renow the spirit of the two religions form, Vol. II, P. 304.

much in the Queen's favour, that this required some time to bring about. This made Gardiner study to prolong Cranmer's It feemed more reasonable (fays Burnet) to have begun with him, who had indeed been the chief author of the Reformation, and promoter of that they called Herefy; nor had Gardiner such kindness for him, as to interpose on his account; but he knew, that as foon as he was burnt, Pole would be pre-fently invested in the See of Canterbury. Therefore, he suggested, that if he could be any way brought off, it would be the most effectual means possible to extirpate Herely: for if he who had so much set on these doctrines, did forsake them, it would confound the whole party, and bring over at least all that were weak and staggering; whereas, on the other hand, if he died refolutely for it, his death would confirm them all very

much (m).

On the 21st of October, Bishop Gardiner opened the Parliament with a speech; and attended there again on the 23d, which was the last time of his appearing in that Assembly. About this time he fell ill, and continued to grow worse and worse to the 13th of November, 1555, when he expired about the age of feventy-two. It is faid, that a suppression of urine was the cause of his death; but, indeed, there were different reports concerning both the manner, and the cause of it. had great remorfe for his past life; and often repeated these words, Erravi cum Petro, sed non flevi cum Petro; I have erred with Peter, but I have not mourned with him. He died at the Royal Palace of Whitehall, about one in the morning; and about Three the same morning, his body was carried over to Winchester-House in Southwark, from whence the funeral was performed with great magnificence and folemnity (n). Our Prelate's private estate is faid to have amounted to thirty thousand

Vol. II. P. 314, 315.

(π) Many of our readers will,

π be displayed to see the perhaps, not be displeased to see the particulars of the funeral ceremony. At five o'clock in the afternoon of the same day in which he died, his bowels, being greatly mortified, were buried before the high altar in the church of St. Mary Overy's. The knell began at fix, and a dirge and mafs, all the bells continuing to ring till seven at night. November the fourteenth, began the knell again; there was then a hearfe adorned with four branches of gilt candlefticks, two white branches, and three dozen of staff torches. The choir was hung with black, and coats of arms

(m) Hift. of the Reformation, and escutcheons; dirge sung that evening; the next day, mass of Re-quiem was fung by Dr. Bonner, Bishop of London, many Prelates, Noblemen, Knights, and Gentlemen, being prefent; after which, Dr. White, Bishop os Lincoln, ascended the pulpit, and preached the funeral fermon; and this being ended, they went to Winchester palace to dinner. The same day, in the afternoon, was dirge sung in every parish in London, with a hearfe and ringing of bells; and the next day a mass of Requiem and prayers. On the 21st of the same month, about noon, began the knell, when the body was brought to the church of St. Mary Overy's, attended by all the Bishops who were thousand pounds in cash, besides plate and rich furniture, which he disposed of by his will. His executors were, Sir Anthony Browne, Viscount Montacute, and Dr. Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely.

Bishop Gardiner was very far from being agreeable in his person. Some idea may perhaps be formed of it, by the following description of him, written in his life-time by Dr. Poynet, who succeeded him in the See of Winchester, when he was deprived in the reign of Edward VI. though the portrait is evidently caricatured by personal ill-will. " Albeit (says he) this " Doctor be now but too late thoroughly known, yet it shall be " requifite, that our posterity know what he was; and, by his " description, see how nature hath shaped the outward parts, to " declare what was within. This Doctor hath a fwart colour, " hanging look, frowning brows, eyes an inch within his head, " a nose hooked like a buzzard, nostrils like a horse, ever snuf-" fing in the wind, a sparrow mouth, great paws, like the De-" vil's talons, on his feet, like a gripe, two inches longer than " the natural toes, and so tied to with sinews, that he cannot " abide to be touched, nor scarce suffer them to touch the " stones. And nature having thus shaped the form of an old " monster, it gave him a vengeable wit, which at Cambridge, by " labour

performed the funeral fervice, and wore his mitre; before the corpfe went the King at Arms in his coat, and five banners of his arms, and four images wrought with gold and jewels. On the morrow were faid three maffes; one of the Trinity, one of our Lady, and one of Requiem: after which, the company repaired to dinner at Winchester palace, and the body was deposited in a vault till it could be carried to Winchester. On the twenty-fourth of February following, his obsequies were celebrated after the following In the afternoon, began the knell of St. Mary Overy's, and ringing; and after that began the dirge. A pall of cloth of gold, and two white branches, and two dozen of flaff torches burning, and four great tapers. The Lord Montacute, chief mourner, and the Bishop of Lincoln, Sir Robert Rochester, Comptroller, and divers other attendants in black, and many black gowns and And the morrow, mass of Requiem and Offering done, began Bishop Foy on the other side," the fermon; and fo mass being done,

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in town, and by a great number of all repaired to a dinner at Lord Monthe Clergy; the Bishop of London tacuse's. At the gate, the 'corpse was put into a chariot with four horses, all covered with black. the corpse was placed an image refembling the deceased, with his mitre on his head; and five gentlemen bore five banners of his arms. Then followed an hundred men in gowns and hoods. Then two Heralds, Garter and Rouge Croix, in their coat armour. Then came fixty men riding about the corpse all the way with burning torches in their hands. Laftly, came the mourners in gowns and coats, to the number of two hundred, before and behind; and when the knell ceased, they had a great torch given them. And fo through every parish till they came to Winchester. And as many as And as many as came to meet them had money given them; and a dirge and mass was performed at every flation. And all these ceremonies being over, the corple was interred, according to the Bishop's direction, on the north side of the high altar in Winchester cathedral, in a tomb answerable to that of " labour and diligence, he had made a great deal worse, and

" brought up many in that faculty."

Gardiner was a man of very quick parts, and great acuteness of understanding, which he improved by long practice in the world. He was of an active spirit, and well fitted for business, to which he applied himself with great application. He was remarkably skilled in the civil and canon laws; and well versed in claffical learning. He wrote a good Latin ftyle, and was well acquainted with the Greek language. And as he was learned himself, so he is said to have been a lover of learning in others (0). He had great abilities as a Statesman; and was well qualified for foreign Embaffies, and public employments. But then he was proud and arrogant, obstinate and vain, of unbounded ambition, and a master of the most profound dissimulation. He was a zealous persecutor, and at the same time a servile Courtier, and made very little scruple of violating his conscience, to answer the purposes of his interest or ambition. Much pains hath been taken to palliate his vices, and to varnish his character ( p ); but it is in vain. The general tenor of Gardiner's actions sufficiently demonstrates, that he was, upon the whole, a very bad man. That he was a well-meaning Papift, and acted from misguided principles of conscience, cannot with any colour of reason be pretended. The part he acted against the papal supremacy in the reign of Henry VIII. and the concessions which he offered to make in the reign of Edward VI. compared with his subsequent conduct in the reign of Mary, sufficiently evince the contrary. It has been faid, that " no maxim " was more constantly professed, nor more uniformly observed

(o) Of this the two following inflances are mentioned. Sir Thomas Smith, who had been Secretary to King Edward VI. was permitted by Conflict to live in a date of price. by Gardiner to live in a state of privacy unmolested in Mary's days, and with a pension of 1001. a year for his better support, though he had a good estate of his own. "This must be remembered to this Bishop's com-mendation (says Mr. Strype), among the many evil things that asperse and blacken his name to this day. Nor must the like favour, or a greater, be forgotten, by him shewn to such another learned and grave Protestant, friend and cotemporary with Smith, I mean Roger Ascham: —whom the Bishop of Winchester did not only spare, but called to Court, and preferred to be-Secretary of the La-

tin tongue to Queen Mary. Whom, for his learning in the languages, and incomparable faculty of a clean style, and beautiful writing, he greatly loved, and obliged with many benefits. And when Sir Francis Engle-field, Master of the wards and liveries, a fierce Papift, had often cried out upon Ascham to the Bishop as an Heretic, and fit to be rejected and punished as such, he never would hearken to him, either to punish him or remove him from his place. Thus lived two excellent Protestants, un-der the wings as it were of the fworn enemy and destroyer of Protestants." Life of Sir Thomas Smith, P. 65.

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(p) In the BIOGRAPHIA TANNICA. See Gardiner's article in

that work,

by Gardiner, than that of making the law the rule of his conduct (q)." But this is not true. It is certain, that many of the Protestants were thrown into prison by him, while the laws of King Edward VI. were yet in force, contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and the fundamental principles of justice and equity; and they were continued in a cruel and illegal confinement for a confiderable time, till a law could be procured which would bring them to the stake (r). Gardiner could indeed talk of law and the constitution, and declaim against illegal proceedings, with much plaufibility, whilst he was himself in the Tower; but when he was at the head of the Administration in the reign of Mary, his religious attachment to the laws manifestly forfook him. It is true, that he took some measures towards preventing Philip from assuming the Sovereignty of England; but it is likewise true, that he was a great promoter of the Spanish match; which, notwithstanding his precautions, might have been very fatal to the liberties of the kingdom.

Gardiner possessed great courage, and no inconsiderable degree of eloquence; but when he was employed in trying Heretics, as well as at other times, he would frequently descend to the lowest abuse, and the grossest scurrility; and behave in a manner very unworthy of the characters either of a gentleman or a scholar, and still more inconsistent with those of a Christian and a Bishop. It is said, that he was of a liberal disposition, kept a good house, and brought up several young gentlemen, who afterwards became confiderable persons. But he is charged by Protestant writers (s) with being addicted to drunkenness and whoredom. - Bishop Gardiner published many pieces, the

chief of which are the following:

I. DE VERA OBEDIENTIA, Lond. 1534, 1535. 4to. at Hamburgh in 1536, 8vo. with Bishop Bonner's epittle prefixed. This was written against the Papal Supremacy. There were several other editions of this work; and an English translation of it was printed abroad in Queen Mary's time, with a preface before it by one Dr. Turner, with a view to expose Gardiner's inconstancy.

II. PALINODIA DICTI LIBRI; that is, A Retractation of the

foregoing work.

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III. AN EXPLICATION AND ASSERTION OF THE TRUE CA-THOLIC FAITH, TOUCHING THE MOST BLESSED SACRAMENT OF THE ALTAR, WITH THE CONFUTATION OF A BOOK WRIT-TEN AGAINST THE SAME. This was written against Cranmer, and was printed abroad in 1551. It was answered by the Arch-

(7) Biographical Dictionary, 8vo. P. 304. Acts and Monuments, V. III. Edit. 1641. P. 123.

(r) Vid. Strype's Memorials of (s) Vid. Life of Bishop Ridley,

Edit. 1641. P. 123.
(1) Vid. Life of Bishop Ridley, Archbishop Cranmer, P. 310, 312. P. 293, 672.

bishop, and Gardiner replied again in Latin, under the seigned name of Marcus Antonius Constantius, a Divine of Louvain, giving his book the following title:

IV. CONFUTATIO CAVILLATIONUM, QUIBUS, SACRO-SANCTUM EUCHARISTIÆ SACRAMENTUM, AB IMPIIS CA-PERNAITIS IMPETI SOLET. He composed this piece whilst he

was prisoner in the Tower.

After the accession of Mary, he wrote replies in his own defence against the attacks of Dr. Turner, Dr. Poynet, and other Protestant exiles. He was also suspected to be the author of a treatise against the married Clergy, published in Dr. Martyn's name. And some of his letters to Smith and Cheke on the pronunciation of the Greek language are yet extant.—It may not be improper here to observe, that in the former part of our Prelate's life, he was more generally known by the name of Stephens, than by that of Gardiner, being commonly called Dr. Stephens.



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THOMAS CRANMER

## The Life of THOMAS CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury.

HOMAS CRANMER was born at Aflacton, in the county of Nottingham, on the 2d of July, 1489. He was fon to Thomas Cranmer, Esq; a gentleman of an antient family in that county. He was initiated in grammar learning by "a rude Parish-Clerk," as Mr. Strype expresses it, " under whom he learned little, and endured " much." His father was desirous that he should be accustomed to polite and gentleman-like rural exercises, as well as instructed in literature; and therefore caused him to be taught to ride, to shoot, to hunt and hawk, whilst he was very young ( t ).

He loft his father early; but his mother, in 1503, when he was fourteen years of age, fent him to the University of Cambridge, where he was admitted of Jesus College. And he was chiefly employed in the acquisition of the useless and trifling school-learning of those times, till he was twenty-two years of age. But he afterwards applied himself to the reading of valuable Latin authors, and studied the writings of Erasmus. And when the works of Luther made their appearance in the world, he was very attentive to the controversies which were then so much agitated. And that he might be the better enabled to judge on which fide the truth lay, he applied himself for three years with great diligence to the study of the Sacred Writings.

He then continued to profecute his studies by reading the most valuable antient and modern authors, especially in Divinity, and such as were best calculated to throw light upon the subjects in dispute between the Papists and the Lutherans. And Cranmer Vol. II. 6. · 2 L

(1) "Though his father were minded to have his fon educated in learning, yet he would not he fhould be ignorant of civil and gentleman-like exercises. Infomuch that he used like exercifes. Infomuch that he used himself to shoot. And many times his sather permitted him to hunt and hawk, and to ride rough horses. So that when he was Bishop, he feared not to ride the roughest horses that came into his stables; which he commen, by John Strype, M. A. would both nawk and nunt, the game being prepared for him. And some times he would shoot in the long bow, and many times kill the deer with his cross-bow, though his sight was not perfect; for he was purblind." Memorials of Archbishop came into his stables; which he cranmer, by John Strype, M. A. would both nawk and nunt, the game being prepared for him. And some times he would shoot in the long bow, and many times kill the deer was not perfect; for he was purblind." Memorials of Archbishop came, by John Strype, M. A. Edit. 1694. P. 2. wife at all times there was not any in

his house that would become an horse better. And after his studies, when it was time for recreation, he would both hawk and hunt, the game was no hasty or superficial reader. He perused his authors with the utmost care and attention, and seldom read without a penin his hand. By which means he acquired a very large fund of

theological learning.

When he had been some time a Master of Arts, and Fellow of his College, he married, and thereby lost his Fellowship; but his wife dying in child-bed within a year, he was again admitted into it. And in 1523, he took the degree of Doctor in divinity, and became the reader of the divinity lecture in his own College. And he had now acquired so much reputation in the University, that he was appointed one of the examiners of those who commenced Batchelors and Doctors in divinity; according to whose approbations the University allowed them to

proceed.

In this place Dr. Cranmer did much good. It was his custom to examine these candidates out of the Scriptures; and he would by no means let them pass, if he found them unacquainted with the Sacred Writings. This was a fort of learning, of which the Friars in general were extremely ignorant. They were much better read in Scotus and Aquinas, than in the Bible. The Friars, therefore, Dr. Cranmer fometimes turned back as insufficient, advising them to study the Scriptures for some years longer, before they came for their degrees, it being, he said, a shame for a professor in divinity to be unskilled in the book, wherein the knowledge of GOD, and the grounds of divinity lay. In consequence of this behaviour, he was very heartily hated by the Friars. However, some of the more ingenuous of them afterwards returned him great and public thanks, for refusing them their degrees; acknowledging, that having been thereby put upon the study of the Scriptures, they had at-tained to a more found knowledge in religion than they otherwife should have done. One of these was Dr. Barat, a White Friar, who lived afterwards in Norwich.

It was the affair of King Henry's divorce, and the opinion which Cranmer gave thereon, that was the immediate cause of his advancement in the Church. It happened in the following manner: Dr. Cranmer had, on account of the plague at Cambridge, retired to Waltham Abbey in Essex, to the house of one Mr. Cressy, whose wife he was related to, and whose sons were his pupils at the University; and at this time Edward Fox, the King's Almoner, and Stephen Gardiner, then the King's Secretary, chanced accidentally to come to Mr. Cressy's house. Here the conversation turning upon the King's divorce, which was then almost the only thing talked of, Fox and Gardiner, knowing Cranmer to be a man of considerable reputation for his extensive knowledge in divinity, endeavoured to prevail upon him to declare his sentiments upon the subject. Cranmer accordingly gave it as his opinion, "That it would be much better to "have this question, Whether a man may marry his brother's

" wife or no, discussed and decided by the Divines upon the au-" thority of GOD's word, than thus from year to year to pre-" long the time, by having recourse to the Pope. That there " was but one truth in it, which the Scripture would foon de-" clare and manifest, being handled by learned men; and that " might be done as well at the Universities here in England, as " at Rome, or elsewhere." This opinion being communicated by Dr. Fox to the King, Henry very much approved of ft, faying, that "the man had the fow by the right ear." And he commanded that Dr. Cranmer should be immediately sent for to

This being done accordingly, and our Divine introduced into the presence of the King, his Majesty conferred with him for some time concerning the affair of his divorce: and Henry was much pleased with the gravity, modesty, and learning of Cranmer; and accordingly made him his Chaplain, and commanded him to digest his thoughts on the subject on which he had difcoursed with him, and to commit them to writing. This was about the month of August, 1529. And the King desired Sir Thomas Boleyn, Earl of Wiltshire and Ormond, (father of Lady Anne Boleyn) to entertain Dr. Cranmer in his house, and to furnish him with books, and all other conveniencies for study. His fituation in this family was a very agreeable one; for the Earl of Wiltshire was esteemed one of the most learned Noblemen in England, was a friend to Erasmus, and a patron of learning and learned men. And Cranmer, by his excellent and amiable qualities, much endeared himself to the Earl and his family; and the attachment which the Lady Anne Boleyn afterwards discovered towards the Reformation, was probably chiefly owing to the conversation of Cranmer, which she enjoyed the benefit of in her father's house.

Dr. Cranmer had now, in obedience to the King's command, committed his thoughts to writing on the business of the divorce; and in the treatife which he wrote on this occasion, he shewed, by the testimonies of the Scriptures, of general Councils, and antient writers, that the Bishop of Rome had not authority sufficient to dispense with the word of GOD. When he had finished this book, he was sent to Cambridge to dispute upon the subject, and he brought over many to his opinion. He was accompanied by Gardiner and Fox, and other learned men. He afterwards returned again to Court; and was about this time presented to a living, and made Archdeacon of Taunton. And he was now not only beloved by the Earl of Wiltshire and his family, but also much esteemed by the Nobility in general, and in great favour with the King, who frequently conversed with him, and seemed unwilling to have him absent from Court.

In 1530, Dr. Cranmer was sent by the King into France, Italy, and Germany, with the Earl of Wiltshire, chief Ambassa-

dor, and others, to dispute concerning the King's divorce, carry-

ing with him the treatife which he had written upon that fubject. From France they went into Italy, where Dr. Cranmer's book was delivered to the Pope; and he offered to justify it, and to dispute openly against Henry's marriage with Catherine of Arragon, upon these two points, which his book chiefly treated of. I. "That no man, Jure Divino, could, or ought to marry his brother's wife." II. "That the Bishop of "Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary." But after fundry promises and appointments made, there was no man found who would oppose him, or publicly dispute the matter with him. And in more private argumentations with them that were about the Pope, he so pushed them, that at last they openly granted, even in the Pope's chief court of the Rota, that Henry's marriage was against GOD's law. But as for the Pope's power of difpening with the laws of GOD, that was too advantageous a tenet to be parted with. Cranmer, however, before them all, boldly afferted that the Pope had no fuch power (u).

Dr. Cranmer continued at Rome for some months; and the Earl of Wiltshire sent such high commendations of his behaviour to the King, that when the others were returning home, he sent him a commission, with instructions to be his sole Ambassador to the Emperor in the same cause. This commission was dated the 24th of January, 1531, and Cranmer is stilled therein Consillarius Regius et ad Cæsarem Orator. By this opportunity of travelling through Germany, and sollowing the Emperor's Court, he by his conferences brought many learned Germans, and some even of the Emperor's own Court and Council, to acknowledge, that Henry's marriage with Cathe-

rine was unlawful.

Whilst he was in Germany, he went to Nuremberg, where Ofiander was pastor; who being celebrated for his parts and learning, our Ambassador cultivated his friendship, sending for him fometimes to discourse with him, and sometimes going to Ofiander's house, to visit him and his study. In one of their conversations, Osiander told Cranmer, that he had begun to write an Harmony of the Gospels, but had laid aside his design, on account of the difficulty which he found in it, However, he shewed Cranmer what he had already written, who greatly encouraged him to proceed in the work, which he accordingly did. He published it in 1537, and dedicated it to Cranmer. In the course of his visits to Osiander, Cranmer became acquainted with the niece of that learned man, and at length married her. By this affinity, and their frequent vifits, a very cordial friendship was established between Cranmer and Osiander, and they kept up a constant literary correspondence for many years after.

Befides his negociations in the affair of the divorce, Dr. Cranmer was also employed in establishing a treaty of commerce between England and the Emperor's dominions in the Low Countries. He went likewise on an Embassy to the Duke of Saxony, and other Protestant States; and transacted sundry other affairs

of importance.

In August, 1532, Archbishop Warham died; upon which Henry resolved to raise Dr. Cranmer to the Archbishopric. This, indeed, seemed too high a dignity for him, as he had not yet had any considerable preferment in the Church. But Henry thought him the fittest man of all the English Clergy to preside over the Church, and therefore resolved to confer upon him this high office, though he was now employed abroad; and with that view ordered him to return home, which he accordingly did,

though not till upwards of three months after Warham's death. Cranmer feems to have been really averfe to the high honour which was intended for him. He loved study and retirement, and knew the dangers and temptations which would naturally attend such a station; and, therefore, would have preferred an humbler situation. He begged his Majesty would suffer him to decline the dignity which he had graciously intended to confer on him; and when the King was not to be prevailed upon to permit him to do this, Cranmer told him, "That if he should accept it, he must receive it at the Pope's hand, which he nei-" ther would, nor could do: for that his Majesty was the only " Supreme Governor of the Church of England, as well in " causes ecclesiastical as temporal; and that the full right of " donation of all manner of benefices and Bishoprics, as well as " any other temporal dignities and promotions, appertained to "him, and not to any other foreign authority. And therefore " if he might serve GOD, his King, and his country, in that " vocation, he would accept it of his Majesty, and not of a

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" stranger, who had no authority within this Realm." Henry made a pause at this declaration of Cranmer's, and then asked him how he was able to prove what he had said. Upon this Cranmer alledged several passages from Scripture, and the Fathers, proving the supreme authority of Kings in their own Realms and dominions; and at the fame time he pointed out the intolerable usurpations of the Roman Pontiffs. The King talked several times with him upon this subject; and finding that he could not be brought to acknowledge the Pope's authority, his Majesty consulted with one Dr. Oliver, an eminent Lawyer, and with some able Civilians, in what manner he might bestow the Archbishopric upon Cranmer, consistent with the scruples of the latter. They said, he might do it by way of protestation; and so one be sent to Rome to take the oath, and do every thing in his name. Cranmer acquiesced in this; and accordingly when he was confecrated, which was on the 30th of March, 1533, he made his protestation, "That he did not ad"mit the Pope's authority, any further than it agreed with the " express word of GOD. And that it might be lawful for him

" at all times to speak against him, and to impugn his errors,

" when there should be occasion ( w )."

His confecration was, however, ushered in by a number of Bulls from Pope Clement. By one Bull, directed to the King, he was, upon the Royal nomination, made Archbishop of Canterbury. The second, which was directed to himself, was to the same purpose. A third absolved him from all sentences of excommunication, suspension, interdiction, &c. A fourth was to all the Bishops in the Province of Canterbury, requiring them to receive and acknowledge him as their metropolitan. A fifth was to the Dean and Chapter, to the same purpose. A fixth, to the Clergy of Canterbury. A feventh, to all the Laity in his See. An eighth, to all that held lands of it. By a ninth he was ordained to be confecrated, taking the oath that was in the pontifical. By a tenth Bull the pall was fent him. And by an eleventh, the Archbishop of York, and the Bishop of London, were required to put it on him. These Bulls were so many artifices, as Bishop Burnet observes, "to make compositions high, and to enrich the Apostolic Chamber; for now THAT " about which St. Peter gloried, that he had none of it, (neither " filver nor gold), was the thing in the world for which his successors were most careful (x)." Cranmer, agreeable to the usual custom, received those Bulls which the Pope had directed to himself, in order to invest him with the Archbishopric: but he furrendered them up to the King, because he would not own the Pope as the giver of this ecclefiaftical dignity, but the King only (y).

On the 23d of May, this year, Archbishop Cranmer promounced the sentence of divorce between King Henry and Queen Catherine. Henry had been some time before married to Anne Boleyn, at which ceremony Cranmer was present. The Pope threatened him with excommunication, on account of his pronouncing the sentence of divorce against Queen Catherine; but he appealed from the Pope to a General Council. And at the close of this year, when the Pope's supremacy was debated in Parliament, the Archbishop argued zealously and learnedly against it. "The chief, and in a manner the whole burthen of this weighty cause," says Mr. Strype, "was laid upon his shoulders. Insomuch that he was forced to answer to all that ever the whole rabble of the Papists could say for the defence of the Pope's supremacy. And he answered so plainly, directly, and truly to all their arguments, and proved so evidently and stoutly, both by the word of GOD, and consent of the primitive Church, that this usurped power of the Pope is a mere tyranny, and directly against the law of GOD: and

<sup>(</sup>w) Strype, P. 14, 16, 17. (x) Hift. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 123. (1) Strype, P. 19.

" that the power of Emperors and Kings is the highest power here upon earth; unto which Bishops, Priests, Popes, and Cardinals, ought to submit themselves, and are as much

bound to obey as their temporal subjects, or Laymen, (as the Priests call them), that the issue was the abolishing of that so-

reign Papal power, and the expulsion of it out of this Realm,

" by the full confent of Parliament."

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e is and that As the Papal fupremacy was now abolished in England by the Parliament, Archbishop Cranmer vigorously exerted himself to promote the work of Reformation. But when Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More refused to take the oath required by the act of Succession, he laboured to fave their lives, and was very defirous that they might be permitted to swear to the Succession in the manner that they themselves proposed: but in this he was not able to succeed (z). The Archbishop was now very solicitous to procure to the people the liberty of reading the Scriptures in English; and with that view, by his own influence and that of his friends, and those who favoured the Reformation, prevailed upon the Convocation, in 1534, to petition the King, that the Bible might be translated by some learned men of his Majesty's nomination. And some time after, that a translation might not be prohibited under pretence of the ignorance or unfaithfulness of the translators, he took an old English version of the New Testament, and dividing it into nine or ten parts, caused each part to be written in a paper book, and then fent to the most learned of the Bishops, desiring that they would carefully correct the translation, and send back their several parts to him at a certain time. It is supposed, that he took the same method with the Old Testament. The several Prelates sent back their parts corrected at the time appointed, agreeable to the Archbishop's defire, except Stokesley, Bishop of London. This Prelate was a bigotted Papist; and, therefore, when Cranmer sent for the part which had been affigned him, which was the Acts of the Apostles, Stokesley returned this answer: "I marvel what my "Lord of Canterbury meaneth, that he thus abuseth the peo-" ple, in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures; which " doth nothing else but infect them with Herefy. I have be-" flowed never an hour upon my portion, nor never will. And " therefore my Lord shall have this book again; for I will ne-"ver be guilty of bringing the simple people into error." When this answer was reported to the Archbishop, he said, he wondered that the Bishop of London was so froward, that he would not do as other men did. At which Mr. Thomas Lawney, who stood by, said to the Archbishop, " I can tell your " Grace why my Lord of London will not befrow any labour or

<sup>(</sup>x) See the first Volume of this Work, P. 351, and P. 90. of the prefent Volume.

pains this way. Your Grace knoweth well, that his portion " is a piece of the New Testament. But he being persuaded, that CHRIST had bequeathed him nothing in his Testament, " thought it mere madness to bestow any labour or pains, where of the Apostles; who were poor simple fellows, and therefore my Lord of London disdained having any thing to do

" with them (a)."

The Archbishop had, however, at length, the satisfaction of feeing an English translation of the Bible published under the fanction of the Royal authority, to which Lord Cromwell greatly contributed, and on which account Cranmer returned him a letter of thanks. The Archbishop was also concerned in forwarding the dissolution of the Monasteries; and in the year 1535, performed a provincial vifitation, in order to vindicate the King's supremacy, which he did in many places by proaching. And in his fermons he shewed, I. " That the Bishop of Rome " was not GOD's Vicar upon earth, as he was taken to be; and pointed out by what arts he had usurped that authority. " II. That the holiness which the Roman See so much boasted of, and by which name Popes affected to be stiled, was but a " holiness in name; and that there was no such holiness at " Rome: from whence he took occasion to lauch out into the vices of the Court of Rome. III. He inveighed against the "Bishop of Rome's laws; which, he said, were miscalled Di-vinæ Leges, and Sacri Canones." But on account of these fermons, the Archbishop met with much opposition from the Friars.

In 1536, Archbishop Cranmer pronounced the sentence of divorce against Queen Anne Boleyn. He had before, however, written to the King on this occasion, and said many things in the Queen's behalf: and there is no doubt but that he was in his heart disposed to favour her. He has, notwithstanding, been censured for his conduct in this affair, as acting in it with too much obsequiousness to the King's will; and, indeed, this charge against the Archbishop, appears to be not altogether unjust. For the fear of incurring the King's displeasure, seems to have prevented him from acting in this transaction with a proper

(a) This Mr. Lawney was efteemed a man of great wit and humour. He was Chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, and had been one of the scholars placed by Cardinal Wolfey in his New College at Oxford. He had a Living in Kent, which Mr. Strype supposes was given him by Archbishop Cranmer. About the time that the act of the Six Articles was passed, the Duke of Nor-Strype, P. 35. folk meeting his Chaplain Lawney,

whom he knew to be a favourer of Priests marriages, faid to him, "Ah! my Lawney! what say you to the new act? will Priests now be able to get wives?" "May it please your Grace," replied the Chaplain, "I cannot pretend to fay whether Priests

degree of firmness, and from expressing his sentiments concerning it to the King with a just freedom. Indeed, as to the sentence which Cranmer pronounced against the Queen, that, Bishop Burnet says, "was unavoidable. For whatever motives drew from her the confession of that precontract (b), he was obliged to give sentence upon it: and that which she confessed, being such as made her incapable to contract marriage with the King, he could not decline the giving of sentence

" upon fo formal a confession (c)."

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Vid.

The German Protestants, who had formed an high opinion of Cranmer, entertained great expectations of the advantage which the Protestant cause would receive by the authority and influence of Cranmer in England; and they, therefore, did occasionally address themselves to him. This year Martin Bucer published a large book in folio upon the Epistles to the Romans, intitled, METAPHRASIS ET ENARRATIO; and dedicated it in a long epistle to the Archbishop. In this epistle dedicatory, Bucer tells Cranmer, " That all men proclaimed him endowed with a "mind worthy of an Archbishop and Primate of so great a kingdom, and so disposed to the glory of CHRIST. That he had so attained to this high estate in CHRIST, by his spiritual wisdom, holiness of life, and most ardent zeal to ren-" der CHRIST's glory more illustrious; that gathering toge-" ther the humble, and taking pity upon the sheep-fold, being " indeed dispersed and scattered abroad, he always sought and " faved that which was loft, and brought back CHRIST's poor " sheep to his fold, and the pastures of everlasting life, when " they had been before most miserably harrassed by the servants of superstition, and the emissaries of the Roman tyranny."

The Archbishop thought it would contribute much to the increase of true Christian knowledge, to have a plain and sound exposition of the Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, the Creed, and the grounds of religion, recommended to the people by public authority. And for this purpose he consulted with the Lord Cromwell, his constant associate and assistant in matters of this kind; and they prevailed upon the King, in 1537, to issue out a commission to the Archbishop himself, and most of the Bishops, to prepare such an exposition. They met for this purpose at the Archbishop's palace at Lambeth: and "in the dissuppose at the Archbishop's palace at Lambeth and "in the dissuppose at the Archbishop's palace at Lambeth and "in the dissuppose at the Archbishop's palace at Lambeth and "in the dissuppose at the

(b) The fentence pronounced by a pre-contract with the Earl of Noraranmer, which declared Anne Bo- thumberland.

<sup>(</sup>b) The fentence pronounced by Cranmer, which declared Anne Boleyn's marriage with Henry to be null and void, is supposed to have been chiefly sounded on her confessing

thumberland.
(c) Hift. of the Refermation,
Vol. I. P. 206.

" written in the canon law, or used in the church under the " Pope's tyranny. But at the last, whether over-powered with " number, or convinced by the word of GOD, and consent of " antient authors, and the primitive Church, they all agreed " upon, and fet their hands to a godly book of religion." When the Bishops had signed this book, it was presented to the King for his perusal and approbation; and accordingly Henry made some alterations in it. It was published this year, and was intitled, "The godly and pious Institution of a Christian Man;" and was commonly called, from the composers of it, THE BISHOPS BOOK. It consisted of a declaration of the Lord's Prayer, and of Ave Mary, the Creed, the ten Commandments, and the seven Sacraments; signed by the two Archbishops, nineteen Bishops, eight Archdeacons, and seventeen Doctors of Divinity and Law (d).

In 1537, the Archbishop visited his Diocese, and endeavoured to abolish the superstitious observation of holidays. "The " great inconvenience of these holidays, (Mr. Strype observes) " lay partly in the numerousness of them : so that the atten-" dance upon them hindered dispatching and doing justice in "Westminster-Hall in the terms, and the gathering in harvest " in the country: partly in the superstitions that these holidays " maintained, in the idolatrous worship of supposed Saints: " and partly in the riot, debauchery, and drunkenness, that " these times were celebrated with among the common people; " and lastly, the poverty it brought upon the meaner fort, being " detained from going about their ordinary labours and call-ings, to provide for themselves and families."

In

John Fox, there is a Life of Cranmer, in which the following account of this book is given. " A godly book of religion, not much unlike the book fet forth by King Ed-ward VI. except in two points. The one was the real presence of Christ's body in the Sacrament of the Altar. Of the which opinion the Arch. bishop was at that time, and the most part of the other Bishops and learned men. The other error was of praying, kiffing, and kneeling be-fore images; which was added by the King after the Bishops had set their hands to the contrary." Vid. Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley, P. 124, 125. and Memorials of Cranmer, P. 50, 51, 52.
With respect to the mixture of

Popery which was in this book, notwithstanding the share Cranmer had

(d) Among the manuscripts of in it, we may here apply a just obfervation made by Mr. Strype ca another occasion. There were, indeed, in it, " many Popish errors mixed with evangelical truths: which must either be attributed to the defectiveness of our Prelate's knowledge as yet in true religion, or being the principles and opinions of the King, or both. Let not any be offended herewith, but let him rather take notice, what a great deal of Gospel doctrine here came to light, and not only fo, but was owned and propounded by authority to be be-lieved and practifed. The fun of truth was now but rifing, and breaking through the thick mists of that idolatry, superstition, and ignorance, that had so long prevailed in this nation, and the rest of the world, and was not yet advanced to its meridian brightness." Memorials, P. 44.

In 1538, the Archbishop read lectures upon the Epistle of St. Paul to the Hebrews, half the Lent, in the Chapter-House of the Monastery of the Holy Trinity at Canterbury. About this time Cranmer's influence at Court appears to have suffered some diminution, and the Popish interest seems to have prevailed. And this year Fox, Bishop of Hereford, died (e); who was the best friend and ablest affistant that Cranmer had at that time among the Bishops, and a great promoter of the Reformation.

In 1539, the Archbishop, together with some of the Bishops, fell under the King's displeasure, because they could not be brought to give their consent in Parliament, that the King should have all the Monasteries suppressed to his own sole use. were willing that he should have all the lands which his ancestors gave to any of them; but the residue they would have had bestowed upon hospitals, grammar schools, and other institutions of public utility.

The influence of Gardiner and the Popish party was now more than ordinarily prevalent at Court; and this opportunity they improved by procuring the bloody act of the Six Articles (f). Archbishop 2 K 2

(e) EDWARD FOX was born at King. Durfley in Gloucestershire, and educated at Eton School. He was from thence fent to King's College in Cambridge in 1512, and elected Provoft of the same in 1528, which place he kept till the time of his death. He was in his youth remarkable for his vivacity, but having withal prudence to govern that spirit, at least when he attained to the years of manhood, it contributed to raise him to eminence. D. Lloyd fays, " In his first years, none was more wild; in his last, none more stayed." He observes further, that " his friend's devotion to the Church, and relation to the Bishop of Winchester (Rich. Fox), made him a scholar; his own inclination, a politician : an inclination that brake through all the ignoble restraints of pedantic studies." His abilities recommended him to the notice of Cardinal Wolfey, who took him into his fervice; and in 1528, he was fent Ambaffador to Rome, in conjunction with Stephen Gardiner, in order to obtain new Bulls from the Pope for King Henry's divorce. He was then Almoner to the King, and efteemed a very able Divine. He was afterwards employed in other Embaffies, both in France and Germany. We have taken notice in another place of his being principally concerned in introducing Cranmer to the

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In 1531, he was installed Archdeacon of Leicester, upon the refignation of Gardiner; and in 1533, was made Archdeacon of Dor-fet. In 1535, he was promoted to the Bishopric of Hereford; and the fame year he was fent Ambaffador to the Protestant Princes in Germany, then affembled at Smalcald; whom he exhorted to unite, in point of doctrine, with the Church of Eng-land. He spent the winter at Wirtemberg, and held feveral conferences with some of the German Divines, endeavouring to conclude a treaty with them upon many articles of religion; but nothing was effected. He returned to England in 1536; and, after having enjoyed his episcopal dignity only two years and feven months, died at London on the 8th of May, 1538. He was buried, agree-able to his own defire, in the church of St. Mary Monthaw, in Thames-ftreet; in which parifi the Bishops of Hereford then had an house. He was a man of great abilities, and confiderable learning; and published fome pieces, particularly a treatife, in Latin, " Of the true difference between the Royal and Ecclefiaftical power;" which was translated into English by Henry, Lord Stafford, Vid. BIOGRAPH. BRITAN.

(f) See P. 161, 162, and 213, of this Volume.

Archbishop Cranmer, however, made a noble stand against this persecuting statute. He disputed, in the military phrase, every inch of ground; and with such force of reason, that if reason had been his adversaries weapon too, he had carried his point. Against the first article, indeed, he said nothing; for at that time he believed the doctrine of the real presence. But against the second, (which declared, That vows of chastity ought to be observed), he was extremely earnest. It was very hard, he said, to force religious men from their houses, and not allow them that common intercourse with the world, which the rest of his Majesty's subjects enjoyed: that the Parliament had already abfolved them from their vow of poverty; and he could fee no reason why they should be absolved from one vow more than another: besides, he added, that, in his opinion, such a treatment of them was very impolitic; for while they continued in a state of celibacy, they were still in a capacity, if a fair occasion should offer, to re-enter their Monasteries. Against the third article, which enjoined the use of private masses, he said it was a plain condemnation of the King's proceedings against religious houses: for if masses were really beneficial to departed souls, it was furely an unjustifiable step to destroy so many noble foundations, which were dedicated to that only purpose. The Archbishop opposed the rest of the articles with equal spirit; for he argued three days in the Parliament against them; but all his reasoning, and all his eloquence, were ineffectual (f). King Henry was so desirous of having this act passed, that he went to the House himself, in order to induce the Members to pass it the fooner. And as he knew of what weight Cranmer's vote would be, though not to prevent the passing, yet to the disrepute of the bill, the King defired the Archbishop to withdraw without voting at all. But the Archbishop knew his duty, and modestly excusing himself to the King, staid and bore his testimony against

it (g).

Notwithstanding this opposition of our Archbishop to the King's will, Henry had fo good an opinion of him, and was fo well convinced of the uprightness of his intentions, that he did not testify any displeasure against him on this account. On the contrary, when the Parliament was prorogued, the King fent for the Archbishop, and told him, That he had heard how much, and with what learning, he had argued against the act of the Six Articles, and therefore he defired he would put all his arguments in writing, and bring them to him (b). The next day, Henry fent

fent

(f) Gilpin's Life of Latimer, the King's; for to write against the doctrines contained in the Six Articles, P. 128.

(g) Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley, P. 128. (b) It was dangerous for the jefty defired him; " and made (fays Archbishop to obey this command of Burnet) a book of the reasons that

fent the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the Lord Cromwell, to dine with the Archbishop; and his Majesty ordered them to affure him of his constant and unshaken kindness to him, and to encourage him all they could. When these Noblemen were at dinner with the Archbishop at Lambeth, they paid him many compliments, and run out much in his commendation; acknowledging, that he had opposed the act with so much learning, gravity, and eloquence, that even those who differed from him were much taken with what he faid; and affuring him, that he had nothing to fear from the King. The Archbishop told them, that he heartily thanked his Majesty for his goodness towards him, and them for the pains they had taken in their present visit; and added, that he "hoped in GOD, that hereafter his allega-tions and authorities (against the doctrines enforced by the se statute of the Six Articles) would have their proper effect, to " the glory of GOD, and the advantage of the Realm." After some conversation, Lord Cromwell, addressing himself to " Cranmer, faid, "You, my Lord, were born in an happy hour, " I suppose; for do or say what you will, the King will always

led him to oppose the Six Articles; In which the places out of the Scriptures, the authorities of the antient Doctors, with the arguments drawn from thefe, were all digested in a good method. This he commanded his Secretary to write out in a fair hand, that it might be given the King. The Secretary returning with it from Croydon, where the Archbishop was then, to Lambeth, found the key of his chamber was carried away by the Archbishop's Almoner: so that he being obliged to go over to London, and not daring to trust the book to any other's keeping, carried it with himfelf; where both he and the book met with an unlooked for encounter. Some others that were with him in the wherry, would needs go to the Southwark fide, to look on a bear-baiting that was near the riyer, where the King was in person. The bear broke loofe into the river, and the dogs after her. They that were in the boat leaped out, and left the poor Secretary alone there. But the bear got into the boat, with the dogs about her, and funk it. The Secretary, apprehending his life was in danger, did not mind his book, which he loft in the water. But being quickly rescued, and brought to he began to look for his book, and faw it floating in the river. So

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he defired the bear-ward to bring it to him; who took it up; but before he would restore it, put it into the hands of a Prieft that flood there, to fee what it might contain. Priest reading a little in it, found it a confutation of the Six Articles; and told the bear-ward, that whofoever claimed it, would be hanged for his pains. But the Archbishop's Secretary thinking to mend the matter, faid it was his Lord's book. This made the bear-ward more intractable; for he was a spiteful Papist, and hated the Archbishop; fo that no offers nor entreaties could prevail with him to give it back. Whereupon Morice (that was the Secretary's name) went and opened the matter to Cromwell the next day. Cromwell was then going to Court, and he expected to find the bearward there, looking to deliver the book to fome of Cranmer's enemies; he therefore ordered Morice to go along with him. Where, as they had expected, they found the fellow with the book about him; upon whom Cromwell called, and took the book out of his hands, threatening him feverely for his prefumption in meddling with a Privy Counfellor's book."
Hift. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 265, 266.

" take it well at your hands. And I must needs confess, that in fome things I have complained of you to his Majesty; but " all in vain; for he will never give credit against you, whatsoever is laid to your charge: but let me, or any other of the " Council, be complained of, his Grace will most feriously " chide, and fall out with us; and therefore you are most

" happy, if you can keep you in this state (i)."

In 1540, several new Bishoprics were founded out of old Monasteries; and several Deaneries and Colleges of Prebends out of divers Priories belonging to cathedral churches. Cranmer had projected, that in every cathedral there should be provision made for readers of divinity, and of Greek and Hebrew, and a number of students to be trained up in religion and learning; from whence, as from a nursery, the Bishops might furnish their Dioceses with pious and learned Ministers: but this design miscarried. This year, the Archbishop was one of the Commisfioners appointed to inspect into matters of religion, and to explain some of its principal doctrines; and the book, intitled, "A necessary erudition of any Christian man," was the result of their commission. But on the fall and death of his great friend and affiftant in the work of Reformation, Lord Cromwell, which happened about this time, the Archbishop lived in great privacy and retirement, not intermeddling at all in State affairs (k).

In 1541, Cranmer gave orders, pursuant to the King's directions, for taking away superstitious shrines. It is supposed that the Archbishop himself procured the King's letters for this end; fome former orders to the same purpose having not been

properly regarded.

In 1542, the Archbishop endeavoured to get the severe acts about religion moderated, and to procure to the people the liberty of reading the Scriptures; the progress of the Reformation having now been for some time considerably obstructed. And with this view he proposed a bill with this title, " An act " for the advancement of true religion, and the abolishment of " the

Cranmer, P. 73, 74. and Burnet's Hift, of the Reformation, Vol. I.

P. 265.
(k) Bishop Burnet observes, that Cromwell, " in his fall had the common fare of all difgraced Ministers, to be forfaken by his friends, and infulted over by his enemies. Only Cranmer retained still so much of his former simplicity, that he could never learn these Court arts." The Archbishop, therefore, wrote a letter to the King, in which he urged many things with great earnestness in

(i) Fid. Strype's Memorials of Cromwell's behalf. See P. 118. of ranmer, P. 73, 74. and Burnet's this Volume. "This shews (Burift, of the Reformation, Vol. I. net adds) both the firmness of Cranmer's friendthip to him, and that he had a great foul, not turned by the changes of men's fortunes, to like or diflike them, as they stood or declined from their greatness. And had not the King's kindness for Cranmer been deeply rooted, this letter had ruined him. For he was the most impatient of contradiction, in fuch cases, that could be. of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 277.

" the contrary:" in which he was seconded by the Bishops of Worcester, Hereford, Chichester, and Rochester, who had promised to stick by him in it. Gardiner and the Popish party opposed it with all possible earnestness; so that the timorous Prelates forfook Cranmer, and the Bishops of Rochester and Hereford were very importunate with him to stay for a better opportunity. But the Archbishop generously chose rather to obey the dictates of his conscience, than to be influenced by motives of worldly policy; and therefore faid, that " he would push it as " far as it would go." Accordingly he at length fo far pre-vailed, that the bill passed; but Gardiner and his party had found means to clog it in fuch a manner with provisoes, that it came much short of what the Archbishop had designed (1). However, the Laity were delivered by it from the hazard of burning, and the Clergy were not in danger but upon the third conviction. Both were allowed to bring witnesses for their own purgation, which was not permitted before; and no offences were to be objected, which had been committed above a year.

The Duke of Norfolk was fent this year with an army against the Scots; and a body of his troops, about five hundred horse, furprized and routed the Scottish army, which was in some diforder on account of a new General being appointed, who was difagreeable to the troops. Many prisoners were taken by the English; particularly the Earls of Glencairn and Cassilis, the Lords Maxwell, Fleming, Somerville, Oliphant, and Grey, Oliver Sinclair, the new General, and about two hundred gentlemen, and eight hundred foldiers, and all the ordnance and baggage. The Scottish Noblemen who were taken prisoners, were brought to London, and committed to the custody of several perfons of rank. The Earl of Cassilis was committed to the care of Archbishop Cranmer, and resided with him at Lambeth, as a prisoner on his parole. And the Archbishop, agreeable to the benignity of his character, treated this Nobleman with great kindness, and took much pains to convince him of the errors of Popery; in which he was so successful, that the Earl was afterwards a great promoter of the Reformation in Scotland (m).

In 1543, the Archbishop held a visitation in Canterbury. Many presentments were made on this occasion, some of which are preserved by Mr. Strype, and are very curious. One Brooks, a preacher, was accused for preaching, "That all "masters and mistresses were bound to eat eggs, butter, and "cheese, in Lent; to give example to their housholds to do the fame." This the Papists thought a breaking of Lent, to allow the eating of such white meats, as fish only ought to be eaten. Brooks was also charged with saying, "That the ceremonies of the church were but BEGGARLY CEREMONIES, and

" that was the meetest term he could give them."

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Thomas

<sup>(1)</sup> Vid. P. 215. of this Vo'ume. Vol. I. P. 320. and Memorials of (m) Hift, of the Reformation, Cranmer, P. 98.

Thomas Carden, Vicar of Lyme, was charged with faying, in a Lent fermon, "That he supposed St. Catharine was rather a Devil in Hell, than a Saint in Heaven. And that the people faid naught, and that this term was naught to say, That they should receive their Maker at Easter; but they should say, "We shall receive our Housel." He also preached, "That

"the water in the font is no better than other water is." John Tofts, Christopher Levenysh, and Bartholomew Joy, were charged with pulling down all the pictures in the church of Northgate in Canterbury, except only the Rood, Mary and John, the twelve Apostles, the picture of our Lady, and St. John Baptist. At another time, Tosts pulled down "the picture of our Lady, and had her and the tabernacle home to his house, " and there did hew her all to pieces. And at another time, " the faid Tofts openly, with a loud voice, read the Bible in " English in the church to his wife, Sterkie's wife, George " Toft's wife, to the midwife of the same parish, and to as " many others as then were present." Another was accused for forfaking his own parish church at the time of Easter, two years together, and for going to Walfingham in pilgrimage; and if that he would at no time shew to the Vicar a lawful certifi-" cate, that he had received the bleffed Sacrament at the time commonly accustomed, as a Christian man ought to do. And obstinately refused to learn his Pater-noster, Ave, Credo, and " ten Commandments in English, according to the King's in-" junctions."

Lancaster, Parson of Pluckley, was accused with not using in the church-porch any holy water, according to the laudable custom of the church. It was also alledged against him, that when he was going on procession, he did not rehearse Sancta Maria, nor any other Saints names. Turner was likewise accused with not casting any holy water, neither before the Sacrament, nor upon any altar in the church, except the high altar: nor before the crucifix in the Rood-loft, according to the laudable ceremony. He neither incensed the crucifix in the Rood-loft, nor any altar in the church, except the high altar; nor distributed any holy candles among his parishioners. And not content with these enormities, in order to fill up the measure of his iniquities, "he christened three children upon one day, and did not anoint them with holy oil, neither upon back nor belly (n)."

This year a scheme was formed by Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and his emissaries, to ruin Archbishop Cranmer, and some other eminent persons who savoured the Reformation (0). The Prebendaries, and others of the church of Canterbury, were for the most part much addicted to Popery; and therefore hated the Archbishop as the great promoter of the Reformation,

<sup>(</sup>n) Vid. Memorials of Cranmer, P. 100, 101, 102, 103, 107, 108.

and were on that account the more easily disposed to concur in any defigns against him. Accordingly several of the Popish Prebendaries and Preachers at Canterbury, were employed by Gardiner's agents to collect and draw up accusations against the Archbishop and his friends. " At one and the same time "Winchester, (says Mr. Strype) with his trusty partner, Lon-" don, was driving on two games together. The one was to " bring into trouble feveral of the King's own Court, that " were favourers of the Gospel; not liking that such should be of fo near the King: and the other was to overthrow the good Archbishop, and his friends in his Diocese of Canterbury, " and to extinguish that light of the Gospel that began no-" tably to Rine there." In consequence of this scheme, accufations were collected against several of the Archbishops friends, and other eminent persons of the Protestant party, in order to be laid before the King and Council (p). A book of articles against Cranmer was to accompany the accusations against his friends, and the others of the Protestant party. The rough draughts were brought to Dr. London, and the Bishop of Winchester's Secretary, German Gardiner, copied them out fair: these being signed by some of the Prebendaries, were by them, in the name of the church of Canterbury, prefented to the Council; and from thence they came into the King's hands.

The King hereupon went to divert himself upon the river, taking the book of articles against the Archbishop with him, and ordering the bargeman to row towards Lambeth. The Archbishop's servants perceiving it, acquainted their master with it, who hasted down to the stairs to pay his respects to the King. The King calling him into his barge, lamented the growth of Herefy, and the dissentions and confusions that were like to follow upon it; and faid, he intended to find out the chief encourager and favourer of these Heresies, and make him an example to the rest. He then asked the Archbishop's opinion upon this; who answered him, that it was a good resolution; but entreated the King to consider well what Heresy was, and not to condemn those as Heretics, who stood for the word of GOD against human inventions. "O my Chaplain, (faid the King) now I know who is the greatest Heretic in Kent." And shewed him the book of articles against him and his Chaplains, which was figned by some Prebendaries of Canterbury, and Justices of the peace in Kent. This, says Mr. Strype, both surprized and troubled the Archbishop not a little: that those of his own Vol. II. 6.

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). re n, nd (p) "They drew up a bundle of indictments against a very great great many more of the King's true many, and some of eminency about the King, as Cardin and Hobby, ham, that served for Clerk of the Knights, of the King's Privy Champeace at that time, had these indictions; with the Ladies Harman and ments ready, to carry them to the

church, and Justices of the peace whom he had obliged, should deal so treacherously with him. However, the Archbishop having looked the articles over, and knowing both the malice and falshood of them, kneeled down to the King, and defired him to grant a commission, to whomsoever he pleased, to try the truth of these accusations, so as from the highest to the lowest they might be well punished, if they had done otherwise than became them. He acknowledged, as to himself, that he was still of the same mind as when he opposed the Six Articles; but that he had done nothing against them. Then the King asked him, if his Grace's bed-chamber could stand the scrutiny of that act? He frankly confessed he had a wife: but that he had sent her to Germany upon the passing of that act. The King, in return for his fincerity and openness, told him, he would grant a commisfion for the trial; but that he had such affiance and confidence in his fidelity, that he should be the chief Commissioner himself; to whom, with two or three more, fuch as he should chuse, he would wholly commit the examination. The Archbishop defired to be excused, as it would not seem equitable or impartial to make him a Commissioner, who was a party accused. But the King insisted upon it, telling him, "That he was sure he " would not halt with him, although he were driven to accuse " himself; but would speak the truth of himself, if he had offended." The King added, " That he knew partly how the matter came about; and that if he handled the matter " wifely, he should find a pretty conspiracy against him." The King then named Dr. Bellhouse for one of the Commissioners, and left the rest to the Archbishop's choice; who appointed Dr. Cocks his Vicar-General, and Anthony Hussey his Register; both of them secret favourers of the Papists. The commission was presently made out, and the Archbishop was commanded to go himself upon it: the King requiring particularly, that the Commissioners should fift out who was the first occasion of this accusation.

Accordingly

chief patron of these plots, the Bi-shop of Winchester. But this de-notice they way-laid Ockham, and sign, notwithstanding the privacy and crafty contrivance of it, took not es-fect; but he rather broughs himself. Court, before he got to Winchester. into difgrace thereby. For one Fulk, belonging unto the Queen, being at fessions at Windsor at that time, and observing what was done, hastily rode to Court, and discovered to the perions concerned what was hatch-ing against them, letting them know, that Ockham was coming with his Indictments to the Bishop of Winchefter: who, as foon as he had re-ceived them, would without doubt in all this, never liked have laid them before the King and Strype, as before, P. 110.

his papers, as foon as he came to Court, before he got to Winchefter. These papers were perused by some of the Privy Council; and seeing what large numbers, it may be, of themselves and of their friends, as well as others, were indicted, and defigned for death, they thought fit to acquaint the King with it. And he, not liking fuch bloody doings, gave them all a pardon: and observing how Winchester was the great agent in all this, never liked him after." Accordingly the Archbishop, and the other Commissioners, went down to Feversham, and sat three weeks, to find out the contrivers of these articles. The Archbishop, sending for the accusers, expostulated with them for their ingratitude and disingenuity to him, who had been their patron; expressing his surprize more particularly at Sentleger and Parkhurst, two of the Prebendaries, of whom he had conceived a good opinion. And he argued in so affectionate a manner with Shether, that the latter could not refrain from weeping; but both he and Serles, two of the preachers, and chief agents, were committed to custody. Cranmer left the further discovery of this transaction to the diligence of Cocks and Hussey. But they, from their inclination to favour the conspirators, proceeding slowly in the affair, the King dispatched Dr. Leigh, and Dr. Rowland Taylor, Civilians, as new Commissioners, with instructions and a ring, which were delivered to the Archbishop on Alhallows eve.

Dr. Leigh immediately gave commission to nine or ten of the Archbishop's officers and gentlemen, to go and search the chests and houses of certain Prebendaries and gentlemen, who were suspected to be of the consederacy; with orders to bring whatever letters or writings they could find to the Archbishop and himself. They all went about their work at the same hour; and within four hours after, the whole conspiracy was discovered, by finding letters, some from the Bishop of Winchester, some from Dr. London, and others. The seized papers were put into a chest, and brought up to Lambeth; they were perused by the King himself; and several of the persons concerned were committed to prison. But it appeared that the chief author, contriver, and encourager of the whole transac-

tion, was the Bishop of Winchester.

Among the rest of the seized papers, two letters came to hand, which associated the Archbishop. One from Dr. Thornden, Suffragan of Dover, made by him Prebendary of Canterbury, whom, contrary to the custom of those days, he honoured so far as to set him at his own table with the Nobility and Diocesan Bishops; the other from Dr. Barber, retained by the Archbishop in his samily, for expediting of matters in suit before him, and as a Counsellor to him in the law, when need required. The Archbishop taking them apart, shewed them their letters; and lifting up his hands to heaven, returned thanks to GOD, "that "he had, in the midst of so many enemies and false friends, "vouchsafed one Great Friend and Master, without whose protection he was not able to live securely one day." He added, That now he perceived there was no sidelity nor truth among men; and that he was brought to that point, that he was afraid his left hand would accuse his right." They fell on their knees, and with many tears begged his pardon; acknowledging that they had been a year ago tempted to do what they had done. He prayed GOD to make them good men, and bad them

them ask GOD forgiveness, seeing he had never deserved such usage at their hands. As he could not think it sit to trust them any more, he discharged them from his service; but he dismissed them with gentle and comfortable words. And it was observed, that there never after appeared, either in his counte-

nance, or his words, any remembrance of the injury (q).

Archbishop Cranmer was, indeed, so remarkable for his mild and forgiving temper, that it was become a kind of common proverb in his time, "Do my Lord of Canterbury an ill turn, and he will be your friend as long as you live." About the time that the transaction which we have just related happened, a person of quality came to the Archbishop, to obtain his favour and affiftance in a fuit which he had to move to the King. Cranmer accordingly went to his Majesty about it, and had almost procured it: but the King recollecting, that the person for whom the Archbishop was now soliciting, had been one of his fecret accusers, asked him whether he took that person for his friend. Cranmer answered, he did. To which the King replied, "He is a knave. and your mortal enemy:" and he bad the Archbishop, when he should see him next, to call him knave to his face. Cranmer faid, that fuch language did not become a Bishop. But the King sullenly commanded him to do it. How-ever, the Archbishop passed the matter over. "When these things came to be known, (says Bishop Burnet) all persons, " that were not unjustly prejudiced against him, acknowledged " that his behaviour was suitable to the example and doctrine of the meek and lowly SAVIOUR of the world; and very " well became so great a Bishop, and such a Reformer of the " Christian religion; who, in those sublime and extraordinary " instances, practifed that which he taught others to do (r)."

In 1544, Sir John Gostwick, one of the Members for Bedfordshire, stood up in the House of Commons, and accused Archbishop Cranmer of manifest Herefy against the Sacrament of the Altar, in his fermons and lectures both at Sandwich and Canterbury (1). This being reported to the King, he immediately perceived that this accusation against the Archbishop proceeded from malice; for Gostwick was a stranger in Kent, and had not heard Cranmer either preach or read there. Henry, therefore, knowing that this man was fet on, and only an inftrument to ferve the purposes of others, was violently enraged: and he called Gostwick openly, VARLET; and said, "That he had " play'd a villainous part, to abuse in open Parliament the Pri-

(q) Ridley's Life of Bishop Ridley, P. 153—158. Memorials of
Cranmer, P. 109-- 121. Hist of the
Reformation, Vol. I. P. 327, 328.

(r) Hist. of the Reformation,
Vol. I. P. 329.

(a) Mr. Strupe observes, that it is recipiled P. 226 of P. 226 of

<sup>(</sup> s ) Mr. Strype observes, that " it morials, P. 123.

" mate of the Realm, especially being in favour with his Prince "as he was."-- "What will they do with him," faid Henry,
if I were gone?" The King also sent the following message
to Gostwick by one of his Privy Chamber. "Tell the variet
Gostwick, (said he) That if he do not acknowledge his " fault unto my Lord of Canterbury, and so reconcile himself " towards him, that he may become his good Lord, I will foon " both make him a poor Gostwick, and otherwise punish him to " the example of others. He wondered (he faid) he could hear " my Lord of Canterbury preaching out of Kent. And that " if he had been a Kentish man, he might with more plausibi-" lity have brought an accusation against him." Notwithstanding that what Gostwick had done was in Parliament, the Knight was so well acquainted with Henry's temper, and so desirous of averting the consequences of his displeasure, that he hastened to Lambeth, and not only obtained the Archbishop's forgiveness, but also easily prevailed upon him to intercede in his behalf. And it was not without difficulty that Cranmer prevailed upon the King to overlook Goftwick's offence, and that only on condition that he might hear no more of the Knight's meddling in this way (1).

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About this time the Archbishop's palace at Canterbury was burnt down, and his brother-in-law, and some other persons who were in it, were consumed in the slames. And the Popish party, to whom Cranmer was exceedingly obnoxious, were now concerting other schemes to ruin him. This year the Duke of Norfolk, and others of the Popish party in the Privy Council, at the instigation of the Bishop of Winchester, went to the King, and made a formal complaint against the Archbishop, alledging, "That he, with his learned men, had so infected the whole " Realm with their unfavoury doctrine, that three parts of the " land were become abominable Heretics. And that it might " prove dangerous to the King, being like to produce such com-" motions and uproars, as were sprung up in Germany. And " therefore they defired, that the Archbishop might be com-" mitted to the Tower, until he could be examined." The King was extremely unwilling to agree to this: but they told his Majesty, " That the Archbishop being one of the Privy "Council, no man would dare to object matters against him, "unless he were first put into confinement. But if that were done, men would be bold to tell the truth, and say their conficiences." Upon this the King gave his consent, that they should summon the Archbishop the next day before them, and if they faw just reason, they should commit him to the Tower.

However, at about eleven o'clock, the same night, the King sent one Mr. Denny to the Archbishop at Lambeth, desiring him to come immediately to him at Westminster. The Archbishop

was then in bed; but he directly got up, on receiving this meffage, and repaired to his Majesty, whom he found in the gallery at Whitehall. The King then told Cranmer, what a grievous complaint the Council had brought against him; that they had affirmed, that he and his learned men had fown such doctrine in the Realm, that almost all men were infected with Heresy; and that they had also alledged, that as he was at liberty, and a Member of the Council, men would not venture to bring those matters of accusation against him, which they otherwise would do. " I have, therefore, (faid Henry) granted their request; " and given them permission to send you to the Tower. But "whether I have done well or no, what fay you, my Lord?" Cranmer, upon this, humbly thanked his Majesty, for having given him him this timely notice! and faid, that he was very well contented to be committed to the Tower, that his doctrines and actions might be the more impartially examined; as he did not doubt but his Majesty would see that he should have a fair hearing. At this this the King cried out, "O LORD GOD! what fond simplicity have you! thus easily and contentedly to " permit yourself to be imprisoned, that every enemy of your's " may take advantage against you? Do you not know, that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves " will foon be procured to witness against you; who else, now you are at liberty, would not once dare to open their lips, or " appear before your face? No, not fo, my Lord; I have more " regard for you, than to permit your enemies to overthrow you " in this manner. And, therefore, I will have you come to-" morrow to the Council, which no doubt will fend for you. "And when they break this matter unto you, require them, that being one of them, you may have fo much favour as they " would have themselves; that is, to have your accusers brought " before you. And if they oppose this, difregard your allegations, and will not comply with your request; but will needs commit you to the Tower, then do you appeal from them to our person, and give to them this my ring; (which he then our person, and give to them this my ring; (which he then delivered to the Archbishop); by the which (said the King) they shall well understand, that I have taken your cause into my hand from them. Which ring, they well know, I use for no other purpose, but to call matters from the Council into mine own hands, to be ordered and determined." The King then dismissed the Archbishop, who humbly thanked his Majesty for his goodness towards him, and departed.

The Council, agreeable to the permission which they had received from the King, sent for the Archbishop to appear before them, by eight o'clock the next morning. When he came to the door of the Council-Chamber, he was not permitted to enter, but was forced to stand without amongst servants and lacquies, above three quarters of an hour, many of the Members of the Council going in and out in the mean time. The Arch-

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bishop's Secretary, who attended him, being amazed at this treatment of his master, slipped away and related the matter to Dr. Butts, the King's physician, who foon after came, and kept the Archbishop company for some time. However, before the Archbishop was called into the Council-Chamber, Dr. Butts went to the King, and told him, that he had seen a strange fight. " What is that ?" faid the King. " Marry, (faid the Doctor) my Lord of Canterbury is become a lacquey, or a ferving-man: for to my knowledge he hath stood among them almost this hour, at the Council-Chamber door." "Have they ferved my Lord so?" said Henry: "It is well enough; I shall talk with them by and by." At length, however, the Archbishop was called into the Council-Chamber, where it was declared unto him, by the Council, That a great complaint was made of him, both to the King and to them, That he, and others by his permission, had infected the whole Realm with Herefy: and therefore it was the King's pleafure that they should commit him to the Tower, in order that he might be examined, and brought to his trial. The Archbishop then offered many reasons to induce them to permit his accusers to appear there against him, and to suffer him to defend himself against their accusations, before they proceeded to any further extremities against him. But he could not prevail; he was told that he must go to the Tower. "I am forry, my Lords, (faid the Archbishop) that you drive me to the necessity of appeal-" ing from you to his Majesty; who by this token hath re-" fumed this matter into his own hand, and dischargeth you " thereof." He then delivered the King's ring to them : whereupon the Lord Russel swore a great oath, and faid, "Did " not I tell you, my Lords, what would come of this matter? " I knew right well, that the King would never permit my "Lord of Canterbury to have such a blemish as to be impri-" foned, unless it were for high treason." The enemies of Cranmer, thus baffled, having received the King's ring, were obliged, though filled with vexation and disappointment, to repair immediately to his Majesty.

When they came to the King, he faid to them, with a fevere countenance, "Ah! my Lords! I thought that I had had a "discreet and wise Council, but now I perceive that I am de- ceived. In what an unworthy manner have ye treated my Lord of Canterbury? Have ye not used him like a slave, by "shutting him out of the Council-Chamber, among serving- men? Would ye be so handled yourselves?" After some other expressions of this sort, the King added, "I would have "you all know, that I esteem my Lord of Canterbury to be as faithful a man towards me, as ever any Prelate in this Realm "was; and one (said the King, laying his hand upon his breast) to whom I am many ways beholden, by the faith I owe unto "GOD. And, therefore, whosever loveth me, will upon that

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account regard him." Upon this the Duke of Norfolk anfwered, that they meant no manner of harm to the Archbishop, by requesting to have him put into confinement: " which we only did (faid he) that he might, after his trial, be fet at liberty to his greater glory." "Well, (faid the King) I beg " that you will not again express your regard for any of my " friends in this manner. I perceive now well enough how the world goeth among you. There remaineth malice amongst you one to another; but let it be avoided out of hand, I would advise you. And as to my Lord of Canterbury, be friends with him, and treat him as his worth deferves." Upon this the Lords of the Council all shook hands with the Archbishop, after which the King departed. And, from this time, no more open attacks were made by the Popish party upon the Archbishop during this reign. However, Henry altered Cranmer's paternal coat of arms (in testimony, as it is said, of his conviction of the Archbishop's integrity, and the malice of his enemies), from Three Cranes Sable to Three Pelicans; fignifying that he, like those birds, was ready to shed his blood for his young ones, brought up in the faith of CHRIST. " For " (faid the King) you are likely to be tafted, if you fland to " your tackling at length ( ")."

In 1545, the Archbishop set about making some Reformation in the Ecclefiaftical Laws; being defirous of having the Canon Laws fet afide, and fuch a body of new Ecclefiastical Laws drawn up, as should have authority in England. And in order to shew the inconsistency of the Canon Law with the King's supremacy, or the principles of the Reformation, he made a collection of passages out of it, some of which are as follows: " He that acknowledgeth not himself to be under the Bishop of " Rome, and that the Bishop of Rome is ordained by GOD to " have Primacy over all the world, is an Heretic, and cannot be faved, nor is not of the flock of CHRIST .-- Princes laws, " if they be against the Canons and decrees of the Bishop of "Rome, be of no force nor strength .-- All the decrees of the " Bishop of Rome ought to be kept perpetually of every man, "without any repugnancy, as GOD's word spoken by the "mouth of Peter; and whosoever doth not receive them, nei-" ther availeth them the Catholic faith, nor the four Evange-46 lifts, but they blaspheme the Holy Ghost, and shall have no 44 forgiveness .-- The See of Rome receiveth holy men, or else " maketh them holy, --- The Bishop of Rome hath authority to " judge all men, and especially to discern the articles of the " faith, and that without any Council, and may affoil them that " the Council hath damned; but no man hath authority to " judge him, nor to meddle with any thing that he hath

<sup>(</sup>u) Vid. Strype, P. 124, 125, 126. P. 642. Edit. 1641. Life of Ridley, Acts and Monuments, Vol. III. P. 158.

" judged, neither Emperor, King, people, nor the Clergy: and it is not lawful for any man to dispute his power .--- The " Bishop of Rome may excommunicate Emperors and Princes, " depose them from their States, and assoil their subjects from " their oath and obedience to them, and so constrain them to " rebellion .- The Bishop of Rome may open and shut Hea-" ven unto men .--- All Kings, Bishops, and Noblemen, that " believe or fuffer the Bishop of Rome's decrees in any thing " to be violated, be accurfed, and for ever culpable before God, " as transgressors of the Catholic faith .-- The See of Rome " hath neither spot nor wrinkle in it, nor cannot err ( w)."

The Archbishop applied himself with much assiduity to perfecting his intended system of Ecclesiastical Law; and, with the affistance of some of his learned friends, it was at length completed. The Archbishop, however, could not so far prevail, as to have these Ecclesiastical Laws confirmed by Parliament. " I have seen (says Mr. Strype) the Digest of these Ecclesiasti-" cal Laws in a manuscript in Folio, fairly written out by the "Archbishop's Secretary, with the title to each chapter pre-fixed, and the index of the chapters at the beginning, both of " the Archbishop's own hand. In many places there be his own " corrections and additions, and fometimes a cross by him struck " through divers lines. And so he proceeded a good way in " the book. And where the Archbishop left off, Peter Martyr went on, by his order, to revise the rest in the method he had And in the title, De Præscriptionibus, the greatest part of the seventh chapter is Martyr's own writing. -- So that this manuscript I conjecture was the first draught of these laws, prepared in the reign of King Henry, and revised in the reign of King Edward his successor, when Peter Martyr was appointed by that King's letters to be one of those that were to be employed in this work; who was much at this time with the Archbishop. In this draught were feveral chapters afterwards added, partly by Cranmer, and partly by Martyr. There was yet a latter, and more perfect draught of these laws, as they were compleated and finished in King Edward's reign. This draught fell into the possession of Archbishop Parker. From whence he published the book in the year 1571, intitling it, "Reformatio Le-" gum Ecclesiasticarum, &c." Which was printed again in the year 1640. Both these manuscript draughts were diligently compared together by John Fox; and the main difference feemed to confift in putting the latter into a new method, and placing the titles differently (x)." Vol. II. 6. In 2 M

entire, from an Original, this collection of paffages made by Cranmer from the canon law, in the collection of records at the end of the first Vo-

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( w ) Bishop Burnet has published lume of his History of the Reformation, P. 257—264.

(x) Memorials of Cranmer,

P. 133, 134.

In the beginning of the year 1547, King Henry VIII. died; and a short time before his death, the King, being asked whether he would chuse to have any of his Bishops or Chaplains to attend him, replied, that if any were sent for, it should be Archbishop Cranmer. The Archbishop, who was then at Croydon, was accordingly sent for; but before his arrival, Henry was speechless. Cranmer, however, desired the King to give him some token, that he put his trust in GOD through JESUS CHRIST; upon which Henry squeezed the Archbishop's hand,

and foon after expired.

King Henry by his last will appointed fixteen executors, the first of whom was Archbishop Cranmer, who were also to be Governors of Edward and the kingdom, till the young King should attain the age of eighteen years. These were at first equal in power; but the Earl of Hertford, the King's uncle, foon after created Duke of Somerset, was raised above the rest with the title of Protector of the kingdom. This alteration was not difagreeable to Cranmer! for he had no defire to meddle in State matters, any further than as the interests of religion were concerned. It was, indeed, matter of joy to the Protestant party in general; because the Protector was known to be a favourer of the Reformation. So that the friends of the Reformation had a very agreeable prospect before them; for the counsels of Cran. mer had now all the weight which the Protector's authority could give them; and as the young King had been bred up from his infancy, either among moderate men, or professed Protestants, he had received early impressions in favour of the reformed doctrines.

On the 20th of February, Archbishop Cranmer crowned the young King in Westminster-Abbey; and soon after a Royal visitation was set on foot, with a view of promoting the Resormation. And the Archbishop thinking it was necessary that some means should be found out for the instruction of the people in true religion, till the Church could be better supplied with learned Priests and Ministers, resolved upon having some good homilies or fermons composed, to be read in the churches to the people, which should in a plain manner teach them the true grounds and principles of religion, and deliver them from popular errors and superstitions. In consequence of this resolution of the Archbishop's, the book of Homilies was composed, published by authority, and commanded to be read in churches. The Archbishop had himself a principal hand in drawing up these homilies. And Erasmus's Paraphrase of the New Testament in English, was also now appointed to be placed in all churches, for the better instruction of Priests, as well as people, in the knowledge of the Scriptures.

About this time the Archbishop published his treatise AGAINST UNWRITTEN VERITIES. It was written by the Archbishop in Latin; but an English translation of it was published in Queen

Mary's

Mary's reign, by one of the Protestant exiles. The design of it was to prove, "That the Canon of the Bible is a true, and " found, and perfect doctrine, containing all things necessary to " falvation: that neither the writings of the old Fathers, with-" out the word of GOD, nor General Councils, nor the oracle's " of Angels, nor apparitions from the dead, nor customs, can " be sufficient in religion to establish doctrine, or maintain new

" articles of faith (y)."

Our Archbishop was indeed indefatigable in carrying on the work of the Reformation. He was chiefly instrumental in procuring the repeal of the act of the Six Articles; the establishment of the communion in both kinds; a new office for the Sacrament; and the revifal and amendment of the rest of the offices of the Church. He also procured an order from the Council to forbid the carrying of candles on Candlemas-day, and the use of ashes on Ash-Wednesday, and of palms on Palm-Sunday, as superstitious ceremonies. And on the 11th of February, 1548, he obtained an order of Council for the total demolition of

all the images in churches.

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As our Archbishop was a very learned man himself, so he was also a great patron of all solid learning, and of whatever he thought calculated to promote it. " And knowing very well (fays Mr. Strype) how much the Libertas Philosophandi, and the knowledge of tongues, and the other parts of human learning, tended to the preparing men's minds for the reception of true religion, and for the detecting the gross errors and frauds of Popery, which could subfift only in the thick darkness of ignorrance: these things made him always cast a favourable aspect upon the Universities, and especially that of Cambridge, whereof he himself was once a Member." Some of King Edward's Council, and others of the Nobility and Courtiers, seemed disposed to favour the Reformation, not from a regard to religion of any kind, but from an inclination to make free with, and to share in, the revenues of the Church. Many of the Courtiers were pensioned upon Ecclesiastical benefices: and in consequence of proceedings of this kind, the Universities began to be under much apprehension for their revenues. But Cranmer, from his love of learning, always shewed himself a friend to the Univerfities, and was a patron to them, by defending their rights, and fecuring their revenues. In

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(y) Mr. Strype observes, that adultery, sodomy, &c. and that they om a passage in this book, "it may never were punished. " And in my memory, (lays Cranm:r) which is above thirty years, and also by the information of others, that be twenty years elder than I, I could never learn that one Priest was punished."

from a passage in this book, "it may be feen what a Clergy was now in England." The Archbishop having quoted the Canons of the Apostles, Can. 3. Let not a Bishop or Deacon put away bis swife, &c. makes a heavy

complaint against the frequent prac- Memorials, P. 161. tice of beaftly fins in the Priefts,

In 1549, Archbishop Cranmer was put into commission, together with Latimer and Ridley, the Bishops of Ely, Westminster, Chichester, and Lincoln, Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, Dr. Cox, and others, to fearch after all Anabaptists, Heretics, and Contemners of the Common Prayer. For complaint had been brought to the Council, that, with the strangers who had lately come into England, some Anabaptists were mingled, who were labouring to make profelytes to their opinions. The Commissioners were directed to endeavour to reclaim them from their errors, to enjoin them penance, and to give them absolu-tion; or if they were obstinate, to excommunicate and imprifon them, and to deliver them over to the fecular power, to be further proceeded against. Bishop Burnet tells us, that at this time there were many Anabaptists in several parts of England. "They were (fays he) generally Germans, whom the revolutions there had forced to change their feats. Upon Luther's " first preaching in Germany, there arose many, who building on some of his principles, carried things much further than he did. The chief foundation he had laid down was, That the Scripture was to be the only rule of Christians. Upon "this many argued, that the mysteries of the Trinity, and CHRIST's incarnation and sufferings, of the fall of man, " and the aids of grace, were indeed philosophical subtilties, " and only pretended to be deduced from Scripture, as almost " all opinions of religion were; and therefore they rejected " them. Among these, the baptism of infants was one. They " held that to be no baptism, and so were re-baptized : but " from this, which was most taken notice of, as being a visible thing, they carried all the general name of Anabaptists (2)." Thus it appears, that men of various opinions were comprehended under the general name of Anabaptists: but an ill opinion had been conceived of them all, on account of some irregular proceedings which some of them had been guilty of in Germany; though it appears that many of them greatly disapproved of those disorders: but others of them were considered and treated as blasphemers, on account of their denying the doctrine of the Trinity.

Some persons who were now brought before the Archbishop and the rest of the Commissioners, abjured their opinions; but the most remarkable of those who were taken up under the name of Anabaptists, was Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent, She denied, "that CHRIST was truly incarnate of the "Virgin, whose sless being sinful, he could (she said) take none of it: but the Word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took sless of her." These were her words. They took much pains to convince her of her errors, and had many conferences with her; but she continuing intractable, was adjudged

judged an obstinate Heretic, and delivered over to the fecular power. The fentence against her being returned to the Council, the King was moved to fign a warrant for burning her, but could not be prevailed on to do it. He thought it too much like the cruelty, which they had justly condemned in Papists; and in a long discourse which he had with Sir John Cheke, he was much confirmed in that opinion. Cranmer, however, endeavoured to prevail upon the King to fign the warrant. He argued from the law of Moses, by which blasphemers were to be stoned. He told the King, he made a great difference between errors in other points of divinity, and those which were directly against the Apostles Creed: that these were impieties against GOD, which a Prince, as being GOD's deputy, ought to punish; as the King's deputies were obliged to punish offences against the King's person. These reasons, says Burnet, did rather filence than fatisfy the young King, who still thought it a hard thing to proceed fo feverely in fuch cases: however, he did at length fet his hand to the warrant, though with tears in his eyes, faying to Cranmer, That if he did wrong, fince it was in submission to his authority, he should answer for it to GOD. This struck the Archbishop with much horror, so that he was very unwilling to have the fentence executed. And both he, and Ridley, took the woman to their own houses, to see if they could prevail upon her to renounce her opinions. But as she abfolutely refused to do this, the sentence was executed upon her, the being burnt on the fecond of May the following year. Some time after, one George Van Parre, a Dutchman, was also tried before the Commissioners, being accused with saying, that GOD the Father was only GOD, and that CHRIST was not very GOD: much pains were taken to make him abjure this opinion; but he refusing to do so, was burnt in Smithsield.

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The part which Archbishop Cranmer and his Protestant collegues acted, in bringing these two unfortunate persons to the stake, cannot be defended. We have too much regard for the interests of humanity, and of religious liberty, to attempt to defend it. All that we can fay with relation to these two acts of blood, which reflect the greatest dishonour upon the Protestant Administration in King Edward's reign, is, that Cranmer and his affociates, who had been brought up in the Romish religion, and were not yet entirely freed from its errors, did still retain too much of that worst part of Popery, the spirit of perfecution. They had not yet sufficiently learned, that the mild, the benevolent religion of JESUS, gave no authority to its profes-That the only fors to persecute others for difference in opinion. methods of converting Infidels or Heretics, which are fuited to the genius of Christianity, are those of reasoning, argument, and mild persuasion. We must, however, observe, that the inference which has been fometimes drawn from these two instances of perfecution in the reign of Edward, namely, that Papifts and Protestants are alike disposed to persecution, when possessed of power, is by no means a fair one. That the putting these two unfortunate persons to death was utterly indefensible, we readily grant : but furely it cannot justly be pretended, on account of two persons only being put to death for religion in the reign of Edward, that Papists and Protestants were equally actuated by the spirit of persecution, when it is considered that near three hundred Protestants were committed to the slames, in the still shorter

reign of Mary.

In 1549, Archbishop Cranmer was appointed one of the Commissioners for examining Bishop Bonner, who was deprived in October; and an infurrection being excited this year in Devonshire, Cranmer wrote an answer to some articles published by the rebels, and ordered fermons to be composed and preached upon that occasion. In 1550, by his means a review was made of the book of Common Prayer, which had been before appointed by act of Parliament; and feveral things which fa-voured of superstition were changed or amended. And this year the Archbishop was one of the Commissioners by whom Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, was deprived.

Our Archbishop did not confine his concern for the interests of the Protestant religion to the Church of England only, but also extended his care to some Protestant foreigners, who had taken shelter in England to avoid Persecution in their own countries, though they were not inclined to conform to some of the rites and ceremonies established at this time in the Church of Eng-Cranmer had a chief hand in forming many French, Dutch, Spanish, and Italian Protestants, who were now in England, into diffinct congregations for the worship of GOD, and in procuring them convenient churches to meet in, and fetting preachers of their own over them. The Archbishop also entertained in his own family, and treated with the utmost respect, John A Lasco, a Polish Nobleman, and a man of great learning and piety, who had been exiled from his country by the perfecution of the Papists. When he first retired from Poland, he had fettled, during some time, at Embden in East Friezland, where he became preacher to a congregation of the reformed. But foreseeing the persecutions which ensued, he came over into England, and was afterwards permitted to bring over his congregation likewise; and they had the Augustine Friars church given them for the exercise of their religion. A Lasco was also appointed Superintendant of the other foreign Protestant churches which were fet up in London, and of their schools of learning and education (a).

In 1551, Archbishop Cranmer published his treatise of the Sacrament, the defign of which was to confute the doctrine of the real presence. He had now been for some time convinced

of the error of that doctrine; and the Archbishop himself acknowledged, that it was his conversation with his Chaplain Dr. Ridley, now Bishop of London, that first occasioned his discovery of the truth in this matter. This treatise of Cranmer's on the Sacrament was a very elaborate and learned work; and gave great offence to the Papists. Gardiner wrote against it.

In 1552, the book of Common Prayer was printed again, with amendments and alterations, by the Archbishop's care, and authorized by Parliament. And this year, for the preferving and maintaining unity of doctrine in the church, a book of articles of religion, drawn up by Archbishop Cranmer, affisted chiefly as is supposed by Bishop Ridley, was published by the King's au-These articles were approved of by the Convocation, and were in number forty-two, agreeing in general with our prefent articles confirmed under Queen Elizabeth. Our Archbishop also endeavoured to preserve the revenues of the Church, which some of Edward's Courtiers were much disposed to parcel out amongst themselves. And on this account some of Cranmer's enemies at Court charged him with covetousness, and with living in a mean and parsimonious manner: but it soon appeared, upon examination, that there was not the least foundation for this charge (b). Indeed, the Archbishop was so far from being addicted to covetousness, that he was sometimes reduced to straits, in consequence of his extensive liberalities, his pensions and gratuities to learned men, and his hospitable man-

This year Bishop Tonstal was deprived of his Bishopric: but the Archbishop had exerted himself much in his favour, notwithstanding Tonstal's attachment to Popery. "There was a "constant good correspondence (says Burnet) between Cranmer and him: though in many things they differed in opi-" nion, yet Tonstal was both a man of candour and great mo-" deration; which agreed so well with Cranmer's temper, " that no wonder they lived always in good terms. So when " the bill for attainting him as guilty of misprision of treason " was passed in the House of Lords, on the 31st of March, be-" ing put in on the 28th, Cranmer spake so freely against it, " that

(b) This was not the first time, as Mr. Strype observes, that the mafter, King Henry VIII. with co-vetousness and ill house-keeping. And the chief of those that raised this report, was Sir Thomas Seymour. But the King made him to convince himself, by sending him to Lambeth about dinner-time upon some pre- be spendeth in tended message. Where his own rials, P. 280.

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eyes faw, how the Archbishop lived in far other fort than he had told the Archbishop was thus sandered. "For fome of his enemies, divers years before, had charged him to his loving master, King Henry VIII. with cothis Realm, besides his Majesty's, in all his life, with better order, and so well furnished in each degree. And the King then gave this testimony of him, Ab, good man ! all that be bath, be spendeth in bouse-keeping." Memo-

" that the Duke of Northumberland and he were never after " that in friendship together (c)." The Archbishop also protefted against the bill, but was seconded only by the Lord Stour-About this time our Prelate was afflicted with two severe fits of fickness at Croydon, which gave his friends apprehen-

fions for his life.

The Archbishop being now recovered from his illness, attended much at the Council-Board; but we meet with no other particulars of him during this reign, except his opposing the new fettlement of the Crown upon Lady Jane Gray. He was, however, at length prevailed upon to acquiesce in it; but he expressed much reluctance at subscribing to the exclusion of the

Princels Mary.

On the 6th of July, 1553, King Edward VI. died, to the great grief of the Archbishop, and of all the Protestant party. He was a Prince of a most amiable and excellent disposition, and of whom the greatest hopes had been justly formed. He was only in the fixteenth year of his age when he died, and had not reigned quite fix years and fix months. Archbishop Cranmer was godfather to him, as he was also to the Princess Eliza-

beth (d).

The Archbishop appeared for the Lady Jane upon the decease of the young King, and he was one of her Counsellors. But after a short struggle in her favour, Mary succeeded to the Throne. Soon after her accession, a report was spread by some of Cranmer's enemies, that he had offered to sing the Mass and Requiem at the funeral of the late King, either before the Queen, or at St. Paul's church, or any where else; and that he had said Mass already in Canterbury. But in order to contradict this report, which was destitute of the least foundation, he drew up a declaration, wherein he both apologized for himself against this false report, and also made a challenge, with the asfistance of Peter Martyr, and a few more, to maintain, by a public disputation, the Reformation made under King Edward. When the Archbishop had drawn up this declaration, he shewed

(d) Carden, who had feen and conversed with King Edward VI. wrote the following character of him after his death, and in Italy, where this Prince was accounted an Heretic. " All the graces were in him. He had many tongues when he was yet but a child. Together with the English, his native tongue, he had both Latin and French : nor

(c) Hift. of the Reformation, English, French, and Latin, he was Vol. II. P. 195. exact in them; and apt to learn exact in them; and apt to learn every thing. Nor was he ignorant of Logic, of the principles of Natural Philosophy, nor of Music. The sweetness of his temper was such as be-came a mortal, his gravity becoming the Majesty of a King, and his disposition suitable to his high degree. In short, that child was so bred, had fuch parts, and was of fuch expectation, that he looked like a miracle of was he ignorant, as I hear, of the a man. These things are not spoken Greek, Italian, and Spanish, and rhetorically, and beyond the truth, perhaps some more. But for the but are indeed short of it." it to Scory, who had been Bishop of Chichester, desiring him to consider it. Scory indiscreetly gave copies of this paper, one of which was publicly read in Cheapside on the fifth of September, which made people apprehend that Cranmer would be sent to the Tower. And these apprehensions were so strong, that some advised the Archbishop to escape by slying beyond sea. But to this advice he answered, "Were I accused of thest, parricide, or some other crime, although I were innocent, I might peradventure be induced to shift for myself: but besing questioned for my allegiance, not to men, but unto God, the truth of whose holy word is to be afferted against the errors of Popery, I have at this time resolved, as becomes a Christian Prelate, rather to leave my life than the kingdom."

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On the 8th of September, in consequence of this paper being made public, the Archbishop was cited to make his appearance in the Star-Chamber, and was there asked whether he was the author of that seditious bill that was given out in his name. Ho acknowledged the bill to be truly his, but faid he was forry it had gone from him in fuch a manner; for he had refolved to have enlarged it in many things, and to have ordered it to be affixed to the doors of St. Paul's, and of the other churches in London, with his hand and feal to it. Contrary to his own expectation, and that of his friends, he was, however, dismissed for the present: but that day se'nnight he was again called before the Council, and was the next day committed to the Tower, for matters of treafon against the Queen, and for aggravating his offence by spreading abroad feditious bills, moving tumult, to the great disquiet-ness of the State. Latimer and Ridley had been before committed to the Tower, and our Archbishop, therefore, made up the venerable triumvirate there ( .).

On the 3d of November, Archbishop Cranmer, with the Lord Guildford Dudley, and the Lady Jane, and two more fons of the Duke of Northumberland, were brought to their trials, and were all attainted of high treason. The Archbishop, upon this, made humble submission to the Queen, intreating for his pardon; representing, and appealing to the Council, in proof, with what difficulty and reluctance he had been prevailed on to subscribe to the late King's will, and to the alteration of the fuccession; and that not before those, whose profession it was to understand the laws, had affured him of the legality of it. The rest of the Council, though none of them had exerted themselves so much in favour of Mary's right of succession as he had done, were presently received to favour: but his pronouncing her mother's divorce from King Henry, by which she had been illegitimated, could not be forgiven; though the Queen herfelf was under great personal obligations to the Archbishop (f). Vol. II. 6.

<sup>(</sup>c) Vid. Life of Ridley, P. 430, (f) Mary's life was in great 431.

At last, however, after some months, Mary granted him a pardon for his treason, having mercifully determined, as suffici-

ently appeared in the event, to burn him for an Heretic.

Archbishop Cranmer was therefore still continued in his confinement in the Tower; but when he had been continued there about fix months, from his first commitment, he was removed from thence to Oxford, together with his fellow-prisoners, Latimer and Ridley, in order to assist at a pretended solemn disputation concerning Transubstantiation, and the facrifice of the Mass, which was appointed to be held there between the Protestants and Papists. Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, were to maintain the dispute on the part of the Protestants: in short, the truth was, these three principal Resormers were, like criminals in an amphitheatre, to be first baited, and then facrificed. The particular reasons which occasioned this disputation, have been already given in our account of the Life of Latimer (2).

On Saturday the 14th of April, 1554, the Archbishop was brought before the Commissioners appointed to preside in this disputation, who were assembled in St. Mary's church. He was brought in by a guard of armed men; and when the tumult was a little composed, the Prolocutor, Dr. Weston, made a short oration to his audience in praise of religious unity; and then turning to the Archbishop, he reminded him, that he had once been in the unity of the Catholic Church; "but that he had "separated himself from it by teaching and setting forth erro- neous doctrine, making every year a new faith. And there- fore that it had pleased the Queen to send him to him to re- cover him again, if it might be, to that unity." He then shewed the Archbishop the articles which were to be disputed on (b); upon which Cranmer read them over to himself three or four times; and then asking a few pertinent questions with re-

the Archbishop then greatly interested himself in her behalf. When the differences became irreconcileable between her father King Henry and her mother Queen Catherine, she followed her mother's interests, which were indeed her own, and for a great while could not be persuaded to submit to the King; who being impatient of contradiction from any, but especially from his own child, was resolved to strike a terror into all his people, by putting her openly to death. At Court (says Burnet) many were assaid to move the King for her; both the Duke of Norsolk and Gardiner looked on, and were unwilling to hazard their own interests to preserve her. But Cranmer was the only person that would adventure on it. In his gentle way, he told the King.

that she was young and indiscreet, and therefore it was no wonder if she obstinately adhered to that which her mother, and all about her, had been insusing into her for many years but that it would appear strange if he should for this cause so far forget he was a father, as to proceed to extremities with his own okild; that if the were separated from her mother, and her people, in a little time there might be ground gained on her; but to take away her life, would raise horror through all Europe against him. By these means he preserved her at that time."—Hist. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 240, 241.

(g) See P. 168, 169. of this Vo-

(b) Ses P. 272. of this Volume.

gard to the import of fome of the terms, he with some earnestness denied them all; saying, that he was as great a friend to
unity as any of them, but that he could never think of making
salshood the bond of peace. Nevertheless, he said, if they
would give him a copy of the articles, he would consider of
them, and return an answer to them the next day. A copy of
the articles was accordingly delivered to him; and the following Monday was appointed for him to hold his disputation
against these articles. The Prolocutor then gave the Mayor
charge of the Archbishop; and he was conveyed again to Botardo, the prison in which he had been consined from the time
of his arrival in Oxford. After Cranmer was dismissed, Ridley
and Latimer were brought in like manner before the Commissioners; and they also refusing to assent to the truth of the articles, two several days were likewise appointed for them to
dispute against them.

When the day appointed for the Archbishop's disputation came, he was again brought under a guard before the Commissioners. This disputation began at eight in the morning, and lasted till two in the afternoon. And the Archbishop, "after having (says Mr. Strype) learnedly and boldly maintained the truth against a great many clamorous opponents, was carried back by the Mayor to prison. And then the two next days Ridley and Latimer took their courses." It has, however, been observed, and we think not without reason, that in the course of these disputations, Cranmer and Ridley, by not disavowing the authority of the Fathers, which their opponents chiefly rested upon, did injury to their cause. As for Latimer, he very judiciously disclaimed the authority of the Fathers, except when what they said was confirmed by the Scriptures.

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Two days after these disputations were ended, the Archbishop, with his fellow prisoners, was brought again before the Commissioners at St. Mary's church. And the Prolocutor, after having in vain exhorted them to recant, read the sentence of excommunication and condemnation against them. Upon which the Archbishop said, "From this your judgment and sentence I appeal to the just judgment of the Almighty; trusting to be present with him in Heaven." He was then carried back to Bocardo, and the other two to other prisons; for they were kept separate almost all the time they were in Oxford.

kept separate almost all the time they were in Oxford.

After the condemnation of these three eminent Reformers, their servants were discharged, that they might not by their means have any communication together, or receive any intelligence of any thing abroad. "But GOD (says Mr. Strype) pro"vided for every one of them, instead of their servants, faithful fellows, that would be content to hear and see, and do for them whatsoever they could." They were all in great want of money, and other necessaries. From the first of the Archbishop's imprisonment, his revenues had been sequestered. He are a N 2

did, however, receive supplies from some of his Protestant friends: but fuch was the malice of his perfecutors, that they were not content with reducing him to absolute want themselves, but laboured to prevent others from supplying his necessities, and gave orders for that purpose. A gentleman of Gloucestershire having conveyed some money to the Bailiss at Oxford for the Archbishop's use, two of the Bishops, Bonner and Thirlby, were about to have fent him up to the Council, to answer for what he had done; but he found means to get off by the intercession of fome friends (i).

The Archbishop employed himself, during his confinement, in reviewing his writings on the Sacrament, and vindicating them from the attacks of the Bishop of Winchester. In the mean time, a severe persecution was carried on against the Protestants; and it was a matter of general surprize, that whilst great numbers of Protestants of inferior note were committed to the flames, the lives of Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley, were hitherto spared ( k). However, on the 16th of October, 1555, the two latter were brought to the stake. A fresh process had

(i) Strype, P. 450. (k) "The rage of this perfecution had now continued yet unabated, near three quarters of a year. The Archbishop of Canterbury, and the two Bishops, Ridley and Latimer, were still in prison, unmolested : and they who were acquainted with the Bishop of Winchester's maxims, and knew that he had the direction of affairs, were furprized at his lenity, and at a loss for the reason of it. In answer to this popular inquiry, it was given out, ' That an overfight had been committed in condemning these Bishops, before the statutes, on which they were condemned, had been revived: that a commiffion therefore from Rome was neceffary for a new trial: that this had been fent for; but the delays of that Court were notorious.' And in part this was fact, for they had indeed been too hafty in condemning the three Bishops. However, after-wards, the whole truth appeared, when it was found that these delays, which had been charged upon the Court of Rome, were really occa-sioned by the Bishop of Winchester

" It was the fecret grief of that ambitious Prelate, that there was one still higher than himself, in Ecclesiassical affairs. The Cardinal's hat on

the head of Pole, and the Pope's au. thority, had long been the objects of his envy. With all his fubtilty and address, therefore, he was now se-cretly working the Cardinal's ruin." " He knew, and was distressed in knowing, that the Archbishopric of Canterbury, upon the death of Cranmer, was intended for the Legate. This dignity his heart was fet on, of which he made himself sure upon the removal of Pole. With this view he did what he could to delay the execution of Cranmer, till the Legate was recalled, and his own head ready for the mirre.

" These delays, however, at length grew notorious, and occasioned some clamour among the warmer Papists: and Winchester finding himself preffed by the curiofity of fome, and the zeal of others, was obliged, in part at least, to abandon his scheme. It was his original design, as less liable to suspicion, to have treated the three Bishops in the same way. However, now, to wipe off the of-fence that had been taken, he refolved to give up Ridley and Latimer to their immediate fate; and to delay Cranmer's execution, by procu-ring a different form of process against him." --- Gilpin's Life of Latimer, P. 181, 182, 183.

been previously carried on against them, on account of the irregularity of the proceedings in the first condemnation of them: and, for the same reason, a new commission was sent from Rome, for the trial and conviction of Cranmer. Accordingly he appeared before the Commissioners at St. Mary's church in Oxford, protesting, however, against the authority of the Pope, and refusing to pay any respect to Brooks, Bishop of Gloucester, who fat in the Court as the Pope's Representative. He was charged with Blasphemy, Heresy, Perjury, and Incontinency. Blasphemy and Heresy, for what he had written and acted against Popery; Perjury, for breaking his oath to the Pope; and Incontinency, on account of his being married. He defended himself against these accusations, and answered fixteen interrogatories which were put to him; after which they cited him to appear at Rome within eighty days, to make there his answer in person. He was then remanded back to prison : and an account of these proceedings being dispatched to Rome, on the 14th of December, the Pope fent his letters executory to King Philip and Queen Mary, and to Bonner and Thirlby, Bishops of London and Ely, to degrade and deprive him: and in these letters he was declared contumacious, for not appearing at Rome within eighty days, agreeable to his citation, though he was all the time forcibly detained in prison (1).

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In consequence of these letters from the Pope, on the 14th of February, 1556, Bonner and Thirlby were fent down to Oxford to degrade the Archbishop. He was brought before them at Christ's Church, where they read to him their commission, and afterwards clothed him in pontifical robes, a mitre, and the other ornaments and garments of an Archbishop, and put a crosser in his hand; but the robes were made of Canvas, by way of deri-After they had clothed him in this manner, they proceeded to degrade him, by stripping him again, piece by piece, of this ridiculous attire. Thirlby, who had lived upon very good terms with the Archbishop, and was under confiderable obligations to him, expressed much reluctance at performing his part in this ceremony. He shed many tears; and protested to Cranmer, that it was the most forrowful action of his whole life; and that no confideration, but the Queen's command, could have induced him to come, and do what they were then about. The Archbishop replied, that his degradation was no trouble to him at all. He reckoned himself, he said, as long ago cut off from all dependence and communion with the See of Rome; and, therefore, their doing it now with so much pageantry did not affeet him. However, he presented to Thirlby an appeal from the Pope to the next General Council. As to Bonner, he treated the Archbishop with great insult and indignity, and in a manner which

<sup>(1)</sup> Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, died about a month before these letters were sent from the Pope.

which demonstrated the baseness, and brutality of his mind. He railed at him, and reviled him, during the whole ceremony; and addressing himself to the spectators, made this speech. "This is the man that hath ever despised the Pope's Holiness. " and now is to be judged by him. This is the man who hath pulled down fo many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church. This is the man that contemneth the " bleffed Sacrament of the Altar, and now is come to be con-" demned before that bleffed Sacrament hanging over the Al-" tar. This is the man that like Lucifer fat in the place of " CHRIST upon an Altar to judge others, and now is come " before an Altar to be judged himfelf." Thirlby was greatly offended with Bonner's behaviour, and reproached him afterwards with breaking a promise which he had made to him, that he would treat the Archbishop with respect. When they had taken off his mock robes, they put on him a poor thread-bare yeoman-beadle's gown, and a townsman's cap; Bonner telling him, that " he was no Lord any more:" and in this dress the

Archbishop was carried back to prison.

Some time before his degradation, he wrote two letters to the Queen, in which he pointed out to her very largely, the great evils which would refult from the re-establishment of the Pope's authority in England; which, he faid, would subvert not only the laws of the nation, but the laws of GOD. He also endeavoured to convince her of the erroneousness of the Romish doctrine of the Sacrament. He vindicated himself in his refusal to acknowledge the Papal authority; and reminded her Majesty, that at her coronation she took an oath to the Pope, to be obedient to him, to defend his person, and to maintain his authority, honour, laws, and privileges; and at the same time another oath to the kingdom, to maintain the laws, liberties, and customs of the same. He intreated her seriously to examine both oaths, and to fee how well they would agree, and then to set as her conscience should direct her. He feared, he said, there were contradictions in her oaths; and that those who should have informed her Majesty thoroughly, had not done their duties therein. He complained, that he was kept from the company of learned men, from books, from counsel, and from pen and ink, except what was now granted him, in order to write to her Majesty. And as to his appearance at Rome, if she would give him leave, he faid, he would appear there; and he trufted in GOD, that he would enable him to defend his truth there, as well as here ( m ). These letters of the Archbishop, the Queen delivered to Cardinal Pole, who answered them, but in a manner that does no great honour either to his learning, or his humanity.

After the degradation of Cranmer, his Popilh perfecutors went a new way to work with him. They were very defirous of prevailing on him to recant; as if by any means they could do this, it would be a matter of great triumph to their party. He had now been near two years and an half in confinement, and had been treated with great feverity and cruelty: but he had always hitherto discovered great firmness of mind under his sufferings, and his enemies had found him unmoved by their threats, and steady to his principles. They refolved, therefore, to try whether more gentle usage would not operate more upon the natural mildness of his temper. They removed him from the rigorous restraints of his prison to the Deanery of Christ-Church, where he was handsomely lodged, and elegantly enter. tained. They affaulted him with the pleasures of life; they endeavoured to work upon him by the pleating arguments of eafe, of affluence, of station; they told him of the Queen's personal esteem and regard for him; and reminded him of the respect, the love, and the attention paid him, when in power. They told him, that he would be permitted to enjoy his former dignity in the Church; or, if he liked it better, might live a comfortable and peaceful life in privacy and fafety. And all this only by fetting his name to a piece of paper. They faid, he was still strong and healthy, and might live many years more, if he did not voluntarily put a period to his own days, by the terrible death of burning. He refisted their temptations for a confiderable time: but they continued to treat him with great apparent kindness and respect; they gave him liberty to take his pleasure in the open air; they flattered, they careffed him; and, in fhort, in an unguarded hour, they prevailed upon the Archbishop to let his hand to a paper, renouncing all the errors of Luther and Zuinglius, acknowledging the Pope's supremacy, the seven Sacraments, the corporal presence in the Eucharist, purgatory, prayer for departed souls, and the invocation of Saints; declaring himself forry for his former errors, exhorting all who had been deceived by his example or doctrine, to return to the unity of the Church, and protesting that he had figned it willingly, only for the discharge of his own conscience.

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When the Popish party had obtained this triumph over the unfortunate Archbishop, they caused his recantation to be printed and dispersed with all possible expedition. It was, however, never intended that his life should be spared: and all the promises which had been made him of that kind, were only so many instances of the baseness and persidiousness, as well as of the cruelty, of his persecutors. Even the pious and merciful Queen herself said, that, "As he had been the great promoter of Herrely, and the corrupter of the whole nation, his recanting must not serve his turn, though it would be sufficient in other cases. It was, indeed, good (she said) for his own soul, that

he repented, and might do good to others : but notwithstand-

" ing the fentence must be executed (n)."

The writ for the Archbishop's execution was accordingly fent down to Oxford; but he was kept in profound ignorance of this, they being apprehensive that he might retract the recantation which their artifices had drawn from him. Dr. Cole, Provost of Eton, was fent down with orders to preach a fermon at his burning; and the day before that appointed for his execution, Cole visited him in the prison, where he now was, and exhorted him to constancy in the faith to which he had subscribed. but without giving him the least intimation of his approaching end.

The next morning, March 21, 1556, being appointed for his execution, Lord Williams, Lord Chandos, Sir Thomas Bridges, Sir Thomas Brown, several Members of the Council, and other persons of rank, arrived at Oxford in pursuance of orders from Court for that purpose, with a view of preventing any tumult among the people on account of the Archbishop's death. It was proposed that a fermon should be preached at the stake; but as it was a rainy morning, it was appointed to be preached in St. Mary's church, whither the Archbishop was brought by the Mayor and Aldermen, accompanied by Lord Williams, and the other persons of distinction who had been appointed to attend his execution. It does not appear that they gave him any in-formation of what they were about to do, even when they brought him out of prison ( o ): they seem only to have intimated to him, that he was to go to St. Mary's church, to confess there openly what he had before privately subscribed. However this be, he had privately drawn up a declaration of his faith, which he carried with him to the church.

When he came there, he was led to a place that was raised on purpose opposite the pulpit, in order that he might be the more conspicuous. When he had ascended it, he knelt down and prayed, shedding many tears. After which Cole began his fermon, in which he expatiated on the mercy and justice of Gop, which he faid were equally essential attributes of the DEITY: he applied this to Princes, who were, he faid, Gods on earth, who must be just, as well as merciful; and therefore they had appointed Cranmer to suffer that day; as it was he who had disfolved the marriage between the Queen's father and mother, had fet afide the Pope's authority, and been the author of all the Herefies in England. He afterwards addressed himself to the Archbishop, and magnified his conversion, which he said was

( n ) Vid. Hift. of the Reformation,

Vol. II. P. 323, 334.

(6) Fox tells us, that Dr. Cole paid him a fecond vifit in prifon the morning of his execution; and after exhorting him to constancy, asked if he had any money, and the Arch-

bishop answering in the negative, Cole gave him fifteen crowns to give to the poor, and then departed, but without giving him any information of his approaching death.-Acts and Monuments, Vol. III. P. 677, Edit. 1641. See also Strype, P. 383.

caused by the immediate hand of GOD. And he gave him great hopes of his salvation, and assured him there should be dirges and masses said for his soul, in all the churches in Oxford.

During the whole time that Cole was in his fermon, the Archbishop frequently lifted up his eyes to Heaven, and then cast them downward, like one ashamed of himself, whilst his tears slowed in great abundance. At length Cole bid him declare his faith; upon which he knelt down, and prayed with great fervency. He then rose up, and addressed himself to the people; exhorting them not to let their hearts on the things of the world; to obey the King and Queen from a principle of conscience to Goo; to live in mutual love; to avoid covetousness; and to relieve the poor according to their abundance. He then proceeded to a declaration of his faith; and began with repeating the Apostles Creed; adding, that " he believed every article of the Catho-" lic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour " JESUS CHRIST, his Apostles and Prophets, in the Old and "New Testament." "And now (said he) I come to the great "thing, that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life." This, he said, was figning a recantation, contrary to the truth, and against his conscience, being influenced by the fear of death, and the love of life. He added, that as his hand had offended in writing contrary to his heart, his hand should first be punished; and, when he came to the fire, should be first committed to the slames. He rejected the Pope as CHRIST's enemy, and Anti-Christ, and renounced all his false doctrine: and said that he had the same belief concerning the Sacrament, as he had published in his book against the Bishop of Winchester.

This declaration of the Archbishop's threw the whole Assembly into disorder. It surprized all the auditors, and filled the zealous Papists with rage and resentment. They called out to him, not to dissemble any more. He replied, with the tears trickling down his cheeks, that he had ever been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity; and till the unhappy time of his subscribing a recantation, he had never dissembled in his whole life. He was proceeding to speak further, but the Papists interrupted him by their clamours, and Dr. Cole cried out from the pulpit, 'Stop the Heretic's mouth, and take him away." Upon which they pulled him down with violence from the place on which he stood, and led him away immediately to the stake, which was in the same place where Latimer and Ridley had

been burnt about five months before.

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His countenance appeared chearful when they led him to the place of execution; and when he arrived there, he first prayed, and then pulled off his clothes; and standing in his shirt, and without shoes, was fastened with a chain to the stake. A Batchelor of divinity, whose name was Ely, laboured much to make Vol. II. 7.

him confirm his former recantation, as did also two Spanish Friars. But all their endeavours were in vain; for he persisted in declaring, that he died in the same opinions which he had long taught, and most fincerely and heartily repented his recantation. Upon which the Friars said in Latin one to another, "Let us go from him; we ought not to be nigh him; for the Devil is with him." When the sire was kindled, he stretched out his right hand into the slame, and held it there unmoved (except that once he wiped his sace with it) till it was consumed; crying with a loud voice, "This hand hath offended;" and often repeating, "This unworthy right hand." At last, the sire reaching his body, he in a short time expired, never stirring or crying out all the time, only sometimes repeating, "Lord

" JESUS, receive my spirit ( p )."

Thus died, in the fixty-feventh year of his age, THOMAS CRANMER, Archbishop of Canterbury.——He was a Prelate of considerable abilities, and of great learning. His chief study was Divinity, but he was well skilled in the Civil and Canon Laws. He was of an open and generous temper, of great probity, candour, and sincerity, and remarkable for the mildness and sweetness of his manners. He was sincerely pious, and his private life was regular, and unblameable. He was not soon heated, or subject to passion; nor apt to give his opinion hastily, of persons, or of things. He was ever ready to forgive, and to be reconciled to his enemies; and this placable and Christian temper appeared not in words only; but he demonstrated it, in the best manner, by his actions; by his readiness to serve, or to confer benefits on, those who had done him the greatest injuries. He was benevolent and charitable, affable and humble; laboriously studious, and a generous patron of learning, and of learned men. In a word, he was a wise, a great, and a good man; though not without some mixture of human weakness and infirmity (q).

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(p) A Roman Catholic, who was prefent at the Archbishop's death, and wrote an account of it in a letter to one of his friends, which is preferved by Mr. Strype, (Memorials, P. 384--389.) expresses himself thus. "His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been taken either for the glory of GoD, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, and subversion of true religion, I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the same of any Father of antient time."

It was faid, that the Archbishop's heart was not consumed in the fire, but was found entire and unhurt

(q) Mr. Thomas Philips, in that laboured and artful defence of Popery, published under the title of The History of the Life of Regiindle Pole," hath traduced and vilified the character of Archbishop Cranmer in the most gross and injurious manner, without any regard to truth, candour, or decency. But the impotent and malevolent attacks of this advocate of superstition, bigotry, and slavery, against our venerable Primate, have been well and judiciously answered by the learned Dr. Neve,

When he was not employed in any public or important business, he generally studied three parts of the day; and he extracted from most of the authors he read, whatever was remarkable, digesting those quotations into common places. His library was a very large and valuable one, and men of learning were readily admitted to make use of it. He patronized many learned foreigners; particularly, Peter Martyr, Paul Fagius, Martin Bucer, and John Sleidan, the Historian. He had a very extensive foreign correspondence; and among his correspondents were Melancthon, Ofiander, and Calvin. He allowed Erasmus an honorary pension; and that great man, in one of his epistles, speaking of our Archbishop, says, that he was " a man of the greatest integrity, and of the most unblameable manners. "Who of his own accord promised (says he) that in favour and " kindness towards me, he would be no way behind his prede-" ceffor. And that which he voluntarily promised, he hath vo-" luntarily begun to make good. So that methinks Warham " is not taken away from me, but rather restored to me again in " Cranmer."

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He was very kind to his fervants and dependents, and extremely hospitable and generous to the poor. Bishop Burnet says, that Cranmer "laid out all his wealth on the poor, and pious uses: he had hospitals and surgeons in his house for the King's sea- men; he gave pensions to many of those that sled out of Germany into England; and kept up that which is hospitality indeed at his table, where great numbers of the honest and poor neighbours were always invited, instead of the lux- ury and extravagance of great entertainments, which the vanity and excess of the age we live in, has honoured with the name of Hospitality."

The Archbishop's second wise, whom he married in Germany, survived him some years; and had for her subsistence the revenues of an Abbey in Nottinghamshire, which King Henry, at the motion of Dr. Butts, without the knowledge of the Archbishop, had settled upon him, and his heirs. It appears that he had children by her, some of whom survived him, but how many, is uncertain.——The works of Archbishop Cranmer which have been printed, are as follows:

I. Three Discourses occasioned by his review of the King's book, intitled, The Erudition of a Christian man. Published in Strype's Appendix to his Memorials of the Archbishop.

II. Other Discourses. Published also in Strype.

III. Answer to the fifteen articles of the Devonshire rebels, in 1549. In Strype.

IV. A Catechism, intitled, A short Instruction to Christian Religion, for the singular profit of children and young people.

V. A Treatise against Unwritten Verities.

VI. A Desence of the true and Catholic Doctrine of the Saerament of the Body and Blood of our Saviour CHRIST; 2 O 2 with with a confutation of fundry errors concerning the fame: grounded and established upon GOD's holy word, and approved by the consent of the most antient Doctors of the Church. This was translated into Latin by John Young.

VII. An answer to a treatise written by Gardiner against the preceding book. This was translated into Latin by Sir John

Cheke.

VIII. Preface to the English translation of the Bible.

IX. Some Queries in order to the correcting of several abuses. Published by Burnet, Addenda to the first Volume of the Hist. of Reform. P. 316.

X. Confiderations offered to the King, to induce him to pro-

ceed to a further Reformation. Published also in Burnet.

With feveral letters, and other small pieces, published by Fox,

Strype, and Burnet.

There are also still remaining in manuscript, two large Volumes of Collections made by the Archbishop out of the Scriptures, and the Fathers, and later Doctors and Schoolmen. They are chiefly upon the points controverted between the Protestants and the Church of Rome. The first Volume contains 545 pages, and the second 560. The Lord Burghley had fix or seven Volumes more of his writing. Bishop Burnet mentions two other Volumes which he had seen, but they are now supposed to be lost. And that Prelate observes, that Cranmer took great pains in collecting the sense of antient writers, upon all the heads of Religion, by which he might be well directed in such an important affair as that of the Reformation.



## The Life of Cardinal DAVID BEATON, Archbishop of St. Andrew's.

AVID BEATON was descended from an antient family in the shire of Fife, in Scotland, and born in the year 1494. He was fon to John Beaton, Laird of Balfour, and was educated at the University of St. Andrew's; where he went through a course of studies in polite literature and Philosophy. He discovered very good parts, and applied himself closely to the acquisition of learning; which induced his uncle, James Beaton, then Archbishop of Glasgow, and afterwards of St. Andrew's (r), to fend him to the Univerfity of Paris, to complete his education. He there perfected himself in the knowledge of the Civil and Canon Laws, and also applied himself diligently to the study of Divinity, in order to qualify himself for the service of the Church; and when he had attained to a proper age, entered into holy orders. He made a confiderable stay in France; but that was no way prejudicial to his preferment, but the contrary; for it gave him an early opportunity of entering into the fervice, and obtaining the favour, of John, Duke of Albany, whom the States of Scotland had made Regent, during the minority of King James V. but who was then in France. He was undoubtedly the more readily patronized by the Duke of Albany, on account of his near relation to Archbishop Beaton, who had joined that Nobleman's party in opposition to that of the Earl of Angus. Accordingly, Albany employed David Beaton in feveral affairs of confequence, which he transacted with so much diligence and capacity, that upon the death of Secretary Pantar, he was appointed in his stead Resident at the Court of France, in the year 1519. About the same time his uncle, the Archbishop, bestowed upon him the Rectory of Campfay, though he was only in Deacon's orders; fo that he had a benefice in the church, and was a Minister of State, at the age of twenty-five (!).

In 1523, his uncle being removed from the Archbishopric of Glasgow to that of St. Andrew's, resigned the Abbacy of Aberbrothock,

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Vol. II. P. 575. General Dictionary, Vol. III. P. 89, 90. Biographical Dictionary, Vol. II. P. 78.

<sup>(</sup>r) See the Life of that Prelate in the first Volume of our Work, P. 408.

<sup>(1)</sup> Vid. Biographia Britannica,

brothock, or Arbroath, in his favour. And in 1525, he returned to Scotland, and took his feat in Parliament as Abbot of Arbroath. He foon ingratiated himself very much into the favour of the young King, James V. and in 1528, he was made Lord Privy Seal; and from this time he is supposed to have taken the lead in

the Royal Councils.

In 1533, he was fent again to France, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Erskine, to confirm the leagues substituting between the two kingdoms, and to negociate a treaty of marriage between the Scottish King, and the Princess Magdalen, daughter to the French Monarch: but the Princess being at this time in a bad state of health, the marriage did not take effect. However, Beaton still continued at the French Court, being employed there in some other negociations of a secret nature, and was much caressed by the French Monarch. And the Scottish King going over into France in person, was espoused to the Princess Magdalen on the

first of January, 1537.

Beaton returned to Scotland with James and his new Queen, on the 29th of May; but the Queen dying in the July following, he was again fent over to France, in conjunction with Robert Maxwell, to negociate a fecond marriage for the King with the Lady Mary, daughter to the Duke of Guife, and widow of the Duke de Longueville. And the French King, Francis I. took great pains, during the time of Beaton's stay in France on account of this Embassy, to strengthen his attachment to the French interest. And, with this view, he made him a grant, in November, 1537, by which he was allowed to hold benefices, and acquire lands, as a native of France; and in the same year he bestowed upon him the Bishopric of Mirepoix, the revenue of which was ten thousand livres per annum.

Every thing relative to the marriage which Beaton was employed to negociate being at length adjusted, he embarked with the new Queen for Scotland, in June, 1538; where, after great hazard of being taken by the English, they safely arrived; and, in the month of July, the Royal nuptials were celebrated at St.

Andrew's.

The influence of David Beaton at Court was now very confiderable; and he was also appointed co-adjutor to his uncle in the Archbishopric of St. Andrew's. And as the Archbishop was now aged and sickly, he left the chief management of Ecclesiastical affairs to his nephew, who was very active in the persecution which was about this time carried on against the Protestants in Scotland (t). The progress which the Reformation had made in England, had alarmed the Scottish Clergy; and they were determined to exert themselves to the utmost to prevent the growth of Heresy. And no man among them was more ready

to employ, in the defence of Popery, those admirable and convincing arguments, Fire and Faggot, than David Beaton.

As his attachment to the Roman See, and his zeal against Herefy, were well known, it was thought that it would be of great advantage to the Catholic religion in Scotland, that so able and active a man should be invested, in the present perilous situation of the Church, with a considerable share of power and dignity. England was now lost to the Holy See: there was, therefore, the more reason to take care of Scotland. Accordingly David Beaton was now honoured with the purple, by Pope Paul III. being raised to the dignity of Cardinal, by the title of St. Stephen in Monte Cœlio, on the twentieth of December, 1538.

A few months after, his uncle the Archbishop died, upon which the Cardinal succeeded to the Archbishopric of St. Andrew's, and the Primacy of Scotland. Soon after which, the King of England, Henry VIII. endeavoured, by means of his Ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, to prejudice the Scottish King against the Cardinal, by representing, that he patronized traitors, corresponded with the Court of Rome in a clandestine manner, and laboured to engross into his own hands, both the spiritual and temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom (u). But these representations of the English Monarch produced no effect to the disadvantage of Beaton.

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About this time, the Cardinal affembled a great number of persons of the first rank, both Clergy and Laity, in the cathedral of St. Andrew, himself and his attendants making an appearance uncommonly splendid; and he there made a speech, wherein he represented, how much the Catholic faith was infulted, and the danger in which the Church was by the increase of Heretics, who had the boldness to profess their opinions, even in the King's Court; where, faid he, they find but too much countenance; and he mentioned by name Sir John Borthwick, whom he had cited to appear in that Assembly, to answer for his dispersing heretical books, and holding heretical opinions. articles of accusation were then read against him; and Sir John appearing neither in person, nor by proxy, was declared an Heretic, and his goods confiscated. Sir John, in the mean time, found means to escape into England, where he was kindly received by King Henry, who fent him into Germany, to conclude a treaty in his name with the Protestant Princes of the Empire. Cardinal Beaton could, therefore, proceed no further against Borthwick; but was forced to content himself with burning him in effigy.

He proceeded, however, against some others more effectually; for about the end of February, 1539, five Heretics were committed to the flames, and nine recanted; but some made their escape out of prison, among whom was the celebrated George

Buchanan.

Buchanan. And it cannot be faid to what lengths the furious Cardinal might afterwards have proceeded in this bloody bufiness, as the whole was left to his management, if the King's death had not put a stop to his proceedings; for it is faid that he had presented to the King a list of three hundred and fixty perfons, as suspected of Heresy, many of whom were of the prime

Nobility, and most considerable persons in the kingdom.

On the death of King James V. the kingdom of Scotland was in great confusion. For that Prince left no successor but a daughter, named Mary, who was afterwards fo famous for her beauty and her misfortunes, and who was born but a few days before the decease of her father; and no Regency had been appointed during her minority. However, Cardinal Beaton, who had long been confidered as Prime Minister, claimed the office and dignity of Regent; and, in support of his pretensions, he produced a testament, which he himself had forged in the name of the late King; and, without any other right, inflantly affumed the title of Regent (w). He hoped, by the affistance of the Clergy, the countenance of France, the connivance of the Queen Dowager, and the support of the whole Popish faction, to hold by force what he had feized on by fraud. But the Cardinal had enjoyed power too long, and had exercised it with too little moderation, to be a favourite of the nation. The public voice was against him, the pretended will was set aside, and the Earl of Arran was declared fole Regent of the kingdom, during the minority of the Queen. And Beaton was not only mortified by being thus excluded from the Government, but he was also seized, and fent prisoner to the castle of Blackness.

The new Regent Arran had scarce taken possession of his dignity, when a negociation was opened with England, which gave birth to events which were of fatal consequence to himself, and to the kingdom of Scotland, but which contributed to restore Cardinal Beaton once more to power and influence. After the death of James V. King Henry VIII. was no longer apprehensive of any interruption from Scotland to his designs against France; and he immediately conceived hopes of rendering this fecurity perpetual, by the marriage of his only fon Edward with the young Queen of Scots. He communicated his intention to the Scottish Noblemen who were prisoners in England, and prevailed on them to favour it by the promise of liberty, as the reward of their fuccess. In the mean time, he permitted them to return into Scotland, that, by their presence in the Parliament which the Regent had called, they might be the better able to persuade their countrymen to fall in with his proposals. And Henry's defign, being supported by such able and zealous advocates, feemed to bid fair for an happy iffue : for all those who feared or hated

<sup>(</sup> w ) Dr. Robertson's History of Scotland, Vol. I. P. 96, 8vo, Edit, 1761. Buchan. Hift, lib. 15.

hated Cardinal Beaton, or who favoured the Reformation, were fond of an alliance, which afforded protection to the doctrine which they had embraced, as well as to their own persons, against the rage of that powerful and haughty Prelate (x).

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But Henry's impolitic management of this negociation, prevented him from reaping the advantages of this favourable conjuncture. The defigns he had formed upon Scotland were obvious from the marriage which he had proposed, and he had not dexterity enough to disguise or conceal them. Instead of cautiously avoiding whatever might excite the fear or jealously of the Scots, he at once alarmed and irritated the whole nation, by demanding that the Queen's person should be immediately committed to his custody, and that the government of the kingdom should be put into his hands during her minority. These proposals of Henry's were therefore immediately rejected by the Scots, and they were exceedingly exasperated at him for making them; as conditions more ignominious could scarcely have been prescribed to a conquered people. However, the Scottish Parliament, being influenced by the Nobles who had returned from England, and desirous of a peace with that kingdom, consented to a treaty of marriage and union, but upon a more equal footing. And after some dark and unsuccessful intrigues, by which his Ambassador endeavoured to carry off the young Queen and Cardinal Beaton into England, Henry was obliged to give up his own proposals, and to accept of their's. On his side, he confented that the Queen should continue to reside in Scotland, and himself remain excluded from any share in the government of the kingdom. On the other hand, the Scots agreed to fend their Sovereign into England, as foon as she attained the full age of ten years, and instantly to deliver fix persons, of the first rank, to be kept as hostages by Henry, till the Queen's arrival at his Court. But the terms of this treaty, though much more honourable to the Scots than those at first proposed by Henry, were still so manifestly advantageous to England, that the Earl of Arran became not a little unpopular by confenting to it (y).

In the mean time, Cardinal Beaton had found means to get out of his confinement, by offering the Lord Seaton, in whose custody he was, a considerable gratification, and his constant friendship, if he would permit him to go to St. Andrew's, which Seaton accordingly agreed to. And the Cardinal having thus regained his liberty, was well pleased with the opportunity which was given him, by the late unpopular measure in which the Regent had been concerned, of recovering his former credit and influence; and he did not fail to improve this circumstance to the utmost. He had ever been strongly attached to the interest of France, and of course an enemy to that of England, and was Vol. II. 7.

<sup>(</sup>x) Vid. Robertson's History, as before, Vol. I. P. 98, 99; (y) Robertson's History, Vol. I. P. 100.

still more violently averse to all connections with the latter kingdom, fince it had withdrawn its obedience to the Holy See, and become so remarkably the seat of Heresy. He complained loudly, that the Regent had betrayed the kingdom to its most inveterate enemies, and facrificed its honour to his own ambition. He foretold the extinction of the true Catholic religion, under the tyranny of that excommunicated Heretic, the King of England; but, above all, he lamented to see an antient king-dom consenting to its own slavery, and descending into the ignominious station of a dependent Province; and, in one hour, the weakness or treachery of a single man surrendering every thing for which the Scottish nation had struggled and fought during so many ages. These remonstrances of Beaton had the greatest effect upon the Scots, animated as they were by the love of independence, jealousy of national honour, and hatred to the English, as the antient enemies of their country. In short, the rage of the people rose to such an height, that the English Ambassador could hardly be protected from their infults. The Clergy contributed a great fum towards preserving the Church from the dominion of a Prince, whose system of Reformation was so fatal to their power. And the Nobility, notwithstanding the share which they had lately had in disgracing the Cardinal, were now ready to applaud and to fecond him, as the defender of the

now ready to applaud and to fecond him, as the defender of the honour and liberty of his country.

Accordingly the Earls of Argyle, Huntley, Bothwell, and other powerful Noblemen, declared openly against the alliance

with England. By their affiftance the Cardinal feized on the persons of the young Queen and her mother, and added to his party the splendor and authority of the Royal name. He received, at the same time, a more real accession to his strength, by the arrival of Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, a Nobleman who had some pretentions to the Throne, in case of the death of the Queen without iffue, who was an enemy to the Regent, and whose return from France Beaton had earnestly solicited. The Cardinal flattered Lennox's vanity, with the prospect of marrying the Queen Dowager, and affected to treat him with so much respect, that the Regent became jealous of him as a rival in power. This suspicion was artfully heightened by John Hamilton, Abbot of Paisly, who returned into Scotland some time before the Earl of Lennox, and acted in concert with the Cardinal. He was a natural brother of the Regent, with whom he had great credit; a warm partizan of France, and a zealous defender of Popery. He endeavoured to bring about a change in the fentiments of the Regent, and to induce him to join with the Cardinal, and to favour his views, by working upon his fears, and representing to him the desertion of the Nobility, the disaffection of the Clergy, the rage of the people, the refentment of France, the pretentions of Lennox, and the great power of Beaton. In the mean time, the day appointed for the ratification of the treaty with England, and the delivery of the hostages, approached; but the Regent was still undetermined in his own mind. He acted to the last (fays the ingenious Dr. Robertson) with that irrefolution and inconfistence, which is peculiar to weak men, when they are so unfortunate as to have the chief part in the conduct of difficult affairs. On the 25th of August, he ratified the treaty with Henry, and proclaimed the Cardinal, who still continued to oppose it, an enemy to his country. On the 3d of September, he fecretly withdrew from Edinburgh, met with the Cardinal at Callendar, renounced the friendship of England, and declared for the interests of France.

Soon after this sudden revolution in the Earl of Arran's political principles, he also changed his sentiments concerning religion. He had hitherto favoured the reformed opinions: in his first Parliament he had consented to an act, by which the Laity were permitted to read the Scriptures in a language which they understood; and, under his countenance and protection, the Reformation had made great advances in Scotland. But being now connected with the Cardinal, the latter endeavoured to convince the Regent that it was exceedingly against his interests to favour the reformed opinions; and he at length so far prevailed with the Earl, that he publicly abjured the doctrine of the Re-

formers in the Franciscan church at Stirling (z). As the Cardinal had now regained his former power and influence, it was naturally to be expected from his character, that he should take some vigorous steps to stop the progress of Herely. Accordingly we find that towards the close of the year he went in a pompous manner to visit his Diocese, attended by the Regent, the Earl of Argyle, the Bishops of Dumblain and Orkney, and other persons of distinction. When he came to Perth, several persons were there tried before him for Herefy, being indicted particularly for breaking an act of Parliament, by which the people were forbidden to argue or dispute concerning the sense of the Holy Scriptures. They were quickly found guilty, and the following persons were condemned to die, namely, William Anderson, Robert Lamb, James Ronald, James Hunter, James Finlayson, and Helen Stark, his wife. Great in-2 P 2 intercession

(z) The ingenious Historian before referred to, whose excellent history we have chiefly followed in the account of the above transactions, observes, that the Protestant doctrine did not fuffer much by the apostacy of the Regent. " It had already (fays he) taken so deep root in the kingdom, that no discouragement or feverity could extirpate it. The Renecessary for the preservation of the Vol. I. P. 106,

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established religion. The Reformers were perfecuted with all the cruelty which superstition inspires into a barbarous people. Many were condemned to that dreadful death which the Church has appointed for the punishment of its enemies; but they fuffered with a spirit so nearly refembling the patience and fortitude of the primitive Martyrs, that more gent indeed confented to every thing were converted, than terrified by that the zeal of the Cardinal thought such spectacles." Robertson's Hist. tercession was made to procure a pardon for these people; but Herefy was not a crime to be eafily pardoned: the men, therefore, were hanged, and the woman was drowned (a). Sir Henry Elder, Walter Piper, Laurence Pullar, with some other Burgesses, were banished; and the Lord Ruthven, Provost of the town, was removed from his office, as a favourer of the Reformers. And, according to Knox, the Cardinal caused John Rogers, a black Friar, who had preached the reformed doctrines in Angus

and Mearns, to be murdered in prison at St. Andrew's.

Cardinal Beaton was now in possession of every thing his ambition could defire; he was High Chancellor of Scotland; had been appointed by the Pope Legate a Latere; and exercised all the authority of a Regent, without the envy of the name. He had nothing to fear from the Earl of Arran; who having forfeited the public esteem by his inconstancy, was despised by one half of the nation, and little trusted by the other. Nothing remained to embarrass the Cardinal, but the pretensions of the Earl of Lennox. He had very successfully made use of that Nobleman to work upon the Regent's jealousy and sear; but as he no longer flood in need of fuch an inftrument, he was willing to get rid of him as decently as he could. Lennox foon began to suspect his intention; promises, flattery, and expresfions of respect, were the only returns he had hitherto received for substantial services; but at last the Cardinal's artifices could be no longer concealed; and Lennox, instead of attaining power and dignity himself, saw that he had been employed only to procure these for another. Resentment, and disappointed ambition, therefore, pushed him on to seek revenge on that artful Prelate, who, by facrificing his interest, had so ungenerously purchased the Earl of Arran's friendship. Accordingly he withdrew from Court, and declared for the party at enmity with the Cardinal, by whom he was received with open arms.

The impatience for revenge with which Lennox was actuated, got the start of the Cardinal's activity. The Earl surprized both Beaton and the Regent, by a sudden march to Edinburgh with a numerous army; and might easily have crushed them, before they could prepare for their defence. But he was weak enough to listen to proposals for an accommodation; and the Cardinal amused him so artfully, and spun out the treaty to such

a length,

persons were put to death at Perth, the Cardinal and his party " applied novelty of the title, did contend, that themselves to the overthrow of all book was lately written by Martin the Reformed universally. They Luther, and therefore they defired themselves to the overthrow of all went to Dundee; and, as themselves only the OLD." Hist. Lib. 15. gave out, it was to punish such as

(a) Vid. General Dictionary, Bio-graph. Britan. and Acts and Monu-ments, Vol. II. 614, 615.

Buchanan fays, that after the above blindness of those times, that some of the Priests, being offended at the a length, that the greater part of the Earl's troops deferted him; and in concluding a peace, instead of giving the law, he was obliged to receive it. A second attempt to relieve his affairs ended yet more unfortunately. One body of his troops was cut to pieces, and the rest dispersed; and with the poor remains of a ruined party, he must either have submitted to the conqueror, or have fled out of the kingdom, if the approach of an English

army had not brought him a short relief ( b).

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Henry VIII. was not of a temper to bear tamely the indignity with which he had been treated by the Regent and Parliament of Scotland, who had not only renounced their alliance with him, but entered into a new and stricter confederacy with France. The execution of his vengeance had, however, been for some time retarded; but at length a confiderable body of infantry, which had been destined for France, received orders to fail for Scotland, and a proper number of cavalry was appointed to join it by land. The Regent and Cardinal little expected fuch a They had trufted that the French war would find employment for all Henry's forces, and were therefore wholly unprovided for the defence of the kingdom. The Earl of Hertford commanded the English army, and landed it, without op-position, a few miles above Leith. He quickly made himself master of that place; and marching directly to Edinburgh, entered it with the fame ease. After plundering the adjacent country, which was the richest and most open in Scotland, he set on fire both those towns; but upon the approach of some troops gathered together by the Regent, he put his booty on board the fleet, and with his land forces retired safely to the English borders. If Henry had the marriage which had been projected still in view, he lost a great deal by this expedition. Such a rough courtship, as the Earl of Huntley humorously called it, disgusted the whole nation; their aversion to the match grew into abhorrence; and the Scots were now fo much exasperated, that they were never, at any period, more attached to France, or more alienated from England. The Earl of Lennox, however, in spite to the Regent, the Cardinal, and the French King, still continued a correspondence with England; but this ruined his own interest, without promoting that of Henry. Many of his own vassals refused to concur in any design to favour the English; and after a few weak and unsuccessful attempts to disturb the Regent's Administration, he was obliged to fly for safety to the Court of England, where he was kindly received by Henry, who gave him in marriage his niece the Lady Margaret Douglas, daughter to the Queen Dowager of James IV. by the Earl of Angus, her fecond husband (c).

<sup>(</sup>b) Vid. Robertson's Hist. Vol. I. fore, Vol. I. P. 108, 109. Dr. Robertson observes, that this unhappy
c) Vid. Hist. of Scotland, as be-exile, the Earl of Lennox, was, how-

In the beginning of the year 1546, Cardinal Beaton fum-moned a provincial affembly of the Clergy at the Black Friars in Edinburgh, in order to concert measures for restraining Herefy. How far they proceeded, or what was agreed upon, does not appear; however, it is certain that the Cardinal was now very active in bringing to the stake one of the most eminent perfons of the Protestant party. This was Mr. George Wishart, a man of honourable birth, and of exemplary manners, who had greatly distinguished himself by preaching with much eloquence and zeal against Popery. He had received part of his education in the University of Cambridge, and was ordained in The Cardinal received information, that Mr. Wishart was at the house of Mr. Cockburn, of Ormiston, in East Lothain. Upon this he immediately applied to the Regent, to cause him to be apprehended; with which, after great per-fuasion, and much against his will, he complied. And the Cardinal himself went in person, with the Earl of Bothwell, who was Sheriff of the county, to see Wishart apprehended; and when this was done, he was first carried to the house of Elphinston, where the Cardinal then was, then to the castle of Edinburgh, and from thence was removed to the castle of St. An-

As foon as the Cardinal had got him here, he refolved to proceed immediately to his trial, and for that purpose affembled the Prelates at St. Andrew's on the 27th of February. At this meeting the Archbishop of Glasgow gave it as his opinion, that application should be made to the Regent, to grant a commisfion to some Nobleman to try the prisoner, that all the odium of putting fo popular a man to death, might not lie upon the Clergy. To this the Cardinal agreed; but upon fending to the Regent for this purpose, he received the following answer:
"That he would do well not to precipitate this man's trial, but " delay it until his coming; for as to himself, he would not " confent to his death before the cause was very well examined; " and if the Cardinal should do otherwise, he would make pro-" testation, that the blood of this man should be required at his hands." The Cardinal was extremely chagrined at this mesfage from the Regent; however, he determined to proceed in the bloody business he had undertaken; and therefore sent the Regent word, " That he had not written to him about this mat-" ter, as supposing himself to be any way dependent upon his authority, but from a defire that the profecution and convic-tion of Heretics might have a shew of public consent; which,

ever, "destined to be the father of a race of Kings. He saw his son, held the scepter in two kingdoms; by one of which he was cast out as a criminal, and by the other received as a sugitive." now triumphed in his ruin. And,

in fince he could not this way obtain, he would proceed in that way which to him appeared the most proper." Accordingly he proceeded to try Mr. Wishart upon eighteen articles, though he appealed, as being the Regent's prisoner, to a temporal Judicatory; and condemning him as an obstinate Heretic, caused him to be burnt at St. Andrew's on the second of March, forbidding all persons to pray for him, under pain of incurring the

feverest censures of the Church.

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The circumstances of Wishart's death are related in the following manner by Buchanan. "Two executioners (fays he) " were fent to him by the Cardinal, one of whom put a black " linen shirt upon him, and the other bound many little bags of " gunpowder to all the parts of his body. In this drefs they " brought him forth, and commanded him to flay in the Go-" vernor's outer-chamber, and at the fame time they erected a " wooden scaffold in the court before the castle, and made up a " pile of wood. The windows and balconies over-against it-" were all hung with tapestry and filk hangings, with cushions " for the Cardinal and his train, to behold and take pleasure in " the joyful fight, even the torture of an innocent man. Thus " courting the favour of the people, as the author of so notable " a deed. There was also a great guard of soldiers, not so " much to fecure the execution, as for a vain oftentation of " power: and besides, brass guns were placed up and down in " all convenient places of the castle. Thus, while the trum-pets founded, George was brought forth, mounted the scaf-" fold, and was fastened with a cord to the stake; and having " scarce obtained liberty to pray for the Church of GOD, the " executioners fired the wood, which immediately taking hold " of the powder that was tied about him, blew it up into flame " and smoke. The Governor of the castle, who stood so near " that he was finged with the flame, exhorted him in a few " words to be of good cheer, and to ask pardon of GOD for his " offences. To whom he replied, This flame occcasions trou-" ble to my body indeed, but it hath in no wife broken my " fpirit. But he who now so proudly looks down upon me " from yonder lofty place (pointing to the Cardinal), shall e're " long be as ignominiously thrown down, as now he proudly " lolls at his ease. Having thus spoken, they straitened the " rope which was tied about his neck, and so strangled him, his " body in a few hours being consumed to ashes in the stame." The prediction of Wishart, concerning Cardinal Beaton,

which is above related by Buchanan, is also related by Archbishop Spotswood, and others; but it has been doubted by some later writers, whether Wishart really made any such prediction. However this be, it is certain that the death of Wishart did in the end prove fatal to the Cardinal himself. "Cardinal Beaton (says Dr. Robertson) had not used his power with moderation, equal to the prudence by which he attained it.

" Notwithstanding

"Notwithstanding his great abilities, he had too many of the passions and prejudices of an angry leader of a faction, to govern a divided people with temper. His resentment against one part of the Nobility, his insolence towards the rest, his severity to the Resormers, and, above all, the barbarous and illegal execution of the famous George Wishart, a man of ho-

" nourable birth, and of primitive fanctity, wore out the patience of a fierce age; and nothing but a bold hand was wanting, to gratify the public wish by his destruction."

Soon after the death of Mr. Wishart, the Cardinal went to Finhaven, the seat of the Earl of Crawford, to solemnize a marriage between the eldest son of that Nobleman, and his own natural daughter Margaret. Whilst he was thus employed, he received intelligence that an English squadron was upon the coast, and that consequently an invasion was to be feared. Upon this he immediately returned to St. Andrew's, and appointed a day for the Nobility and Gentry to meet, and consult what was proper to be done on this occasion. But as no farther news was heard of the English sleet, their apprehensions of an invasion foon subsided.

In the mean time Norman Lesley, eldest son of the Earl of Rothes, who had been treated by the Cardinal with injustice and contempt, formed a defign, in conjunction with his uncle John Lefley, who hated Beaton, and others who were inflamed against him on account of his perfecution of the Protestants, the death of Wishart, and other causes, to affassinate the Prelate, though he now refided in the castle of St. Andrew's, which he was fortifying at great expence, and had, in the opinion of that age, already rendered it almost impregnable. The Cardinal's retinue was numerous, the town was at his devotion, and the neighbouring country full of his dependents. However, the conspirators, who were in number only 16, having concerted their plan, met together early in the morning, on Saturday the 29th of May. The first thing they did, was to seize the porter of the castle, from whom they took the keys, and fecured the gate. They then fent four of their party to watch the Cardinal's chamber, that he might have no notice given him of what was doing; after which, they went and called up the fervants and attendants, to whom they were well known, and turned them, to the number of fifty, out of the gate, as they did also upwards of an hundred workmen, who were employed in the fortifications and buildings of the castle; but the eldest son of the Regent, who lodged also in the castle (d), they kept for their own fecurity. All this was done with fo little noise, that the Cardinal was not waked till they knocked at his chamber door; upon which he cried out, "Who

<sup>(</sup>d) It is faid, by the author of a fupplement to Dempster's history, that the Cardinal was so jealous of the Regent, that he kept his eldest

" is there?" John Lefley answered, " My name is Lefley." " Which Lefley?" replied the Cardinal; " Is it Norman?" It was answered, that he must open the door to those who were there; but instead of this, he barricadoed the door in the best manner he could. However, finding that they had brought fire in order to force their way, and they having, as it is faid by fome, made him a promise of his life, he opened the door. They immediately entered with their fwords drawn, and John Lefley fmote him twice or thrice, as did also Peter Carwichael; but James Melvil, as Mr. Knox relates the affair, perceiving them to be in choler, faid, " This work, and judgment of " GOD, although it be fecret, ought to be done with greater " gravity :" and prefenting the point of his fword to the Cardinal, faid to him, " Repent thee of thy wicked life, but especially " of the shedding of the blood of that notable instrument of " GOD, Mr. George Wishart, which albeit the flame of fire " confumed before men, yet cries it for vengeance upon thee; " and we from GOD are fent to revenge it. For here, before " my GOD, I protest, that neither the hatred of thy person, the " love of thy riches, nor the fear of any trouble thou couldft " have done to me in particular, moved or moveth me to firike " thee; but only because thou hast been, and remainest, an ob-" ftinate enemy of CHRIST JESUS, and his holy Gospel." Having said this, he with his sword run the Cardinal twice or thrice through the body; who only faid, " I am a Priest! Fie! " se! all is gone!" and then expired, being about fifty-two years of age ( ). 2 Q Vol. II. 7. Thus

(e) The Prefident De Thou gives the following account of the affaffi-nation of Beaton. " Norman Lefley came to St. Andrew's, attended with only five persons, that he might give no umbrage, having fent before him ten others of his accomplices, who were difposed in several places. The Cardinal was fo intent upon fortifying the castle, that the work went forward by night as well as by day. Very early in the morning, when the gate was opened to let in the workmen, two men who lay in ambufcade at a neighbouring house, seized upon the porter, and, upon giving the fignal to their companions, all of them entered without tumult. Four of them were fent to guard the Cardinal's chamber door; the rest rouzed up and secured the servants, who were half asleep, and threatening them with death if they made the

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without doing them any injury. After this, returning to the Cardinal, they knocked at his door, and having told their names, and promifed to offer no violence to his person, they were let in, and immediately dispatched the trembling wretch with repeated stabs. His friends in the city, who hardly stirred themselves at the first report, beginning to call out and to run to arms in a disorderly manner, Lesley, to appease the tumult, ordered the dead body to be exposed to public view in that very window, where the Cardinal had lately with so much pleasure beheld the death of Wishart. Thus his prediction was by this event fulfilled." Hist sui Temp. Lib. iii.

Dr. Robertion observes, that those who were concerned in the affaffination of Beaton, "delivered their country, though by a most unjustifiable action, from an ambitious man,

Thus fell Cardinal Beaton, on the 29th of May, 1546. He was a man of great political abilities, but of unbounded pride and ambition. He was indefatigable in business, and managed it with great art and address. He is faid to have understood the interests of the Courts of Rome, France, and Scotland, better than any man of his time; and he was perfectly acquainted with the temper, influence, and weight of all the Nobility of his own country. By his abilities and intrigues he raised himself to the highest degree of power and influence; but insolence grew upon him from continual fuccess. It is mentioned in proof of his pride and arrogance, that he quarrelled with the Archbishop of Glasgow in that Prelate's own city, and pushed his quarrel fo far, that their men fought in the very church. He made no scruple of sowing discord among his enemies, if he could reap any advantage by it. As to his religion, Dr. Robertfon observes, that " as his own eminence was founded upon the " power of the Church of Rome, he was a zealous defender of that superstition, and for the same reason an avowed enemy to the doctrine of the Reformers: but political motives alone determined him to support the one, or to oppose the other." However, he was certainly a cruel and inhuman persecutor of all those who professed the reformed opinions. His private life was vicious; he kept, as his concubine, Mrs. Marion Ogilby, by whom he had fix children; three fons, to each of whom he gave a good estate in land; and three daughters, who were married into considerable families in Scotland.

According to Dempster, Cardinal Beaton wrote "An Account of his Negociations with the French King and the Pope;" and " A Treatife concerning St. Peter's Supremacy over the " rest of the Apostles." Some copies of his letters are said to

be preserved in the library of the French King.

Nobles, as his cruelty and cunning were the great checks to the Refor-mation." "His death (adds the fioned among his adherents; while Historian) was fatal to the Catholic religion, and to the French interest in Scotland. The same zeal for both continued among a great party in the nation, but when deprived of the genius and authority of fo skilful a

whose pride was insupportable to the leader, was of small consequence. Nothing can equal the consternation which a blow fo unexpected occathe Regent fecretly enjoyed an event, which removed out of his way a rival, who had not only eclipfed his greatness, but almost extinguished his power." Hist. of Scotland, Vol. I. P. 113.



## The Life of EDMUND BONNER, Bishop of London.

DMUND BONNER was born at Hanley in Worcestershire, and is generally said to have been the natural son of George Savage, Priest, Rector of Davenham in Cheshire (f), by Elizabeth Frodsham, who was afterwards married to Edmund Bonner, a Sawyer, who lived at Hanley. But Mr. Strype informs us, that Baron Lechmore assured him, that he could make it out beyond exception, that Bonner was begotten in lawful wedlock. However this be, in 1512, young Bonner became a student in Broadgate-Hall, in Oxford, now Pembroke-College. In 1519, he was admitted Batchelor of the Canon and Civil Laws; and about the same time he entered into holy orders, and had some employment in the Diocese of Worcester; and in 1525, he was created Doctor of the Canon Law.

It does not appear that Bonner distinguished himself much by his learning; but what chiesty recommended him, was his skill and dexterity in the management of affairs. It was this introduced him to the notice of Cardinal Wolsey, who made him his Commissary for the Faculties. He was at Cawood with the Cardinal, at the time when that Prelate was arrested for high treason (g). He had several Ecclesiastical preferments bestowed on him: he enjoyed at one and the same time the Livings of Blaydon and Cherry Burton in Yorkshire, of Ripple in Worcestershire, of East-Dereham in Norfolk, and the Prebend of Chiswick, in the cathedral of St. Paul. But he resigned the Prebend in 1539, as he did the Living of East-Dereham in 1540. He was likewise Archdeacon of Leicester, into which he was installed in 1535 (b).

After the death of Cardinal Wolfey, Dr. Bonner found means to infinuate himself into the good graces of King Henry, who appointed him to be one of his Chaplains. He also infinuated himself into the favour of Sir Thomas Cromwell, afterwards 2 Q 2 Lord

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<sup>(</sup>f) Anthony Wood informs us, one of King Henry the Seventh's that Sir George Savage, though a Council. Athenæ Oxonienses, Vol. I. Priest, had seven natural children by three women; and he himself was natural son to Sir John Savage, of (g) See P. 56. of this Volume.

(g) See P. 56. of this Volume.

(b) Vid. Biographia Britannica, and Biographical Dictionary, 8vo.

Lord Cromwell, by pretending great zeal for the reformed opinions; and was by his recommendation employed in feveral Embassies. In 1532, Sir Edward Karne was sent to Rome, to excuse King Henry from appearing there, in person, or by proxy, to answer to Queen Catherine's appeal, agreeable to the Pope's citation for that purpose. And Bishop Burnet says, that "Dr. Bonner went with him, who had expressed much zeal in the King's cause, though his great zeal was for preferment, " which by the most servile ways he always courted. He was " a forward bold man; and fince there were many threatenings to be used to the Pope and Cardinals, he was thought fittest " for the employment, but was neither learned nor dif-" creet ( i )."

The following year Dr. Bonner was fent to Pope Clement. VII. who was then at Marfeilles, to deliver King Henry's appeal to the next general Council; and the threatenings which he was ordered by the King to make on this occasion, he delivered with so much vehemence and fury, that his Holiness talked of throwing him into a cauldron of melted lead, or burning him alive. And Bonner really apprehending some danger,

very prudently made his escape.

He was likewise employed in other Embashes, to the Emperor of Germany, and to the Kings of France and Denmark. Whilst he was in France, an English traitor lurking in that kingdom, King Henry ordered his Ambassador Bonner to demand him; but the French King refused to deliver him up. Whereupon Bonner told him, that in fo doing, he acted " against GOD, " against his honour, against justice, against reason, against ho-" nefty, against friendship, against all law, against the treaties " and leagues between him and his brother the King of Eng-" land; yea, and against all together." At which the French Monarch was so nettled, that he bad Bonner write to his master from him, that "his Ambassador was a great fool; and that if it " were not for the love of his master, he should have an hundred " ftrokes with an halberd." And the French King was very earnest with Henry to recall Bonner, which he accordingly did.

However, before Bonner's return to England, he was nominated to the Bishopric of Hereford ( k). He had the Royal affent to his election, the 27th of November, 1538, and the temporalities were reflored to his Proctor the 4th of March following. But, before confecration, he was translated to the See of London, of which he was elected Bishop the 20th of October, 1539, confirmed the 12th of November ensuing, and

confecrated

(i) History of the Reformation, from Blois in France, dated the 2d of September, 1538, Bonner expresses himself thus. "My very fingular espe-(k) He acknowledged himself in-debted to Lord Cromwell for this eial good Lord, as one most bounden, I promotion. In a letter to Cromwell most humbly commend me unto your

confecrated in his own cathedral the 4th of April, 1540. It appears that Bonner held his new Bishopric by an extraordinary commission, which is preserved by Burnet in his Collection of Records, and part of which was to the following purport: " That fince all jurisdictions, both ecclefiastical and civil, " flowed from the King as supreme head, and he was the foun-" dation of all power, it became those who exercised it only at " the King's courtefy, gratefully to acknowledge that they had " it only of his bounty; and to declare that they would deliver " it up again, when it should please him to call for it. And " fince the King had constituted the Lord Cromwell his Vice-" gerent in ecclesiastical affairs, yet, because he could not look " into all those matters, therefore the King, upon Bonner's pe-" tition, did empower him in his own stead, to ordain such as " he found worthy, to prefent and give institution, with all the " other parts of episcopal authority, for which he is duly com-" missioned; and this to last during the King's pleasure only." Burnet observes, that " after he had taken this commission, Bon-" ner might have been well called one of the KING's " BISHOPS (1)."

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honourable good Lordship. And whereas in times passed it hath liked the same, without any my deferts or merits, even only of your fingular exceeding goodness, to bestow a great deal of love, benevolence, and good affection upon me so poor a man, and of fo fmall qualities, expressing indeed fundry ways, the good effects thereof to my great preferment; I was very much bound thereby unto your honourable good Lordship, and thought it always my duty (as indeed it was) both to bear my true heart again unto your Lordship, and also, remembering fuch kindness, to do unto the fame all fuch fervice and pleasure as might then lie in my fmall power to do. But where of your infinite and inestimable goodness, it hath further liked you of late, first to advance me unto the office of Legation from fuch a Prince as my Sovereign Lord is, unto the Emperor and French King; and next after to procure and obtain mine advancement to fo honourable a promotion as the Bishopric of Hereford: I must here acknowledge the exceeding greatness of your Lordship's benefit, with mine own imbecility to recompense it,"-Fox's Acts and

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Monuments, Vol. II. P. 378. Edit.

Vid. Hift. of the Reform. Vol. I. P. 267. Bonner, before his promotion to the See of London, alfo took an oath, " never to confent or agree that the Bishop of Rome should practife, exercife, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other the King's dominions, but that he would refift the fame at all times to the utmost of his power; and that from thenceforth he should accept, repute, and take the King's Majesty to be the only fupreme head on earth of the Church of England; and, to the utmost of his power, observe and maintain all acts and statutes, made and to be made in extirpation and extinguishment of the Bishop of Rome and his authority, and in corrobora-tion of the King's supremacy, against all persons whatsoever; and repute any oath he had made in maintenance, or favour, of the Bishop of Rome, vain and annihilate."—Biograph. Britao.

Bonner also wrote a Preface to Gardiner's book, entitled De vera Obedientia, in which he expresses himself thus: "But be thou most

Soon after his promotion to the See of London, his friend and patron Lord Cromwell was committed to the Tower, upon which Bonner instantaneously forgot the " infinite and inestimable " goodness" of Cromwell to him, which he had so lately faid he should never be able properly to acknowledge; and at the fame time all his zeal to promote the Reformation entirely forfook him. " Now Bonner (fays Bishop Burnet) began to shew his nature. Hitherto he had acted another part. For being most extremely desirous of preferment, he had so complied with Cromwell and Cranmer, that they had great confidence in him; and he being a bluffering and forward man, they thought he might do the Reformation good fervice, and therefore he was advanced so high by their means. But as soon as ever Cromwell fell, the very next day he shewed his ingratitude, and how nimbly he turned with the wind. For Grafton the Printer (whom Cromwell favoured much for his printing the Bible, and who was by that means very familiar with Bonner,) meeting him, faid, he was very forry for the news he heard of Cromwell's being fent to the Tower. Bonner answered, It had been good he had been dispatched long ago. So the other shrunk away, perceiving the change that was in him. And fome days after that, Grafton being brought before the Council, for some verses which he was believed to have printed in commendation of Cromwell, Bonner informed the Council of what Grafton had faid to him upon Cromwell's

furely persuaded of this, good reader, that the Bishop of Rome, if there were no cause else but only this marriage, (that of King Henry with Anne Boleyn), would easily content himself, especially having some good morfel or other given him to chew upon. But when he feeth fo mighty a King, being a right virtuous and a great learned Prince, fo fincerely and fo heartily favour the Gospel of CHRIST, and perceiving the yearly and great prey (yea, fo large a prey, that it came to as much almost as all the King's revenues), snapped out of his hands, and that he can no longer exercise his tyranny in the King's Majesty's Realm, (alas! heretosore too cruel and bitter), nor make laws, as he hath done many, to the con-turnely and reproach of the Majesty of GOD, which is evident that he hath done in time past, under the title of the Catholic Church, and the authority of Peter and Paul, (when notwithstanding he was a very ravening wolf, dreffed in fheep's cloathing, calling himfelt the fervant of fervants), to the great damage of the

Christian Common - wealth: here, here began all the mischief, thereof rose these discords, these deadly malices, and so great and terrible busiling: for if it were not thus, could any man believe that this Jupiter of Olympus (which falsely hath arrogated unto himself an absolute power without controulment) would have wrought so diligently by all means possible, to stir up other Kings and Princes so traiterously against this so good and godly, and so true Gospel-like Prince (Henry VIII.) as he hath done?"—Acts and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 341.

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Whilst he was Ambassador in France, he zealously promoted, in obedience to orders which he received from the English Court for that purpose, the printing an English version of the Bible at Paris; and after he was promoted to the Bishopric of London, he caused fix of them to be fet up in St. Paul's cathedral. He was likewise one of those who subscribed the Bishop's Book against the

Pope.

Cromwell's being arrested, to make the other charge seem the more probable. Yet Audley, the Chancellor (m), was Grafton's friend, and brought him off. But Bonner gave the city of London quickly cause to apprehend the utmost severities from him. For many were indicted by his procurement, on the statute of the Six Articles. Yet the King was loth to give too many instances of cruelty, in this declination of his age; and therefore, by an order from the Star-Chamber, they were difcharged. But there was one Richard Mekins, a boy not above fifteen years of age, and both illiterate and very ignorant, who had faid fomewhat against the corporal presence of CHRIST's body in the Sacrament, and in commendation of Dr. Barnes (n). Upon this he was indicted. The words were proved by two witnesses, and a day was appointed for the Juries to bring in The day being come, the Grand Jury was called their verdict. for; then the foreman faid, they had found nothing. This put Bonner in a fury, and he charged them with perjury: but they faid they could find nothing, for the witnesses did not agree. The one deposed, that he had said the Sacrament was nothing but a CEREMONY; and the other, that it was nothing but a SIGNIFICATION. But Bonner still persisted, and told them, that he had faid, "that Barnes died holy." But they could not find

(m) THOMAS AUDLEY was descended from an antient and honourable family, and born in the county of Effex, in the year 1483. Being bred up to the profession of a Lawyer, he was appointed autumn reader of the Inner Temple, in 1526. He was Chancellor to the Duke of Suffolk, who introduced him to the notice of King Henry VIII. into whose savour he soon ingratiated himself, being a man of much po-liteness, and of many personal accomplishments; and having in him a confiderable share of that pliability, which is so great a recommendation in Courts. He was by the King's influence chosen Speaker of the House of Commons, when Sir Thomas More was made Lord Chancellor, in 1529. In 1531, the King made him his own Serjeant, and his Attorney for the Dutchy of Lancaster, as a reward for his fervices in the House of Commons. In 1532, when Sir Thomas More refigned the Seals, Mr. Audley was knighted, and ap-pointed Lord Keeper; but the following year he was made Lord Chancellor. He prefided at the trials of Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas

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More, and passed sentence upon them. In 1538, he was created Lord Audley of Walden, in the county of Escar, and likewise installed a Knight of the Garter. The following year he made use of his influence with the King to prevent the rigorous execution of the act of the Six Articles. However, he was in general very active and assistance in promoting the King's designs, both in Parliament and out of it. He died in 1544, in the sifty-sixth year of his age, having held the Seals upwards of twelve years.

Lord Audley was a man of confiderable abilities, an able Statesman, and an artful Courtier. He was a friend to the Resormation; but appears to have been too obsequious to the King's will, and too much attached to his own interest, to deserve the character of a good Patriot, or an upright Minister of State. He seems, however, to have been disposed to promote the welfare of the kingdom, when not particularly biassed another way, by his own interest, or the pleasure of the King.

(n) Vid. P. 213. of this Volume.

And these words to be against the statute. Upon which Bonner curfed, and was in a great rage, and caused them to go aside again: fo they being over-awed, returned and found the indictment. Then fat the Jury upon life and death, who found him guilty; and he was adjudged to be burnt. But when he was brought to the stake, he was taught to speak much good of Bonner, and to condemn all Heretics, and Barnes in particular, faying he had learned Herefy of him. Thus the boy was made to die with a lie in his mouth. For Barnes held not that opinion of the Sacrament's being only a Ceremony or Signification.

but was a zealous Lutheran (o).

Soon after the accession of King Edward VI. Bonner gave a public evidence of his dislike to the King's proceedings in fayour of the Reformation, by entering a protestation in the following terms, when he received the injunctions and homilies which were now fet forth by the Royal authority. " I do re-" ceive these injunctions and homilies, with this protestation, "That I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repug-" nant to GOD's law, and the statutes and ordinances of the " Church." And he immediately added with an oath, that he had not read either the homilies or the injunctions. In confequence of this behaviour, Bonner was brought before the Council; upon which he offered to make a submission, but full of vain Quiddities, as it is expressed in the Council-Book. However, this not being accepted, he made a submission as full as they defired; notwithstanding which, he was committed to the Fleet; but was foon after fet at liberty.

From this time Bonner complied outwardly with every thing that was enjoined by authority to advance the Reformation, though he privately used all the means in his power to obstruct it. But in the third year of the King's reign, there were feveral infurrections in different parts of the kingdom, which gave the Popish party hopes of some change in the Government; whereupon many persons in London withdrew from the established fervice and communion, and frequented masses. This was laid to Bonner's charge, as being negligent in the execution of the King's laws and injunctions. The Council, therefore, wrote to him, on the 23d of July, 1549, to see to the correcting of these things, and directing him to let a good example himself. Upon which he gave directions for those in his Diocese, to execute the order contained in the letter from the Council, which he faid he was most willing and desirous to obey. However, his remiss-

( ) History of the Reformation, Vol. I. P. 299, 300. Fox fays, that the poor lad would for fafeguard of his life have gladly faid that the twelve Apostles had taught it him, fuch was his childish innocency and the affirming of Heresy was."---Acts fear. But for this deed many spake and Monuments, Vol. II. P. 531. and faid, it was great shame for the

Bishop, whose part and duty it had been rather to have laboured to fave his life, than to procure that terrible execution, feeing that he was fuch an ignorant foul, that he knew not what ness was still complained of, and he was again called before the Council on the 11th of August; when it was alledged against him, that whereas he formerly used on all high festivals to officiate himself, yet he had seldom or never done it, since the New Service was fet out: as also, that adultery was openly practised in his Diocese, which he took no care, according to his pattoral office, to restrain or punish; therefore he was strictly charged to fee these things reformed. He was also ordered to preach that day three weeks at St. Paul's cross; and in his fermon was directed to treat of the heinousness of rebellion, and to shew that true religion confisted not in ceremonies, yet that in the use of them men were to obey the Magistrate, and join true devotion with them; and he was particularly to teach the people, in opposition to a common tenet of the Popish faction, that the King was no less King, and the people no less bound to obey, when he

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was in his minority, than when he was of full age.

Before the first of September, which was the day Bonner was to preach, all the rebellions were suppressed. The most dangerous were in the West, and in Norfolk; the first was repressed by the Lord Privy Seal and Sir William Herbert; and the latter, after an unfuccessful attempt by the Earl of Northampton, was completely quelled by the Earl of Warwick, and a thankfgiving for it was made the 25th of August. When the first of September came, St. Paul's was crowded with auditors, the people being defirous of hearing how the Bishop Bonner would acquit himfelf. He touched upon the points that were enjoined him, excepting that about the King's age, of which he faid not one word: instead of which, he diverted his discourse to another subject, the manner of CHRIST's presence in the Sacrament, afferting the gross corporal presence, which he did with many sharp reflections on those who entertained other opinions. There were present, among others, William Latimer, and John Hooper, foon after Bishop of Gloucester, who came and informed against him; that as he had wholly omitted that about the King's age, so he had touched the other points but slightly; and advanced many other things, which tended to stir up disorder and

In consequence of this information, a commission was issued to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, and Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's, impowering them to proceed in a fummary manner against Bishop Bonner, and either to suspend, imprison, or deprive him, as they should see cause. Accordingly he was cited to appear before them at Lambeth, on the tenth of September.

When he came into the court, he behaved himself in a very Vol. II. 7. manner (p); and in the course of the proceedings proceedings

<sup>(</sup>p) " At his first entry into the at Lambeth, where the Archbishop place within the Archbishop's house and other of the Commissioners sat,

proceedings against him, treated the Commissioners with the utmost contempt. He jeered the witnesses who were brought against him, and said that one talked like a Goose, and another like a Woodcock; and some of the people in the court he called Dunces, and others Fools. He also objected to the witneffes against him, that they were notorious Heretics, and that the ill will they bore him, was because he had afferted the true presence of CHRIST in the Sacrament of the Altar: that Hooper, in particular, had in his fermon, that very day on which he had preached, denied it; and had refuted and mif-recited his fayings, " like an Ass as he was, an Ass indeed," said Bonner. He disputed against the authority of his Judges, calling them pretenfed, and suspect, and injurious: he more particularly protested against Sir Thomas Smith, swore at him, and gave him the lie, and defied him: and, in short, his behaviour was so exceedingly outrageous, more like a Madman than a Bishop, as Burnet expresses it, that he was committed to the Marshalsea. And he was at length deprived of his Bishopric in October, 1549, though he protested against all his Judges, and appealed to the King.

The proceedings against him were censured by some; but Burnet observes, that "Bonner was little pitied by most that "knew him. He was a cruel, and sierce man: he understood " little of Divinity, his learning being chiefly in the Canon " Law. Besides, he was looked on generally as a man of no " principles. All the obedience he gave either to the laws, or " the King's injunctions, was thought a compliance against his " conscience, extorted by fear. And his indecent carriage " during his process, had much exposed him to the people: so " that it was not thought to be hard dealing, tho' the proceed-" ings against him were summary and severe. Nor did his car-" riage afterward, during his imprisonment, discover much of a " Bishop or a Christrian. For he was more concerned to have " Puddings and Pears sent him, than for any thing else. This " I gather from some original letters of his to Richard Leek-" more, Esq; in Worcestershire; in one of which he desires 2 " large quantity of pears and puddings to be fent him: other-" wife he gives those to whom he writes an odd kind of bene-" diction, very unlike what became a man of his character; he " gives them TO THE DEVIL, TO THE DEVIL, and TO ALL THE DEVILS,

he passed forth directly by them with his cap upon his head, (making as though he saw them not) until one plucked him by the sleeve, willing him to do reverence unto the Commissioners. Whereat he laughingly turned himself, and spake unto the

Archbishop on this wise: What, my Lord, are you here? By my troth, I saw you not. No, said the Archbishop, you would not see. Well, (quoth he) you sent for me; have you any thing to say to me?"—Acts and Monuments, Vol. II, P. 675.

" DEVILS, if they did not furnish him well with Pears and

" Puddings (q)."

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Bonner was continued in his confinement in the Marshalsea during the remainder of King Edward's reign; but on the ac-cession of Queen Mary to the Throne, he was set at liberty, and restored to his Bishopric by a commission dated the 22d of August, 1553, which was read in St. Paul's cathedral the fifth of September following; and the next day he fent the following letter to three of his friends in the country.

" To my most loving and dearly beloved friends, my cousin " Thomas Shirley, the Worshipful Richard Leekmore, and " Roger Leekmore his brother.

"IN most hearty wise I commend me unto you, afferting, " that yesterday I was, by sentence, restored again to my Bi-" thopric, and reposed in the same, even as fully as I was at any " time before I was deprived; and by the faid sentence, my " usurper, Dr. Ridley, is utterly repulsed; so that I would " ye did order all things at Kidmerly and Bushley at your " pleasures, not suffering Sheeps-head, or Ships-fide (r), to be " any meddler there, or to fell or carry away any thing from "thence; and I trust, at your coming up now at the Parliament, I shall so handle both the said Sheeps-heads, and the " other Calves-heads, that they shall perceive their sweet shall not be without four sauce. This day is looked that Mr. Can-" terbury must be placed where is meet for him; he is become " very humble, and ready to submit himself in all things, but " that will not serve; in the same predicament is Dr. Smith, " my friend, and the Dean of Paul's, with others. Commend " me to your bedfellows most heartily, and remember the liquor " that I wrote to you for ; this bearer shall declare the rest, and " also put you in remembrance for beeves and muttons for my " house-fare. And thus our blessed Lord long and well keep " you all .--- Written in haste, this fixth of September. " Affuredly all your own,

EDMUND LONDON."

Bishop Bonner presided in the first Convocation which was called in the reign of Mary, and made an oration in it, in honour of the Priesthood (s). And in 1554, he visited his Diocese. 2 R 2

(q) Hift. of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 128.

(r) Alluding to Mr. Shipfide, brother-in-law to Bishop Ridley, whom that Prelate had made Steward of twoof his manors.

stood by and heard him. And as it flood by and neare of oratory, we is a curious piece of oratory, we shall lay it before the reader. as follows: " Wherefore it is to be known, that Priests and Elders be worthy of all men to be worshipped (1) Part of this speech of Bonfor the dignity sake which they have
ner's is preserved by Fox, as it was of GOD; as in Matthew, Ch. xvi.
copied out, as he says, by those who Whatsever ye shall loose upon earth,

When he came to Hadham, where he arrived two hours before he was expected, he was in a great heat because the bells did not ring at his coming; but he was still more enraged when he went into the church, and found neither the Sacrament hanging up there, nor a rood fet up; whereupon he fell a railing and swearing most immoderately, abusing the Rector, Dr. Bricket, and calling him Heretic and Knave. The Rector told the angry Prelate, that the things he complained of should be speedily amended; and knowing that a good dinner was a very important article with Bonner, hoped to pacify his Lordship by desiring him to go to his house to dine. But the Prelate was so angry that Hadham, which was one of his own churches, should set so ill an example to those around it, that he lost all patience, and endeavouring to strike the Rector, missed his aim, and gave Sir Thomas Jocelyn a violent blow on the head. Sir Thomas not feeming disposed to take this in good part, Feckenham, Dean of St. Paul's, who was present, endeavoured to appeale him, by faying, that the Bishop's being so long in the Marshalsea had so disordered him, that in his passion he knew not what he did; but when he came to himself, he would be forry for what he had done. Jocelyn replied, that he thought now he was taken out of the Marshalsea, he ought to be carried to Bedlam. However, Bonner's rage still continued; and though he had purposed to flay at his house at Hadham for some days, and had ordered provisions

Ec. And what sever ye shall hind, &c. For a Priest by some means is like Mary the Virgin, and is showed by three points. As the Blessed Virgin by five words did conceive Carist. as it is said, Luke, Ch. i. Fiat mibi secundum verbum tuum; that is to say, Be it unto me according to thy word : so the Priest, by five words, doth make the very body of CHRIST. Even as immediately after the confent of Mary, CHRIST was all whole in her womb : fo immediately after the fpeaking of the words of confecra-tion, the bread is transubstantiated into the very body of CHRIST. Secondly, as the Virgin carried CHRIST in her arms, and laid him in an ox stall after his birth; even so the Priest, after the confectation, doth lift up the hady of CHRIST, and placeth it, and carrieth it, and handleth it with his hands. Thirdly, as the Blessed Virgin was sanctissed before sine was conceived; so the Priest being ordained and anointed before he doth confectate, because without orders he could consecrate mothing; therefore the Layman can-

not do that thing, although he be never fo holy, and do speak the self-same words of consecration. There-fore here is to be known, that the dignity of Priefts by some means paffeth the dignity of Angels, because there is no power given to any of the Angels to make the body of CHRIST. Whereby the least Priest may do in earth, that which the greatest and highest Angel in Heaven cannot do; as St. Bernard saith, 0 worshipful dignity of Priests, in whose bands the Son of GOD is, as in the womb of the Virgin be was incarnate. St. Augustine faith, that Angels in the confecration of the facred Host do ferve him, and the Lord of Heaven descending to him. Whereupon St. Ambrose upon St. Luke saith, Deubt thou not the Angels to be where

provisions to be got ready with that view, yet he would now stay no longer there, but proceeded on his journey, though he thereby disordered the rest of his visitation, as he came to every place

sooner than he intended, or had given notice.

The carvers and makers of images had now a great trade; for roods and other images were ordered to be provided for all churches. And Bonner had observed, that in most churches texts of Scripture were put upon the walls; and in many places passages that favoured the marriage of the Clergy, or against the corporal presence, and the sacrifice of the mass, and the multiplicity of the ceremonies of the Church. On his return from his visitation, therefore, he sent out episcopal letters, on the 24th of October, to raze all such texts of Scripture which were on the walls of churches. Upon this it was said by many among the people, that the Scriptures must be dashed out to make way for the images, since they were so contrary one to another, that they could not decently stand together (t).

In the reign of Henry VIII. Bonner and Gardiner had been greatly at variance, and seemed to be inveterate enemies to each other. But they now acted in concert in the re-establishment of Popery; and afterwards agreed together exceedingly well, and were extremely harmonious, in carrying on the persecution against the Protestants. Bonner was indeed uncommonly active in the re-establishment of Popery; he set up the mass again at St. Paul's, before the act for restoring it was passed; and he deprived all the married Priess in his Diocese of their Livings, without waiting for the Queen's orders for that purpose (u).

In January, 1555, Bonner fat in St. Mary Overy's church in Southwark, in conjunction with Gardiner, and some other Prelates, in order to try several persons for Heresy; when Hooper, Rogers, Taylor, Saunders, and Bradford, were condemned; and

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(1) "There were many ludierous things every where done in dorifion of the old forms, and of the
images: many poems were printed,
with other ridiculous reprefentations
of the Latin fervice, and the pageantry of their worship. But none
occasioned more laughter, than what
fell out at Paul's the Easter before;
the sustom being to lay the Sacrament
into the sepulchine, at the even song
of Good Friday, and to take it out by
break of day on Easter morning. At
the time of the taking of it out, the
choir sung these words. Surrexit, non
estimate in the priest looking for the
Host, found it was not there indeed,

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for one had stolen it out; which put them all in no small disorder, but another was presently brought in its stead. Upon this a ballad followed, that their God was stolen and lost, but a new one was made in his room. This raillery was so falt, that it provoked the Clergy much. They offered large rewards to discover him that had stolen the Host, or had made the ballad, but could not come to the knowledge of it. But they resolved, e're long, to turn that anith and pleasantness of the Heretics into severe mourning."—Hist, of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 291.

( u ) Vid. Strype's Memorials of

Cranmer, P. 328, 329.

the four first were soon after committed to the flames (w); but the execution of the last was for some time respited (x).

On the 16th of March, Thomas Tompkins, a weaver in Shoreditch, was burnt in Smithfield, for denying the doctrine of the real presence. Bonner had kept him many months in his house, and endeavoured to prevail on him to recant by fair means; but not being able to succeed, he one day tore out a part of the hair of Tompkins's beard; and, to conceal that, caused him to be close shaved. And another time Bonner held the man's hand in the flame of a candle fo long, that the finews and veins shrunk and burst; but Harpsfield, who stood by, interposed, and prevailed on him to suspend his cruelty for that time. But he afterwards condemned him as an obstinate Heretic, and committed him to the flames.

The next that fuffered was one William Hunter, of Brentwood. an apprentice of nineteen years old, who had been artfully drawn into a dispute by a Priest, and thereupon unwarily denied the doctrine of the real presence in the Sacrament; upon which the Priest exhibited an accusation of Heresy against him. However, the young man absconded; but his own father was made

( 20 ) Vid. P. 240, 241. of this Volume.

(x) JOHN BRADFORD, con-demned as above, had been a Pre-bendary of St. Paul's, and a celebrated preacher in the reign of King Edward; and had faved one of Bonner's Chaplains from very imminent danger. Soon after the accession of Mary, Bonner went to St. Paul's, where his Chaplain Bourn preached before him. And in his fermon Bourn spake very honourably of Bonner, and made many tharp reflections on the proceedings against him in the reign of King Edward. This irritated the audience, who hated Bonner, and could not bear to hear any thing faid that feemed to detract from the late King; and there was thereupon a great tumult in the church. Some called to pull Bourn down, others flung stones, and one threw a dagger towards the pulpit with such force, that he stuck it fast in it; but Bourn saved himself by stooping. John Bradford was present when this disturbance happened; and he, together with John Rogers, being in great credit with the people, stood up, and exerted themselves to suppress the tumult; and then, to deliver Bourn out of the hands of the enraged multitude, they conveyed him away from

the pulpit to a house near the church. The same afternoon Bradford preached at Bow church, and there feverely reproved the people for the diforder at St. Paul's; but three days after he was committed to prison, and being removed from one prison to another, was continued in confinement upwards of two years. But wherever he came, his behaviour influenced the keepers fo much in his favour, that they fuffered him to preach and administer the Sacrament to his fellow prisoners. Once, when he was brought before the Council, Bonner there accused him of the tumult at St. Paul's; though all he pretended to prove it by, was, that Bradford's way of speaking to the people shewed that he thought he had some authority over them, and was a prefumption that he had fet the fedition on Bradford upon this appealed to GOD, who faw his innocency, and how unworthily he was requited for faving his enemies, him evil for good. who rendered

Bradford was burnt in Smithfield in July, 1555, and suffered with great fortitude. There was also burnt with him John Leaf, an apprentice of nineteen years of age, who had been

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condemned by Bonner.

to fearch for him, to bring him to what was called juffice, and he then surrendered himself, to prevent his father's being brought into trouble. Bonner offered him forty pounds if he would recant; so mercenary a thing, says Burnet, did he think conscience to be. But he answered, if they would let him alone, he would keep his conscience to himself, but he would not recant; so he was condemned by Bonner, and sent to be burnt near his father's house, where he suffered on the 26th of March.

The fame day Thomas Causton and Thomas Highed, both gentlemen of fortune, and much esteemed in the neighbourhood in which they lived, having been condemned by Bonner, were burnt near their own houses in Essex. Two days after, William Pigot was burnt at Braintree, and Stephen Knight at Malden; and the day following, John Lawrence, a Priest, was burnt at Colchester: all condemned by Bonner. Lawrence was fo weak, with the heavy irons that had been put on him, and other fevere usage, that he could not walk to the place of execution, but was carried thither in a chair, in which he was fastened to the stake, and so burnt. It is observed by Bishop Burnet, that in all the processes against these people, no witnesses were brought against them, but only articles exhibited to them, according to the way of those courts, called Ex Officio; to which articles they were required to make answers; and upon their answers, which were judged heretical, they were condemned; fo that all this inhuman persecution " was fingly for their consciences, " without the pretence of any other matter (y)."

A short stop was now put to the burning of Heretics; for the people in general began to be greatly enraged at these barbarous executions. And it is said that even Bonner himself grew weary of them; he at least pretended to be so; and complained, that the whole business was turned over to him, and that the rest of the Bishops only looked on, and left the execution of the laws against Heretics entirely to him; and therefore when the Justices and Sheriss sent up Heretics to him, he now sent them back again, and refused to meddle surther with them. Upon this the King and Queen wrote to him on the 24th of May, complaining of his remissness, and admonishing him to have henceforward more regard to the office of a good Pastor

(y) Vid. Hist. of the Reformation, P. 307, 308. About the same time that the persons above-mentioned were put to death, a poor honest fisherman, named Rawlins White, was burnt at Cardiff. He was a very old man, and was committed to prison only because he had put his son to school, that he might hear the Bible read by him. He was afterwards examined upon articles, and after a year's imprisonment, was

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Shortly after George Marsh, a Priest, who was condemned by Dr. Cotes, Bishop of Chester, was burnt at Chester. At his death there was a new invention of cruelty; a firkin with pitch and tar in it was hung over his head, that the fire melting it, it might scald his head as it dropped on it,

and Bishop; and when such offenders were brought to him, to endeavour to remove them from their errors; or if they were obstinate, to proceed against them according to law: and this he was to do, their Majesties said, that GOD's glory might be thereby better advanced, and the common-wealth more quietly

governed.

Bonner had now been feveral weeks without committing a fingle Heretic to the flames. But having received this letter from Philip and Mary, he foon recovered his lost time. On the 30th of May, John Cardmaker, who had been Divinity-reader at St. Paul's, and a Prebendary in Wells cathedral, and John Warne, an upholsterer in London, having been condemned as obstinate Heretics by Bonner, were burnt in Smithfield (2). And on the 4th of June, a piece of ridiculous pageantry was acted on the body of one Tooley; who, having been executed for a robbery, had at his death faid fomewhat that favoured of Herefy. Upon which a letter was fent to Bonner, figned by Gardiner, and fix other Members of the Council, directing him to enquire into the affair, and to proceed according to the Ecclefiaftical laws. Accordingly he formed a process thereupon, and cited the dead body to answer the points objected to it; but that

neither answering nor appearing, was condemned and burnt.

On the tenth of June, Thomas Hawkes, a gentleman of Essex, who had lived much at Court, was burnt at Coxehall; and on the fame day John Simpson and John Ardeley, two husbandmen, were also burnt in Essex, as was also Thomas Watts, a linendraper. On the fourteenth of the fame month, Nicholas Chamberlain, a weaver, was burnt at Colchester; on the fifteenth Thomas Ofmond, a fuller, was burnt at Manningtree; and the fame day William Bamford, a weaver, was burnt at Harwich. Thefe, with feveral others, had been fent up to Bonner by the Earl of Oxford, because they had not received the Sacrament at Easter, and were suspected of Heresy. Bonner examined them in his usual manner, and having condemned them, fent them to be burnt in the places where they had lived. But the Council, apprehending that some tumult might be raised on this occasion, or that the prisoners might be rescued, wrote to the Earl of Oxford, and the Lord Rich, directing them to raise the force of the county, and to attend to see the Heretics burnt. But the Earl of Oxford being indisposed, he could not attend himself; however, he fent his fervants and attendants to Lord Rich, who went and obeyed the orders which he had received: for which letters

both of them was denying the doctrine of Transubstantiation; but one of the articles exhibited against Warne by Bonner, was, "That about a twelvementh agene, and more, a great rough water spaniel

(z) The principal charge against belonging to the said Warne, was fhorn on the head, and had a crown like a Priest made in the same, which he, the faid Warne, did laugh at and like, though he did it not himfelf, nor knew who did it." ić

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On the 22d of July, Dirick Carver, a brewer, was burnt at Lewes in Suffex, having been condemned by Bonner; as was also John Launder, husbandman, who was burnt the same day at Stening; and Thomas Iveson, carpenter, who was burnt at Chichester (a). On the 8th of August, a gentleman named Denley was burnt at Uxbridge, and Robert Smith at Weybridge; on the 26th, George Tankerville was burnt at St. Alban's, and two days after Patrick Packingham also suffered in the same place; and on the 31st, John Newman was burnt at Saffron Walden: all of whom were condemned by Bonner. And in the same month he also committed to the stake William Hall, who was burnt at Barnet; Elizabeth Warne, at Stratford; Stephen Harwood, at the same place; and Thomas Fust, at Ware (b).

Bonner was not content with committing such a number of Protestants to the stames, but he also treated them with great cruelty before they were sent to the stake. He would frequently strike those who were brought before him with his own hands; in particular, he sent for a Clergyman, named Thomas Whittle, who had retracted a recantation which he had made, " and sell upon him like a lion (says Fox), and like a manly Bishop bustifetted him well; so that he made his sace black and blue, and plucked away a great piece of his beard." Bonner had a Vol. II. 7.

(a) About the fame time John Bland and John Frankesh, two Clergymen, and Nicholas Sheterden and Humphry Middleton, two Laymen, were all burnt together in one fire at Canterbury. They were condemned by Thornton, Suffragan of Dover. Shortly after, Margery Polley was burnt at Tunbridge. She was condemned by the Bish p of Rochester, and was the first woman who suffered in this reign. Christopher

Wade was also condemned at the fame time with her, but he was burnt at Dartford.

(b) In the fame month William Coker, William Hopper, Heory Laurence, Richard Collier, Richard Wright, and William Steer, were all burnt in one file at Canterbury. They were condemned by the Suffragan of Dover, and Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury.

place which was called his Coal-House, in which the Protestants were frequently confined; and here, and in Lollard's Tower, stocks were put up, contrived both for the hands and feet. " Some (fays an old writer) were hung therein by the heels fo " high, that only their heads lay on the ground. Some were " flocked in both feet and arms, some also were stocked by both " their feet, and by both their thumbs, and so did hang in the " flocks. And some also were stocked by both their feet, and " chained by the neck with collars of iron, made fast behind " them to a post in the wall, and such other devilish & tyrannous

" engines and devices ( c)." And when not engaged in more important business, the pious Prelate sometimes amused himself with scourging some of the Heretics with rods, and with his own hands, till he was out of breath, in his orchard at Fulham (d).

On the 16th of December, Bonner condemned as an obitinate Heretic John Philpot, Archdeacon of Winchester. He was son to Sir Peter Philpot, of Hampshire; and appears to have been a man of parts and learning. He had distinguished himself by his zealous defence of the reformed opinions, in the Convocation which was affembled at the beginning of Mary's reign; and after the Convocation broke up, he was put in prilon, and there illegally detained by Gardiner for what he had faid in it; " though (as Burnet observes) liberty of speech had been pro-" mised, and the nature of the meeting did require it." was afterwards turned over to Bonner, and for some time kept confined in his Coal-House, and put into the stocks there; and many conferences were had with him, in order to prevail on him to recant; but all in vain, for he continued firm and steady to his principles. Bonner told him, that because the Lord-Chancellor, Gardiner, was dead, he imagined they would burn no more Heretics; but he should soon find his error, if he recanted not. Philpot objected very much to being tried by Bonner, infifting upon it that he was not his ordinary, and that he had no legal right to do any thing with him. But Bonner told him that he was an obstinate fool, and that he would be his ordinary, whether he would or not. At one of Philpot's examinations, at which the Bishops of Durham and Chichester were present, Bonner boasted to those Prelates of the gentleness with which he had treated him, and appealed to Philpot himself for the truth of it; whose reply was, " If to lie in the vilest prison in this town, " (being a gentleman, and an Archdeacon), and in a coal-house,

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" fay I have found gentleness. But there were never men so " cruelly handled as we are in these days." Bonner, amazed that Philpot

<sup>&</sup>quot; by the space of five or fix weeks already, without fire or can-" dle, be to be counted gentleness at your hands, I must needs

<sup>(</sup>c) Harleian Miscellany, Vol. III. P. 380, 881, 905. See also Strype's P. 101. See also Fox's Acts and Annals of the Reformation during Monuments, Vol. III. P. 541. the first twelve years of Q. Elizabeth's (d) Acts and Monuments, V. III, reign, P. 537.

Philpot should find fault with such gentle treatment as he had received, exclaimed, "Lo! what a varlet is this!" Philpot was burnt in Smithfield on the 18th of December, and suffered with great chearfulness and fortitude (e).

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(e) Mr. Hume, in relating the account of Philpor's martyrdom, takes occasion to mention an infance of the Archdeacon's expressing his zeal for orthodoxy in an indecent and unbecoming manner, in a dispute with an Arian, namely, by spitting in his adversary's face: upon which this Historian makes the following remark. "It seems to be almost a general rule, that, in all religions except the true, no man will suffer martyrdom, who would not also instict in willingly on all who differ from him. The same zeal for speculative opinions is the cause of both."—Hist. of England, Vol. IV. P. 442. 8vo. Edit.

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That the behaviour of Philpot in the instance referred to was exceedingly unbecoming, and that he was at that time actuated by a very improper spirit, we readily grant; tho' we think that it cannot very certainly be concluded from that instance only, that he would have burnt his opponent, if it had been in his power. however this be with respect to Philpot, we think the general conclusion drawn by Mr. Hume, is so exceed-ingly dishonourable to all who have in any age nobly facrificed their lives in the cause of truth and religion, (and indeed the observation seems made with no other view than to difhonour them), that it deserves a few remarks; and the rather, as it is a specimen of that sophistical reason. ing, which is fo frequently to be met with in the writings of this author.

That Mr. Hume, by the words "in all religions except the true," really intended to make an exception in favour of the Christian or Protestant religion, is what will not be supposed by any who are acquainted with his writings. It is evidently nothing but a fneer. The reason, therefore, assigned by this Historian for concluding, that, in general, no man would suffer martyrdom, who would not also inflict it willingly on all who

differ from him, is, that " the same zeal for speculative opinions is the cause of both," Now we think it very easy to suppose, that a man may fuffer death for religion, without any fuch zeal for speculative opinions, as would induce him to cause others to be put to death for differing from him; and we believe there have been numberless instances of this. It should be remembered, that great numbers have suffered death on a religious account, not for publicly opposing the established religion, but merely because they would not make a public and folemn declaration that they believed opinions, which they were convinced were false. was the case with great numbers in England, in the reign of Mary. Now may we not very naturally imagine, that many conscientious men would rather fuffer death, than thus basely violate their consciences, though they were utterly averse to the persecution of others? May we not suppose, that a truly virtuous man, who acted on the principles of natural religion only, would rather facrifice his life, than folemnly declare he believed that to be true, which he was convinced was false? Those who required men to abjure opinions as heretical and false, which they firmly believed to be true, required of them not only to cease to be zealous for speculative opinions, but to be guilty of a breach of the laws of morality. It is, therefore, utterly inconfistent with justice and candour, to infer that those who fuffered death, rather than abjure their opinions, would have put others to death for differing from them, if they had had it in their power.

But whatever may be the opinion of the writer whom we now oppose, there are, we presume, very sew Christians, who are not convinced, that many even of those who publicly opposed opinions and practices, which they thought to be detri-

mente

On the 27th of January, 1556, Thomas Whittle, a Clergyman, whom we have before mentioned, a gentleman named Green, Thomas Brown, John Tudson, and John Went, three tradesmen, Isabel Foster, a cutler's wife, and Joan Warne, a maid about twenty years of age, were all burned in one fire in Smithfield. They had all been presented because they went not to church; upon which articles were put to them by Bonner, who on their answers condemned them as Heretics. Green, at his examination, told Bonner, that "in old time there were no "men put to death for their conscience, until such time as Bishops found the means to make it death to believe contrary to "them (f)."

On the 18th of March, Bonner condemned Robert Drakes and William Tyms, two Clergymen, and four tradesmen, and they were all burnt together in Smithsield on the twenty-third of April (g). And six more tradesmen who were charged with Heresy, being sent up from Colchester to Bonner, he very speedily condemned them, and sent them back again to Colchester, where they were all burnt together on the 28th of April.

The further Bonner proceeded in this bloody business, the more the cruelty and savageness of his temper seemed to encrease. On the 9th of May, he condemned an old cripple, named Hugh Laverock, aged sixty-eight years, and a blind man whose name was John Apprice; and they were burnt together at Stratford, on the 15th of the same month. Fox says, that "at their death, Hugh Laverock, after he was chained, casting away his crutch, and comforting John Apprice, his sellowmartyr, said unto him, Be of good comfort, my brother; for my Lord of London is our good physician: he will heal us both

mental to the best interests of mankind, and hazarded their lives on that account, were yet very far from being disposed to persecute others for a difference of fentiment in any way whatever. That there have been too many among Christians in general, and even among Protestants, who have not sufficiently imbibed the mild, peaceable, and forbearing spirit which their religion teaches, is an unhappy truth, which hath given too much toom for the attacks of the enemies of Christianity. There have, however, been many, of whom we have the highest reason to believe, that though they had learned in the Christian school to hazard every temporal concern, and even life itiels, if they might thereby promote the in-terests of CHRIST's religion, and of truth and virtue, amongst mankind; yet had also learned by the religion

they professed, not to do the least injury to any man on account of difference of sentiment, and much less edisposed to put others to death on that account. Many of these we consider as benefactors to mankind, and an honour to humanity; and the respect we think due to their characters, hath induced us to make these remarks.

(f) In the fame month, John Lomas and four women were burnt together in Canterbury, where they were condemned by Richard Faucet,

and three others.

(g) In the same month, John Harpool and Joan Beach were burnt at Rochester, being condemned by the Bishop of that Seq: and John Hallier, a Clergyman, was burnt at Cambridge, being condemned by the Bishop of Ely.

" both shortly; thee of thy blindness, and me of my lame-" ness." And the day after this scene of cruelty was exhibited, three women, Catherine Hut, Joan Horne, and Elizabeth Thackville, were burnt in Smithfield, condemned also by Bonner. In June he committed fundry other persons to the flames, particularly eleven men and two women, who were all burnt in

one fire at Stratford-le-Bow, near London ( ).

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" All these fires (says Burnet) did not extinguish the light of the Reformation, nor abate the love of it. They spread it more, and kindled new heats in men's minds: fo that what they had read of the former persecutions under the Heathens, seemed to be now revived. This made those who loved the Gospel, meet oft together, though the malice of their enemies obliged them to do it with great caution and secrecy; yet there were sometimes at their meetings about two hundred. They were instructed and watched over by several faithful shepherds, who were willing to hazard their lives, in feeding this flock committed to their care. The chief of these were Scambler, and Bentham, afterwards promoted by Queen Elizabeth to the Sees of Peterborough and Litchfield: Foule, Bernher, and Rough, a Scotchman, that was afterwards condemned and burnt by Bonner. There was also care taken, by their friends beyond sea, to supply them with good books; which they fent over to them for their instruction and encouragement. These that fied beyond fea went at first for the most part to France, where, though they were well used, in opposition to the Queen, yet they could not have the free exercise of their religion granted them : so they retired to Geneva, and Zurich, and Aaraw, in Switzerland; and to Strafburgh and Frankfort, in the Upper Germany; and to Embden, in the Lower (1)."

On the 29th of December, a commission was granted to Bonner, and Cole, Dean of St. Paul's, to fearch all registers and records, and to collect and gather together whatever contained " professions against the Pope's Holiness, and the See Apostolic; "and also fundry and divers infamous scrutinies taken in Abbies, and other religious houses, &c." These writings were to be delivered to Cardinal Pole, by whom they are supposed to

have been destroyed.

(b) About this time a most shocking scene of cruelty was exhibited in the isle of Guernsey. A mother and her two daughters, who had been condemned for Herefy by the Dean of Guernsey, were there burnt at the fame stake. And one of the daughters, being a married woman, and big with child, was thrown into fuch agitation by the torture, that her belly burit, and the was delivered in the midst of the flames. One of the guards immediately inatched the

infant from the fire, and attempted to fave it; but one of the Magistrates ordered it to be thrown back, and the infant perished with its mother. is an undoubted fact : and the Dean Guernsey, and several others, were for some time imprisoned on account of it in the reign of Elizabeth .- Vid, Hift, of the Reformation, Vol. II. P. 337, 338.

(i) History of the Reformation,

Vol. II. P. 339.

In February, 1557, a commission was granted to Bishop Bonner, the Bishop of Ely, and nineteen others, for the more effectual extirpation of Herefy. They were empowered, or any three of them, to enquire into such heretical opinions as were spread among the people, either by presentments by witnesses, or any other politic way they could devise. And to fearch after the bringers in, the fellers, and readers of all heretical books: and to enquire and search out all such persons as obstinately refused to preach the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, or to hear mass; and all such as refused to go in processions, to take holy water, or holy bread: and if they found any that obstinately persisted in such Heresies, they were to put them into the hands of their ordinaries, to be punished according to the ecclesiastical laws. And the Commissioners had full powers given them, to call before them all persons suspected of Heresy, and as many witnesses as they thought proper, and to compel them to make oath of all fuch things as tended to discover what they sought after. This was thought a bold step towards introducing the Inquisition into England; and that the methods of proceeding might be brought nearer to the practice of that infamous tribunal, letters were written to the Lord North, and others, enjoining them, "to put to the torture such obstinate persons as would not confess, and " there to order them at their discretion." A proclamation was also issued against books of Heresy, treason, and sedition, in which it was declared, " that whofoever had any of these books, " and did not prefently burn them, without reading, or shewing "them to any other person, they should be deemed rebels; and, " without any farther delay, be executed by martial law."

On the 3d of April, Bonner condemned Thomas Loseby, Henry Ramsay, Thomas Thirtel, Margaret Hide, and Agnes Stanley; and they were all burnt together in Smithfield on the 12th of the same month. And on the 2d of August, ten perfons were burnt at Colchester; three men and three women in the forenoon, and two men and two women in the afternoon. They were not condemned by Bonner himself, but by his deputies, in the presence of the two Bailiss of Colchester, and some Justices of the peace: but their examinations were sent to Bonner, and he procured the writ for their burning; " and to shew the more diligence in the cause, (says Fox), he sent his own trusty man down with it, named Edward Cosin, and with him

" also his letter for the furtherance of the matter ( )."

On

( t) A short time before this, fourteen persons were condemned by Thornton, Suffragan of Dover, and Harpsfield, Archdeacon of Canterbury; and seven of them were burnt at Maidstone, and seven at Canter-

bury. And in lefs than a week after, fix men and four women were burnt at Lewes in Suffex. They were condemned by White, who was promoted to the See of Winchester, in the room of Gardiner.

Government,

On the 10th of September, Bonner condemned James Austoo and his wife, Ralph Allerton, and Richard Routh; who were burnt together at Islington on the 17th of the same month. And the same day two women were burnt at Colchester (1). On the 6th of November, he condemned John Hallingdale, William Sparrow, and Richard Gibson; who were burnt in

Smithfield on the 18th of the fame month.

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On the 19th of December, John Rough, a Scotchman, was examined by Bonner, being charged with officiating at a private meeting at Islington, and there administring the Sacrament, and using the form of worship, as appointed in King Edward's days. The new inquisitors had corrupted one of Rough's congregation to betray his brethren; fo that they were apprehended as they were going to the communion. But Rough being a stranger, it was debated in the Council, whether he should be tried as a native; but as he had held a Benefice in Yorkshire in King Edward's days, it was resolved, and signified to the Bishop of London, that he should be proceeded against as a subject. Bonner thereupon objected to him, that he had condemned the doctrine of the Church, and fet out the Herefies of Cranmer and Ridley concerning the Sacrament, and made use of the service set out by King Edward; that he had lived much with those, who for their Herefies had fled beyond sea; and that he had spoken reproachfully of the Pope and Cardinals, faying, that when he was at Rome, he had feen a bull of the Pope's that licensed whoring and the stews, and a Cardinal riding openly with his whore with him, with feveral other articles; most of which he confessed, and was thereupon condemned by Bonner. In the course of Rough's examination, he faid that he had been twice at Rome, and that what he faw there convinced him that the Pope was the very Anti-Christ; at which Bonner was so much exasperated, that he rose up in a rage, and looking suriously at Rough, "Hast thou (said he) been at Rome, and seen our Holy Father " the Pope? and dost thou blaspheme him after this fort?" And with that he flew upon him, (fays Fox) and plucked off a piece of his beard. Rough was burnt in Smithfield on the 22d of December, together with a woman, who had been one of his congregation at Islington.

At the beginning of the year 1558, the important town of Calais was taken by the French, to the very great regret of the whole English nation, as they had held sit upwards of two hundred years, and as it afforded them, whenever they pleased, an entrance into France. War had now been for some time declared against France; but Calais had notwithstanding been left in a state very little capable of desence; for the English

<sup>(1)</sup> About this time seventeen by Christopherson, Bishop of Chipersons were also burnt in the Dioester, and Dr. Brisley, Chanceller cese of Chichester, chiefly condemned of the Diocese.

Government, being under the influence and direction of Priefls and Bigots, discovered no vigour in any thing but the destruc-

tion of Heretics.

On the 19th of March, Bonner condemned Cuthbert Simpfon, Hugh Fox, and John Devenish; and on the 28th of the fame month they were burnt in Smithfield. Simpson was in Deacon's orders, and had been taken with John Rough beforementioned. He was three times racked in the Tower, and feveral other inventions of torture were made use of, to extort from him a discovery of all those Protestants in London who went to their private assemblies. But all their efforts for this purpose were in vain; for Simpson endured whatever sufferings they inflicted on him with amazing constancy. Even Bonner himself applauded him for his firmness: at one of Simpson's examinations, the Prelate addressed himself to the spectators, and faid, "Ye fee this man, what a personable man he is; and " furthermore concerning his patience; I fay unto you, that if " he were not an Heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience " that ever yet came before me. For I tell you, he hath been " thrice racked upon one day in the Tower. Also in my house he " hath felt some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience

" broken."

On the 17th of June, Henry Pond, Rayhold Eastland, Robert Southam, Matthew Ricarby, John Floyd, John Holliday, and Roger Holland, who had been taken up for affembling to worship in a close near Islington, were condemned by Bonner; and on the 27th of the fame month, they were burnt in Smithfield. And on the 14th of July, fix other persons who had been taken up at the same time, were burnt at Brentford. When those seven who were burnt in Smithfield were led out to the stake, it was proclaimed, in the Queen's name, that no man should pray for them, or speak to them, or say, GOD help them; " which " (fays Burnet) was thought a strain of barbarity beyond all the " examples of former times, to deprive dying men of the good " wishes and prayers of their friends. But however this might " restrain men from giving outward signs of their praying for " them, it could not bind up their inward and fecret devo-" tions."

Sundry other persons were committed to the slames this year in different parts of the kingdom. But an end was at length put to these inhuman butcheries, by the death of Queen Mary, which happened on the 17th of November, 1558, an event which was very little regretted by any of her subjects, except the Popish Clergy. For her reign was inglorious abroad, and to the last degree cruel and tyrannical at home (m). The Prin-

<sup>(</sup>m) It is certain that at least two But it is observed by Bishop Burnet, hundred and eighty-four persons were that " he that writ the Preface to put to death for religion in this reign, Bishop Ridley's book De Cana Domini,

cess Elizabeth was proclaimed Queen on the same day on which her sister died; on receiving information of which, she came from Hatsield, where she then was, and proceeded towards London.

When she came to Highgate, she was there met by all the Bishops, whom she received with civility, excepting Bonner, whom she looked upon as a man so much defiled with blood, that she would not shew him any mark of her favour, nor permit him to kiss her hand. The Queen was crowned on the fourteenth of January, 1559, by Oglethorp, Bishop of Carlisse, all the other Bishops refusing to officiate at that solemnity, on account of the attachment which her Majesty discovered to the opinions of the Heretics.

Bonner remained unmolested for about half a year after the accession of Elizabeth; but being called before the Privy Council, on the 30th of May, 1559, he refused to take the oath of supremacy which was then tendered to him, and was on that account deprived of his Bishopric on the 29th of June following, and committed to the Marshalsea (\*\*).

In the fifth year of Queen Elizabeth's reign, an act being passed which required the oath of supremacy to be taken by all Ecclesiastics, it was again tendered to Bonner among the rest, by Horn, Bishop of Winchester. But Bonner resused the oath as unlawful, and objected to the Bishop himself, as having no power to administer it to him, being none of his Diocesan, and no law-Vol. II. 7.

who is supposed to be Grindal, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, fays, that in the two first years of the Queen's perfecution, there were above eight hundred put to most cruel kinds of death for religion : by which it feems Fox, on whom I depend in the numbers I have affigned, has come far short in his account. Besides those that were burnt, many others died in bonds, of whom there are fixty reckoned."—Hift. of the Reform. Vol. II. P. 364. Indeed Fox himfelf intimates, that more were put to death than he has given an account of; for he fays, that " in fuch an innumerable company of godly martyrs, which in fundry quarters of this Realm were put to torments of fire in Queen Mary's time, it is hard so exactly to recite every particular person that suffered, but that fome escape us either unknown or omitted."—Acts and Monuments, Vol. III. P. 888. Edit. 1641.

(n) " It shewed a great temper

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revenge of those who had lost their near friends by his means.—There were great complaints made against Bonner, that he had, in many things, in the prosecution of those that were presented for Heresy, exceeded what the law allowed; so that it was much desired to have him made an example. But as the Queen was of her own nature merciful, so the reformed Divines had learned in the Gospel, not to render evil for evil, nor to seek revenge; and—they thought it was for the honour of their religion, to give this real demonstration of the conformity of their dectine, to the rules of the Gospel, and of the primitive Church, by avoiding all cruelty and severity, when it looked like revenge."—Hist. of the Re-

formation, Vol. II, P. 396.

in the whole nation, (fays Burnet) that such a man as Bonner had been,

was suffered to go about in safety,

and was not made a facrifice to the

ful Bishop. Whereupon he was indicted of a Præmunire, agree.

able to the statute, but he found means to get off.

As he was going back from the place where the oath was ten-dered to him, great numbers of people were assembled to see him pass; and as he was generally detested for his cruelty, many reviled him as he went along. And one in particular faid to him, "The LORD confound thee, or elfe turn thy heart." To which Bonner answered, " The Lord fend thee to keep thy " breath to cool thy porridge." Another faid to him, "The LORD overthrow thee." To which he replied, "The LORD " make thee as wife as a woodcock." When he came to his lodgings in the Marshalsea, he had some conversation with a Clergyman there, who took great pains to convince him of the reasonableness of taking the oath of supremacy; upon which Bonner tauntingly faid to him, " By God, you are well learned." " But where learned you to fwear, Mr. Bonner ?" faid the Clergyman. "I pray you (faid Bonner) did not CHRIST swear, Amen, Amen, dico vobis." " Why this is well, (faid the " Clergyman) that you have some Scripture for Blasphemy, " though you have none for Popery." Upon that Bonner flew out of his chamber in a rage, and went into the garden, defiring the keeper to turn the Clergyman out of the house (0).

Bonner lived some years in his confinement in the Marshalfea, where he was well used, and kept under a very easy refiraint; and he kept up his spirits extremely well (\*\*). He
died on the 5th of September, 1569; and three days after, he
was buried at midnight, in St. George's church-yard in Southwark, attended with some of his Popish friends and relations.

"Which was ordered (fays Mr. Strype) to be done at that seafon of the night, and in that obscurity, by the discretion of the
Bishop of London, to prevent any disturbances that might have
been made by the citizens, (who hated him mortally for having
been the death of so many of their pastors, friends, and relations), if they should have seen him in the day-time carried with

pomp

(c) Strype's Annals of the Reformation, during the first twelve years of Queen Elizabeth's reign,

years of Queen Elizabeth's reign, P. 340.

(h) "Tis faid that Dr. Bonner being fometimes allowed liberty, he would walk, as his occasions feryed, in the fireet; and fometimes wearing his tippet, one begged it of him (in fcoff) to line a coat," No, "faid he) but thou thait have a fool's head to line thy cap." To another that bid him, "Good morerow, Bithop Quondam," he straight replied, "Farewell, knave Semper." When another person shewed the said Bonner his own picture in the

Acts and Monuments of the Church, &c. commonly called the Book of Martyrs, on purpose to vex him, he merrily laughed, and said, 'A venge-ance on the sool, how could he get my picture drawn so right?' And when one asked him, If he were not ashamed to whip a man with a beard, he laughed, and told him, 'His beard awas grown since; but (said he) if thou hadst been in his case, thou wouldst have thought it a good commutation of penance, to have had thy bum beaten to save thy body from burning.'— Wood's Athense Oxonienses, Vol. 1. P. 126. Edit. 1691.

pomp and shew to his burial, as many of his acquaintance had intended to do. He stood excommunicate many years, and took no care for his absolution; and so might have been denied Christian burial; but the Bishop of London would not make use

of that rigour."

Bishop Bonner was a man of little learning, except in the Canon law, and in politics, in which he is said to have been well skilled. He was vicious in his private life, much given to the indulgence of his appetites, addicted to swearing, passionate, insolent, and over-bearing. But the character in which he most distinguished himself, was that of a furious, bigotted, and cruel persecutor. It is said that he was concerned in committing two hundred persons to the slames. And it appeared in numbersels instances, that his temper was to the last degree savage and inhuman. As to his person, he was very fat and corpulent; which made one say to him, "That he was full of guts, but empty of bowels." In short, to conclude the character of Bonner, we may safely venture to assimpt that he was a disgrace to religion,

and to humanity.

We have dwelt longer on the Life of Bonner than any of our biographical predecessors, and indeed longer than his character deserved. For he certainly merited no honourable memorial. It is true, his own actions have raised a monument to him; but it is a monument of infamy. We think, however, that the Life of Bonner exhibits a striking representation of the spirit and genius of Popery; of the fatal consequences of Bigotry and Supersti-tion; and a slavish and unmanly subjection to priestly power and dominion. It is indeed associating, that such barbarities as we have had occasion to speak of, so shocking to every tender feeling of the human heart, should ever have been practifed by men who pretended to be Ministers of a religion which inculcates in the strongest manner kindness, humanity, and tenderness to our fellow creatures, and the most universal benevolence. Let it, however, be remembered, that Popery is still the same, whatever appearances its Clergy may artfully assume, whilst they are divested of power. And the Life of Edmund Bonner will not be without its use, if it excites in those who read it, a proper regard to the invaluable interests of religious liberty, and a just detestation of every species of religious persecution.



## The Life of Cardinal POLE, Archbishop of Canterbury.

Royal of England, being a younger fon of Sir Richard Pole, Knight of the Garter, and coufin-german to King Henry VII. by Margaret, daughter of George, Duke of Clarence, younger brother to King Edward IV. He was born at Stoverton Castle in Staffordshire, in the year 1500. After great care had been taken by his mother to form his mind and manners from his cradle, he was sent at seven years of age to be instructed in grammar by the Carthusians, in the Monastery at Sheen, near Richmond, in Surry; and when he had attained the age of twelve, he was removed to Magdalen College in Oxford, where he closely applied himself to the acquisition of learning, in which he made a considerable proficiency, being affisted in his studies by Thomas Linacre and William Latimer. In June, 1515, he took the degree of Batchelor of Arts, and some time afterwards he entered into Deacon's orders.

On the 19th of March, 1517, he was made Prebendary of Roscombe, in the church of Salisbury; to which were added, in about two years after, the Deaneries of Winbourne Minster and Exeter. These early promotions were conferred on Pole by Henry VIII. on account of his affinity to him; and his Majesty himself, it is said, directed his being brought up to the Church, with a view of raising him to the highest dignities in it. Nor was Pole undeserving of the Royal favour; for he had a good share of natural parts, together with much sweetness of temper,

and a love of letters (q).

Pole being now nineteen years of age, and having laid a good foundation of learning in his own country, he was defirous of making a journey into Italy, in order to complete his education; and for this purpose a support suitable to his rank was provided by the King, who allowed him a large yearly pension, besides the profits of his ecclesiastical preferments. Accordingly he set out for Italy handsomely attended, and visited several Universities there, but chose to take up his residence at Padua; where he hired an handsome house, and established an houshold suitable to his quality.

" The

<sup>( )</sup> Vid. Biographia Britannica, and Gen, Biograph. Diet. 2vo.

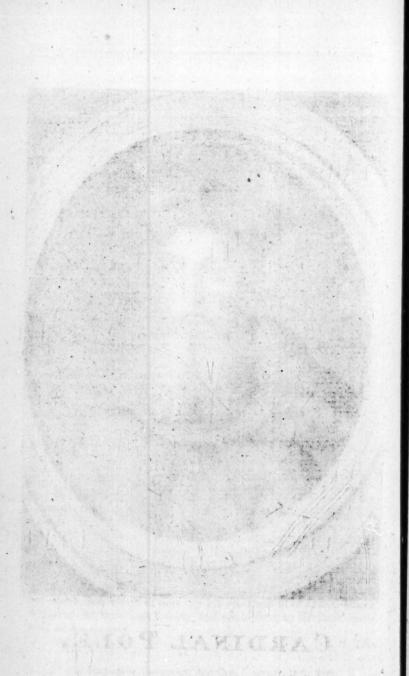


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CARDINAL POLE.



" The great reputation of the professors at Padua, (fays Dr. Neve) had made it the common refort of learned men, and of all who were ambitious of that character, and desirous of being recommended to the notice of the world, by those who were confessedly the best judges of literary merit. Here it was where Pole began those connections, which distinguished his rising The professors had this extraordinary spur to their inworth. dustry and diligence; they knew that they were forming the mind of one, who was the kiniman and the favourite of a great King, and might hereafter have it in his power amply to reward their labours: and some of them partook nobly of his present bounty, being maintained by him in his own house. They therefore took care to publish his praises, as of one who was an honour to them, and an ornament to their University. Here commenced his close intimacy with Bembo, Sadolet, and Longolius, which lasted the remainder of their lives. And whilst he continued in this place, his acquaintance with Erasmus also took its rise. That great man had received from his friend Lupset a very favourable representation of Pole. He therefore entered into an epistolary intercourse with him; which he began by recommending to his favour and esteem the afterwards well-known John a Lasco; thereby genteely laying himself under an obligation to his new correspondent (r)."

Besides the assistances which Pole received in his studies from Longolius and his countryman Thomas Lupset, who is said to have been entertained by him in his own family, as well as many other men of letters, he also particularly attended the lectures of N. Leonicus, who was distinguished for his perfect knowledge of the Greek tongue, and who brought him to be well acquainted with the writings of Aristotle and Plato in their original languages (s).

Whilst Pole continued at Padua, his learned friend Christopher Longolius died, in 1522. There was a great intimacy between him and Pole, at whose house he died, and who wrote the Life of his deceased friend, as a memorial of his regard for him; and which, Dr. Neve observes, was the first and the best specimen Pole gave the public of his abilities. Longolius was a man of confiderable parts and learning: he was bred at Louvain; and applying himself to the study of Cicero, he contracted such an implicit veneration for the Roman orator, that he stands among the Chiefs of the Ciceronians; on which account he had a little variance with Erasmus, between whom and Budzus he drew up a comparison, in which he gave the preference to the latter. Erasmus has, however, bestowed many encomiums on him;

<sup>(</sup>r) Animadversions on Mr. Phil-pot's Life of Cardinal Pole, by Dr. Neve, P. 8, 9. (4) Vid. Life of C. Reginald Pole, 1766. P. 16.

him; though in one of his epiftles he has given an humorous account of the stiffness of Longolius's behaviour, and his pedantic attachment to the words and phrases of Cicero; saying, that he "was fo folemn, that though he flaid with him three days, he "" never observed him to smile, not even at meal-times, though he would fometimes aim at a joke in his letters; --- that according to this feet, (that of the Ciceronians) every thing must be expressed as Cicero would have done it. Oh! if he could revive, how he would laugh at these disciples of

" his (1)."

Pole having now acquired a confiderable share of knowledge and reputation in Italy, by the folicitation of his mother, now Countess of Salisbury, and the rest of his friends, he proposed returning into England at the beginning of the year 1525; but being defirous of feeing the jubilee, which was celebrated this year at Rome, he refolved to visit that city before he returned into his own country.

He set out upon his journey with a small retinue of his own domestics; however, at Florence, and at many other towns through which he passed, he was received with great marks of public respect. He was likewise received in the most honourable manner on his arrival at Rome ( u ), where he made but a short stay, only visiting, we are told, the places sacred to devotion, without appearing at the Court of the Pope. Having left Rome, he hastened with all expedition to his native country, to the embraces of his friends, and particularly of his mother,

who loved him with the greatest tenderness.

On his arrival in England, he was received in a very kind and honourable manner by the King and Queen, and treated with great respect by the whole Court; being much caressed, not only for his learning, but for the sweetness of his manners, and the polite accomplishments which he had acquired during his refidence abroad. He did not, however, relax from that close application to his studies, to which he had long habituated himfelf; but reflecting on the many happy hours he had spent in his earlier years in that delightful retirement within the walls of the Carthufian Convent, where Dean Coler had built himself an handsome house, he procured a grant of it from the King, and made it his place of abode for two years (w).

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(1) Vid. Neve's Animadverfions, P. 14. and Jortin's Life of Erasmus. ( ) " Not to detract from young Reginald's intrinfic excellencies (fays Mr. Pye), with which he figured fo much at the foreign University, it may be prefumed the national vanity of the Italians helped to blazon them proud of feeing a young fludent of the Blood Royal of England grace

their schools. He was their idol, not only for his excellence as a fcholar, but for the figure he made there through the magnificence of his appointments; and his comrades and correspondents were full of puffs on that occasion in all their letters. Beccatelli, as before, P. 18. note (1).
(w) Beccatelli, as before, P. 18,

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e, P. 18,

Pole continued in this agreeable retirement, till the affair of King Henry's divorce came upon the carpet. The King's proceedings in this affair were very much disapproved by Pole, he " foreboding (as Beccatelli tells us) the future calamities of his country," which would refuit therefrom: though others intimate that Pole was much offended with the King's proceedings in this affair, for a reason of a very different kind. It is suggested, that notwithstanding his having been bred to the Church, he had entertained some hopes of espousing the Princess Mary; a defign which feems to have been favoured by Queen Catherine (x); and therefore Pole, it is supposed, was the more averse to the King's divorce from Catherine, as the consequent illegitimation of Mary would deprive him of any afpiring views which he might have formed, in consequence of his hoped for marriage with that Princess. However, whether any disgust on this account now induced him to leave the kingdom, or whatever other cause, it is certain that about this time he obtained permission from the King to go to the University of Paris, under pretence of making there a further progress in his theological studies. Accordingly he spent one year at Paris, from October 1529, to the October following; and during his stay there, the King having determined to confult the Universities of Europe on his divorce, fent to Pole to solicit the cause at Paris. He was fo averse to the King's cause, that this was a most disagreeable and ungrateful commission to him. He, therefore, excused himfelf on account of his want of experience, and begged that some person, more conversant in the question, might be entrusted with it. Upon this Henry fent over Bellay, and joined him in commission with Pole; who seems, however, to have left the management of the affair almost entirely to his collegue.

Pole returned to England in October, 1530, and foon after retired to his former folitude at Sheen. It is probable the King had expressed some displeasure at Pole's backwardness to promote his cause: however, about this time a book written by Pole, and containing his reasons for disapproving of the King's intended divorce, was presented to the King. It was soon after put into Cranmer's hands, for his perusal; who gave it as his opinion,

( ) It is faid that Queen Cathe. rine, being greatly concerned at the death of the Earl of Warwick, Reginald Pole's uncle, whose execution had been made the condition of her marriage, by her father Ferdinand, King of Spain, was accustomed to fay, that "her mind would never be at case, unless the Crown reverted

injustice done to the brother." Reginald Pole, although fixteen years older than the Princes, was the youngest of those sons, and therefore more likely than either of his elder brothers, to be chosen for her hufband. And (perhaps to further this defign) the care of the young Princefs's education was, by the Qu again to the Earl of Warwick's family, by a marriage of one of his
fifter's lons to her daughter, and thus
fome reparation were made for the

again to the Earl of Warwick's fabury, Pole's mother.—Review
Philips's Life of Reginald Pole,
Glocefter Ridley, L. L. B. P. 3. committed to the Countels of Salifa: bury, Pole's mother.—Review of Philips's Life of Reginald Pole, by

"That Pole had shewed himself both witty and eloquent; and that, for his wisdom, he might have been of counsel to the King: and fuch was his rhetoric, that if his book should " have been set forth, and known to the common people, he be-" lieved it were not possible to persuade them to the contrary." But concerning the point at which Pole principally aimed, namely, That the King should commit his cause to the determination of the Pope, Cranmer faid, "That he seemed therein to lack much judgment: and that though he pressed it with " fuch goodly eloquence, both of words and fentence, that he

" were likely to persuade many; yet him, he said, he persuaded " in that point nothing at all (y)

In April, 1531, the See of York having been four months vacant, an offer of it was made to Pole, on condition that he would not oppose the King's divorce : but he refused the Archbishopric, as he could not accept that dignity but on terms which he deemed ignominious ( 2 ). It is faid, that Pole had a private interview with the King on this occasion, in which he declared his fentiments against the divorce with great freedom; which so irritated Henry, who had been led to expect a very different behaviour from Pole, that, in an angry manner, he laid his hand upon his dagger; but, recollecting himself, he only said, " I will confider what you have faid, and you shall have my an-" fwer:" and thereupon angrily dismissed Pole from his prefence, and never fent for him more.

Pole having thus fallen under the displeasure of the King, and (as Beccatelli fays) of many of the Court, refolved to leave the kingdom as foon as he could, and retire to one of the foreign Universities, before any worse consequences befel him. Accordingly he obtained a permission for that purpose from the King; who, notwithstanding his diffatisfaction at Pole's behaviour, also continued to him the pension which he had before granted him, and which had been regularly paid to him ever fince its first allotment. He then took leave of his mother, and passed over into France, to the University of Avignon, where he staid almost a year; but finding the air of the place did not agree with him, in 1532 he went to Padua, where he had before enjoyed a good state of health, and been greatly respected. He divided his time between Padua and Venice, distinguished in both places

Cranmer, P. 6-9. and Appendix,

(x) " This circumftance (fays Dr. Neve) would doubtlefs have reflected much honour on his character, had not he himfelf unfortunately told us in his epiftle to King Edward, (fect. 34.) that he took a month to debate the matter with himself; du-ring which time he consessed (fect.

(y) Vid. Strype's Memorials of 36.) he found out a method to reconcile his honour and his interest; that he went full-fraught with it to the King, when preparing to utter his falvo, his conscience took the alarm, first stopped his mouth, and then extorted from him language the very reverse of that which he came prepered to deliver." - Animadver, tions, P. 84.

for his polite and amiable manners; and he devoted, we are told, his whole attention to theological studies. During his abode there, he kept up a constant correspondence with the most eminent Literati, by whom he was greatly beloved and

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Pole had now been a confiderable time abroad, and King Henry had several times intimated to him his defire that he should return home; but he made fundry excuses, and at length wrote the King word, that he did not approve of what he had done, neither in the matter of his divorce, nor his late separation from the Apostolic See. Upon this the King desired his reafons for difagreeing with him, and fent him over a book written by Dr. Sampson, in defence of the proceedings in England. Upon this Pole wrote his treatise DE UNITATE ECCLESIASTICA, and fent it over to the King. In this book he " condemned the King's actions, (fays Burnet), and pressed him to return to the obedience he owed to the See of Rome, with many sharp reflections: but the book was more confidered for the author, and the wit and eloquence of it, than for any great learning, or deep reasoning in it. He did also very much depress the Royal, and exalt the Papal authority: he compared the King to Nebuchadnezzar, and addressed himself in the conclusion to the Emperor, whom he conjured to turn his arms rather against the King than the Turk. And indeed the indecencies of his expressions against the King, not to mention the scurrilous language he beflows on Sampson, whose book he undertakes to answer, are such. that it appears how much the Italian air had changed him; and that his converse at Padua had for some time defaced that generous temper of mind, which was otherwise so natural to him (b).

Soon after the receipt of Pole's book, King Henry fent letters to him, requiring him, all excuses set apart, to return immediately into England, that he might confer with him on the fubject of his book and letters, and explain some passages therein, which his Majesty did not thoroughly understand. Pole, however, was conscious that he had made too free with Henry, to

Vol. II. 8.

(a) Beccatelli, P. 29, 30. (b) Vid. Hifts Reform. Vol. I. The character which Bishop Burnet has given of Pole's treatile, gives great offence to Mr. Philips, who hath bestowed high encomiums on Pole's work, in his hiftory of the Life of the Author; or rather, in the vindication of Popery and Priestcraft, which he hath published under that title. What Burnet has faid on this fubject has, however, been fuffi-ciently vindicated by Dr. Neve and Mr. Ridley. Mr. Philips is indeed

often grievously offended with Bishop Burnet, and hath bestowed on him much unmerited abuse; and it must be owned that their representations of things do by no means agree well together. This, however, we may venture to fay, that if Mr. Philips, in his history of the Life of Reginald Pole, had shewn half the candour, and fidelity as an Historian, that is displayed in Burnet's history of the Reformation, he would have escaped many severe censures which have been most deservedly passed upon him.

venture to return to England. He therefore wrote word to him, that he was very defirous of obeying his Majesty, and that nothing should have prevented his coming, but that act which had been passed, by which his Majesty was declared supreme head of the Church, and those were made traitors who would not agree to this: an act, he faid, which had been put in execution against the best men in the Realm, both for virtue and learning. And as this act, therefore, was still in force, he should be a traitor against his own life to obey his Majesty's commands. also intimated, that his book was so clear, that there was no occasion for him to explain any part of it, if his Majesty would read it with an equal and impartial mind. He said also of his treatise, that " there was never book written with more sharp-" ness of words, nor again with more ferventness of love and " affection to maintain his Majesty's honour and wealth, both in " this world and another." And he urged many reasons to induce his Majesty to relinquish that supremacy which he had asfumed; which he represented as the most unhappy and disho. nourable step his Majesty had ever taken (c).

If in what Pole wrote against Henry, in his treatise on the Church's unity, he was really actuated by his love and regard for his Majesty, as he himself said, it must be owned that he had a most singular manner of expressing his affection. For he says of Henry in his treatife, that he was profane and impious, barbarous and Turk-like, more barbarous and cruel than ever man was, worse than Nero and Domitian, a wild beast, and the head of the Devil's church, and other things of the like kind (d). And whatever Pole's fentiments of the King's measures might be, yet when his personal obligations to Henry are considered, it must be admitted, that this scurrilous language came from Pole

with a very ill grace (e).
In consequence of Pole's behaviour, the pension which he had hitherto received from Henry, was withdrawn, and he was also stripped of his ecclesiastical preferments in England. As he had, therefore, facrificed so much by his attachment to the Papal See, it was but reasonable that the Holy Father should endeavour

(c) Vid. Harleian MSS. in the British Museum, No. 283. Fol. 108.

(d) See a collection of paffages and expressions of this kind used of Henry by Pole, and felected from his treatife by Mr. Ridley, Review of Philips, P. 60, 61.

(e) Thomas Starky, an old friend of Pole's, in a letter to him expresses himself thus.

himself thus. " In the reading

whereof, (the treatife De Unit. Ecclef.) although we all loved you en-

kindness to your Prince, so offended us all, that many times our ears abhorred the hearing—comparing the head with the end, and confidering the whole circumstance of the matter, there appeared to me the most frantic judgment that ever I read of any learned man in my life; for herein lies the fum of your book, be-cause we are slipped from the obedience of Rome, you judge us to be clef.) although we all loved you en-tirely, yet your corrupt judgment in the matter, and your deteftable un-of the Catholic body, but to be worse

to make up his losses. And, indeed, Pole's zeal for Rome, his high birth, connections, and correspondence with England, made him a fit instrument to be employed to give information, and affift in the execution of fuch measures, as should be thought expedient for the reduction of that kingdom to the Papal See. And the Pope having about this time promifed to call a General Council for the reformation of the Church, summoned several learned men to Rome, to draw up the points which needed to be reformed: among these he summoned Pole to represent England. Pole was earnestly solicited by his mother, and his other friends in England, not to obey the Pope's summons; and he at first discovered much irresolution about it; however, he was prevailed on by his Italian friends to fet out for Rome, where he arrived in October, 1536, and was lodged in the Pope's palace, and treated with the utmost respect.

Pole, after his arrival at Rome, drew up, in conjunction with his brother Commissioners, a Plan of Reformation. But all these good endeavours of Pole, and his associates, were at once rendered ineffectual, by his Holiness himself putting his negative upon them. The temper of the times, it is faid, was ill fuited to the change which was projected: and no use was made of the plan, though little progress would have been made towards a Reformation, if it had been adopted. "Contarino, Theatino, Sadolet, and Reginald Pole, (fays Lord Herbert) and some others, who were passionate on their own side, produced, after many conferences, no more than a remonstrance of divers abuses in the Government and Administration of ecclesiastical persons and affairs; for in the Church doctrine they would not admit an error (f)."

A defign was now formed of promoting Pole to the purple, to enable him the better to advance the interests of the Papal See. Pole himself, however, did not seem disposed to accept of this promotion. He was not yet in holy orders, nor had received even the clerical tonfure, notwithstanding the benefices which had been so long conferred on him: and he represented to the Pope, that such a dignity would at this juncture be very unfeafonable, as it would deftroy all his influence in England, by subjecting him to the imputation of being too much biassed to the interest of the Papal See; and would also have a natural tendency to bring ruin on his own family. He, therefore, intreated his Holiness to leave him, at least for the present, where 2 U 2

than Turks and Saracens. Where-fore you rail upon our Prince, to bring him to repentance; more vehemently than ever did Gregory against the Apostate Julian, or any other against a Prince, such a bitter, sharp, against such tyrants as persecuted and sanderous oration.

CHRIST's doctrine. Upon this (f) Hist. of Henry point you have pretended, all that Edit, 1683.

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sharpness of your oration to spring of love. Yet be you affored, none are fo blinded, but to judge it a foolish love, which bringeth forth

he was; that so signal a mark of his favour, of which he had the highest sense, might on some suture occasion be less hazardous in the acceptance of it, than at that critical period. The Pope seemed satisfied with what Pole said, and promised to postpone for the present what he had intended; at which Pole expressed much satisfaction. But the next day, whether induced by the Imperial emissaries, or of his own motion, the Pope altered his mind, and commanded Pole's immediate obedience. This peremptory command requiring present compliance, Beccatelli, who was present, says, Pole "submitted to the tonsure with as "much reluctance, as the lamb to the shearing knife (g)." Accordingly he was created Cardinal-Deacon of S. Nereus and Achilleus, on the 22d of December, 1536.

Soon after Pole's acceffion to his new dignity, he was also appointed Legate, and received orders to depart immediately for the coasts of France and Flanders, to keep up the spirit of the Popish party in England, as Beccatelli expresses it. Lord Herbert says, the Pope employed Pole "as Legate to Flanders, that by this means he might confirm the Roman Catholics in Eng- land, and advance his designs, being to stir up enemies to our King. Though as Pole was of the Blood Royal, many

"wanted not, who believed that his zeal was complicate with fome ambition to intitle his line to the Crown, when our King might be deposed, and his posterity, especially by Queen

" Anne, declared illegitimate (b)."

To enable Pole the better to promote the business he was employed about, he had letters from the Pope to the English nation, or rather to the English Catholics, the French King, the King of Scotland, and to the Emperor's fifter, who was Regent of the Low Countries. The Holy Father's letter to the English Catholics, was to require them to pay that deference to the Legate, Pole, which their duty to the Holy See required. to the French King, he was adjured by his title to give aid to the rebels who had lately excited an infurrection in England, who were represented as zealots for the true religion. That to the young King of Scotland was attended with a confecrated sword and cap, in order to inflame his youth to undertake the defence of his neighbours the English rebels, and fight against the enemies of the Church. The last, to the Emperor's sister, was to excite her to assist the English rebels as much as was in her power, to avenge the honour of her family difgraced by the divorce and illegitimation (i).

The readiness with which Pole undertook this commission, sets his character in a very unfavourable point of view. There is too much reason to suspect that he was actuated by some am-

<sup>(</sup>g) Vid. Beccatelli, 25 before, P. 40, 41, 42. and Ridley's Review of Philips, P. 87.

bitious views (k); and if he be acquitted of any thing of that kind, there is then no other way of excusing his conduct, but by supposing him influenced by an extreme degree of bi-

gotry, that blinded his understanding.

It was the beginning of Lent (1), 1537, according to Beccatelli, when Pole set out from Rome to execute this commission. He prevailed on the Bishop of Verona, who was his particular friend, to bear him company in this expedition, and he was attended by a handsome retinue. However, on the very day of his arrival at Paris, the French Monarch fent him word, that he could not admit him to treat of the bufiness on which he came, nor even permit him to make any stay in his dominions. For King Henry, who had been informed of the defign of Pole's journey, had made application to Francis to deliver him up into the hands of his Ambassador (m). Thus disappointed, Pole proceeded to Cambray, but the Regent of the Low Countries would not permit him to pursue his journey. Upon this, having received an invitation from the Cardinal Bishop of Liege, with the affurance that his person should be as safe under his protection as his own, he accepted the offer, and was received by the Cardinal Bishop with great kindness, and liberally entertained by him. He continued at Liege (n) about three months, " in " expectation,

( ) Lord Herbert says, that when Pole was in the Low Countries, " his fervant, Michael Throgmorton, was very inquisitive whether the Queen (being now great) were thought by the Physicians to bear a man-child or female; which made the Intentions of the Cardinal more fuipected." Hift. of Henry VIII. P. 486.

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(1) Mr. Philips informs us in his Life of Pole, (Vol. I. P. 215, 216. Evo. Edit.) that as "he was on his journey in Lent, and the diet of that feafon not agreeing with his confti-tution, he found his health and ftrength much impaired." However, the pious Legate was very unwilling to make any alteration in his diet, without absolute necessity; from a "fear of giving offence, which would be of so much more pernicious consequence, as his character laid him more open to observation, and as he was defirous to avoid even the appearance of evil."

(m) " Pole complains in his letters to Paul III. and Rodorigo Pio, the French Nuncio, of the ignomi-

from the King of England, who proclaimed him a traitor, and put a price upon his head. But, if an open avowal of holding correspondence with subjects in actual rebellion, and an attempt to fuccour and foment their disturbances by coming in perfon to encourage them, be treafon, Pole's own confession will convict him; when, writing to the Pope on the ill fucces of his Embassy, he de-fires to be recalled, " as the whole scheme he embarked upon was defeated, by Henry's fuccess against the Catholic insurgents." — And yet, notwithstanding this declaration of the traiterous purpose of his Embassy, he wrote at this very time a letter to Lord Cromwell, the Minister he pretended to abhor, " to clear himfelf from the imputation of difloyalty, and to protest he had no intention of differvice to the King."-Pye's Beccatelli, P. 46. Note (b).

(n) Mr. Philips tells us (Vol. I. P. 229.) that " this retreat did not shelter him from Henry's secret intrigues, and open attempts to rid himself of a person, whose zeal for nious treatment he had met with the civil and religious rights of his

er expectation, (as Beccatelli fays), that the Emperor and the French King would fulfil their engagements with him, by doing their utmost to foment the disturbances raised by the " malecontents in England (0)." However, on the approach of winter, Pole, by the Pope's command, returned again to Rome, having made a very unsuccessful journey of it (p).

Cardinal Pole now took up his residence for some time at Rome; but in 1538, the Pope set out for Nice in Provence, to be present at an interview with the Emperor and the King of France, upon which expedition he made Pole of his party, with several other Cardinals. Before the end of the summer the Pope returned to Rome, whither the Cardinals Pole and Contarini followed him within a few months, having spent the intermediate

time with their friends in Lombardy (q).

This year the Pope issued his bulls of excommunication and deposition against the King of England. By which his Holiness, as far as in him lay, deprived Henry of his kingdoms, absolved his subjects from their allegiance, and ordered them to take up arms against him: and all the Christian Princes of Europe were exhorted to fall upon him, as a public enemy of the Church of GOD (r). And soon after, it was determined that Pole should be dispatched into the same quarter as before, and with the same views, in quality of Legate to the Holy See. He fet out at the close of the year 1538; and that he might travel with the more expedition, and run less hazard of falling into Henry's hands, it was thought advisable for him to quit his Cardinal's habit, and take his journey with a small retinue through Spain by way of Toledo, where the Emperor kept his Court, and from thence take a circuit by Guienne into France; and that as foon as the Emperor and French King had fixed the time for laying an embargo on all commerce with England, Pole, in the character of Legate, should take up his abode either in Flanders or Picardy, as would be most convenient for him to promote the designs formed against Henry (s). This scheme, however, was counterworked

country made him at once the object of a tyrant's hatred and fears. Without doubt Pole's devotedness to the Papal See, was a most admirable evidence of his "zeal for the civil and religious rights of his country!"

( ) Beccatelli, as before, P. 48. (p) "In this manner (fays Mr. Philips) an end was put to a negociation, which had been entered on by the Pope from a zeal of uniting England to the Catholic Church; and by the Legate, on the same difinterested and Christian views." Life of (q) Beccatelli, P. 49, 52.
Pole, Vol. I. P. 240. However pi- (r) See P. 116. of this Volume. ous and difinterefied the defign might

be of the Holy Father, and his Leagate Pole, of "uniting England to the Catholic Church;" we think their method of promoting this defign, namely, exciting the Princes of Evantuation to make was spain? Harry rope to make war against Henry, and encouraging his subjects to rebel against him, was not very pious, nor very agreeable to the rules of Christianity. However, their proceedings might be, and we believe were, very conformable to that fort of Christianity which is taught at Rome ..

(s) Vid. Beccatelli, P. 53, 54.

terworked by the King of England, fo that Pole met with but a cool reception from the Emperor, who paid little regard to the overtures made to him by the Cardinal in the Pope's name; and when Pole applied to him to fulfil his engagements, he anfwered, "it was now a very unseasonable time for such an at-" tempt." This unfavourable reception from his Imperial Majesty, made Pole have little inclination to proceed on his journey into France: indeed he feems to have been unwilling to run the hazard of falling into Henry's hands; and it is faid that the Pope's whole fcheme was disconcerted by the timidity of Pole. However this be, he took his route backward to Avignon and Carpentras, and from thence fent dispatches to Rome, and a gentleman of his houshold to the Court of France. The Pope fent orders to Pole to stay in those parts where he was : he therefore made choice of Carpentras, not only because it was more quiet and retired than Avignon, but chiefly because it was the refidence of Sadolet, his intimate friend and brother Cardinal, in the enjoyment of whose company he promised himself much fatisfaction (t). Pole spent six months at Carpentras, and afterwards passed, by way of Marseilles and Nice, through Piedmont, and came to Verona, where he spent some time with his old friend the Bishop of that See.

In the mean time, Cardinal Pole was not only himself attainted of high treason by the Parliament of England, but his eldest brother Henry Pole, Lord Montague, the Marquis of Exeter, Sir Edward Nevil, and Sir Nicholas Carew, were condemned and executed for high treason, being charged with conspiring to raise Cardinal Pole to the Crown. Sir Geoffrey Pole, another brother of the Cardinal's, was also condemned on the same account, but he was pardoned because he had given information

against

(t) Beccatelli, P. 56, 57, 58, 59. The following candid character of SADOLET is given by Dr. Neve. " Sadolet, though Secretary to a Pope, was yet remarkable for his candour and moderation, and for an affection to learned persons, though they were fometimes engaged in defending religious principles different from his own. He had a very high regard for Sturmius, Bucer, and Melancthon. Seckendorf hath preferved a valuable letter of his, addressed to Melancthon, which shews the good-ness of his heart, and the sweetness of his temper. It is a letter expreffive of the highest esteem of that excellent Reformer and his writings: in it he acquaints him with his promotion to the Purple, and begs to be admitted into his friendship; telling bim, he was not fuch a bigot, as to

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hate those who differed from him, but that the esteem he bore to learn. ing and worth was fuch, that he had already no inconfiderable share of his affection; and hoped, the distance of their abode would not prevent an union of their fouls. How amiable is fuch a spirit! how dear must it render him to every lover of learning and candour! honest and moderate men must admire him, and no adversary could be so ungerous as to hate, or revile him. Of all the friends of Pole, there was none whose acquaintance did him so much honour, as his intimacy with the truly respectable Sadolet; and had he but cultivated the fame freedom of thinking and writing, his own character might have equalled that of his friend the Bishop of Carpentras. Animadvertions, P. 96.

against the rest. " The particular offences of these great perfons (fays Lord Herbert) are not yet fo fully made known to " me, that I can say much. Only I find among our records, that Thomas Wriothesly, Secretary, then at Brussels, writing " of their apprehension to Sir Thomas Wyat, his Highness's " Ambassador in Spain, said, that the accusations were great, " and duly proved. And in another place, I read that they fent the Cardinal money ( ")." Shortly after Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, mother to the Cardinal, was also condemned for high treason, on the same account; but her execution was de-

ferred (w).

It was the close of the year 1539, when Cardinal Pole returned to Rome, foon after which the Pope appointed him a guard for the fecurity of his person, it being apprehended that his life was in danger from the emissaries of Henry. The Pope likewise conferred on Pole the dignity of Legate of Viterbo, a government of ease and leisure, which he enjoyed for many years. In this post he still maintained his character for piety and learning; and it is faid that in his government he shewed great moderation and lenity towards the Protestants. At Viterbo Pole enjoyed that learned leifure, which was most agreeable to his temper and disposition. He was here head of a literary society, the principal members of which were Flaminius, Peter Carnefecca, and Victoria, Marchioness of Pescara. But it has been observed, that several of the members of this society were not free from a suspicion of heretical pravity. And it is like-wise remarked, that Immanuel Tremellius, who was a known Protestant, was converted from Judaism to Christianity in Pole's

( u ) Hift. of Henry VIII. P. 502.

Edit. 1683.
(w) The Counters was not executed till near two years after the was condemned; and it is faid that her death was haftened by an infurrection in Yorkshire, which was supposed to be caused by the intrigues of her fon, Cardinal Pole. When the was brought to the scaffold, the refused to lay her head on the block, saying, "That should Traitors do, and I am none." And she told the executioner, that if he would have her head, he must win it the best way he could: and thus shaking her grey locks, the ran about the fcaffold; and the executioner followed her

was certainly great cruelty in the execution of this venerable Lady, as the evidence against her appears to have been inconfiderable; and the was upwards of feventy years of age, and the last of the line of Plantagenet.

Cardinal Pole, whose connections with the See of Rome, and negociations against Henry, were the ruin of his family, is faid to have re-ceived the news of his mother's death with great steadiness and compolure, confoling himfelf for her loss by the confideration that the died a martyr to the Catholic faith; and faying to his Secretary, Beccatelli, when he acquainted him with the news, "Be of good courage, we have now one Patron more added to with his ax, aiming many fruitles news, "Be of good courage, blows at her neck, before he was able to give her the fatal stroke. There those we already had in Heaven."

palace at Viterbo, where he was baptized, the Cardinal and

Flaminius being his godfathers (x).

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Pole continued at Viterbo till the year 1542, when the General Council, which had been long promised, and long delayed, was at length called at Trent. And the Pope nominated three Legates to open it, namely, the Cardinals Morone, Paris, and Pole. Accordingly Pole and his collegues repaired to Trent; but scarce any Prelates assembling there, and the three Legates having been there feven months without doing any thing, were recalled by the Pope. Upon Pole's return to Rome with his collegues, he made some short stay in that city; after which he returned to his government of Viterbo, between which place and Rome he passed his time, following his studies in great repose and tranquility till 1545; when the Pope issued a second citation for holding the Council at the same place, and appointed Pole again, with two other Cardinals, his Legates there. Pole's two collegues arrived at Trent at the beginning of March, but he continued at Rome some time after, being informed, as it is faid, that some of Henry's emissaries had engaged to seize him on the road. However this be, during his stay at Rome, he composed a treatise on the nature and end of General Councils (y). After which he repaired to Trent, being escorted part of the way thither by five and twenty horse.

The credentials which Pole and his brother Legates received from the Pope, fet forth, (as we are informed by Mr. Philips), "That the Pope sent them to Trent, as ANGELS OF PEACE, " to prefide at the Council, to make whatever decrees they judged necessary for the good of the Church; and to publish " them, as was customary, during the sessions: to propose, con-" clude, and execute whatever they thought proper to extirpate " errors, recal the people to the obedience of the Holy See, re-" establish ecclesiastical liberty, reform the Church in all its " members, procure peace between Christian Princes, and or-" dain whatever was expedient for the honour of Almighty "GOD, and the propagation of the holy faith; and reprefs, Vol. II. 8.

(x) Vid. Neve's Animadversions on Philips, P. 344, 345, 346, and

Ridley's Review, 139-(y) Mr. Philips tells us, that this treatile of Pole's " for perspicuity, good fenfe, and folid reasoning, is equal to the importance of the occafion on which it was written; and shows at once the reach and ease of the Author's genius, and the goodness of his heart. He has avoided all extreme opinions; and not discovered greater zeal for the Catholic Church, and the prerogative of the See of Rome, than candor, in repre- gives, however, a very different cha-

fenting the diforders which fullied one, and leffened the authority of the Mr. Philips likewife obferves, that that part of Pole's treatife which relates to the Papal Supremacy, " without departing from the ease and familiar air which recom= mends the whole, is worked up with great strength, and must be looked on as a complete proof of the Supre-macy of the Bishops of Rome."-Life of Reginald Pole, Vol. I. P. 397, 402. 8vo. Edit.

The learned and judicious Dr. Neve

" by cenfures and ecclefiastical punishments, the refractory and

" rebellious, of what condition foever (z)."

It was nine months after the Legates arrived at Trent, before they proceeded to any business (a). But on the 13th of De-

racter of Pole's performance. fays, it is " a pretty, florid, and harmless composition; which, as if it was defigned only for true and trufty friends, proceeds altogether upon borrowed principles, and argues from them, as if they were incontestibly allowed. And however the Author might be admired at Rome or Trent, he must not expect the same complaifance from those, who will require not founds, but things, not words, but arguments. Such enquirers will, at first view, discover the Cardinal Legate to go, in this treatife, upon the same principles he went in his book on the Church's Unity; and that, fo far from avoiding all extreme opinions, he inculcates, with equal arrogance, the boundless pre-rogative of the See of Rome; and in defiance of ecclefiaftical history, his fancy and his prejudices ran away with his judgment: and the bold affertor, the weak reasoner, and the abfurd interpreter of Scripture, characterize the Author of this specious performance." - Animadverfions, P. 374.
(z) Life of Reginald Pole, Vol. I.

P. 403. 8vo. Edit.
(a) "The Legates, those Angels of Peace, as they are hypocritically stiled, (Dr. Neve observes) were sent to Trent, faith the junior Legate Pole, among other things to revive decayed discipline, to prevent the increase of Heresy, and reform the extremely corrupt manners of the Christian world. And yet they remained there, for a long time together, in an entirely torpid state. And why? Because his Holiness had other game to play, and was taking more effectual methods to carry these points. He did not know, but, (for all their objections to the place) the Lutherans might appear, and defend their doctrine: he did not know, how forcible their reasoning, or their elo-quence, might be ; he did not care to truft the cause of the Church altoge-

ther to a promifcuous affembly; the Spanish and French Bishops might be refractory, and join the discon-tented party. This Guardian therefore, and Paffor of the Church, exerted his hierarchical office in securing the Emperor at all events; and fent his grandson, Cardinal Farnese, to Worms, to treat with his Imperial Majesty to join their forces, and by the arm of the flesh to confute the Heretics. And we are further in-formed of the satisfaction the Pope took, at being affured the Emperor would draw his fword against them: but this was to be kept a profound fecret; and that the Council should not enter upon the dispatch of bufiness, till matters were ripe, lest the Protestants should be made desperate: but, however, that fo much of it might transpire, as should intimidate them.——Such were the honest and Christian arts employed by him, who called himself the first Bishop of the Christian world; and to whom Pole, at this very time, was not ashamed to address himself in such words and language, which cannot be read without horror. To fay to him, Quem secundum Deum Patrem & Dei Patris locum et vices in terris geren-tem agnoscimus, (Poli Ep. Pauli III.) is a profaneness, that all the dignity of the Purple cannot excuse.

"Thus it should feem, that these Angels of Peace, who were sent to preside at the Council, were only appointed as masks to conceal the mean artifices and low defigns of the pretended Father of the Church. From the very tenor of their instructions, it does not appear, that any lenjent measures would be proposed; the authority of the Holy See was to be established, and the refractory and rebellions or WHAT CON-DITION SERVER were to be represed by censures and ecclefiastical punishments. But as to the examination of articles of faith, or the discussion of what the Protestants required, nothing less cember, 1545, the Council was opened. And on this occasion a folemn procession was made by the Legates, with all the Prelates, in their pontifical habits, together with the Clergy, and others, from Trinity church to the cathedral, where Cardinal Monte, one of the Legates, sung the mass of the Holy Ghost, and a sermon was preached by the Bishop of Bitonto. It may, however, be proper to remark here, that at the opening of this Council, in which all affairs relative to the universal Church were to be finally settled and adjusted, in the most infallible and unerring manner, the whole number of Prelates who were present amounted, according to Father Paul, to no more than twentyfive. In the second session, indeed, which was on the 7th of January, 1546, the affembly was somewhat increased, and the number of persons which constituted the General Council, including the Legates, amounted to forty-three; and these many of them pensioners or dependants on the Pope. And though the number of Prelates was afterwards confiderably increased, yet the majority were always Italian Bishops, and at the devotion of the Pope ( 6 ).

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was defigned; nothing less would at it by his Legates, contrary to the be permitted; the Legates were to propose every thing, and to deliver his Holines's determination. And therefore to shorten debates, and feeure a majority, they signified to the Pope,—that it would be proper to ap-point a Treasurer, with a fund sufficient to answer the exigencies of necessitous and depending Bishops. And not long after Pole's arrival in Trent, the Legates gave it as their opinion to the Pope, that the Lutheran Herefy, and the wickedness and enormities committed by the King of England, should be first presented, in form of a petition or complaint, to the animadversion of the Council. By this we may judge, how free a Council this was like to be."—Animadversions, P. 375, 376, 377. Mr. Ridley likewise remarks, That

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the Fathers at Trent " intended to establish, rather than reform, the abuses complained of by the Christian world, and for which this Council was demanded, which abuses were the tyranny of the Pope, and the scandals of him and his Court in manners and discipline: which is evident, not only because the Pope called the Council, which, according to antient custom, was the preroga-

practice of the first General Councils; but also, because he was ta-citly acknowledged Superior to the Council, which was a new doctrine; no body but his Legates were to propose any thing in the Council, which was new practice; the Bi-shops, who are the successors of the Apostles, and the Ministers of CHRIST, and till now were believed to be fut juris, were now first called and treated as Delegates only of the Holy See; all the decrees were fubmitted to the Pope's approbation or rejection; all their doctrines were subjected to his interpretation; all their discipline to his dispensations. This was a very extraordinary complaisance, and not to have been ex-perted, if they believed what they affirmed, that their decrees were made by the affiftance of the Holy Spirit: This was not only placing the Pope above the Council, and over the Universal Church, but it was exalting him above GOD Him-felf.—Ridley's Review of Philips, P. 185, 186.

(b) Those who would see a complete account of the proceedings of the Council of Trent, refer to the excellent History of Fative of the Emperor; and prefided ther Paul; from which it appears, Cardinal Pole continued at Trent, till he had the misfortune to have a rheumatic disorder fall into one of his arms, which was owing, it is said, to the coldness of the season, and the sharp air of that place; and his complaint not growing better, he was advised to go to Padua, where he might consult some able physicians, and have the benefit of a milder climate; which advice he followed, and in a few months after the Council was adjourned to Bologna, and soon after prorogued: so that the Cardinal, on the recovery of his health, had the Pope's leave to go back to Rome, his Holiness being desirous of having him near him, as he experienced the usefulness of his pen in drawing up memorials, and vindications of the proceedings of the Holy See. And the Cardinal, we are told, was very adroit on these occasions, having acquired, when very young, an easy and elegant style in his Latin compositions, and being also very diligent in selecting his materials, and very nice and exact in the arrangement of them (c).

At the beginning of the year 1547, King Henry VIII. died; and "as foon as the news of this great event reached the English "Cardinal, (fays Mr. Philips), he turned his whole mind to avail himself of it, in order to repair the BREACHES which Henry had made in the faith and discipline of the Church, and bring back his country to that UNITY, which he had violated (d)." Accordingly Pole applied to the Pope to promote this design, and desired

that Lord Bolingbroke was not much in the wrong, when he called the whole "a folemn banter." This expression, however, is very shocking to Mr. Philips, who says Bolingbroke was "an impious scoffer, the disgrace of his age and country." At this Council doctrines were established contrary to Scripture, reason, and common sense, in order to support the Papal Hierarchy; however, Mr. Philips takes abundant pains to convince his readers of the Divine Inspiration of the Holy Fathers who were affembled at Trent, and the infallibility of their decrees. Indeed, with respect to the Inspiration of the Fathers at Trent, on that " article of Faith (as Dr. Jortin fays) we will meet him half-way; for we all allow them to have been inspired-by his Holinefs."

A specimen of what Mr. Philips fays of the decrees of this Council, may not be unacceptable to some of our leaders; though a short specimen we apprehend may be sufficient. If The frequent interruptions, and the length of time through which the

Council was protracted, must have occasioned an almost total succession of the Members, who, at different times, composed it; yet an uniformity of stile and sentiment appears through the decrees of all the self-stons, no less than if they had been enacted and written by the same Convention, or even by the same convention, and bath spirit, which fills, cannets, and baunds the Universe, and bas, by way of excellence, the gift of elecution, prevail over all human obstacles; and stamp the image of himself, unity, truth, and sandity, on a body of laws; to which, on account of the effects they produced in the Christian world, we may apply the words of the Prophet, Almighty GOD has sent forth his Spirit, and wrought a second creation, by renewing the face of the earth. Life of Reginald Pole, Vol. I. P. 492. It is needless to make any remarks on this complication of prophaneness and absurditi.

(c) Beccatelly, P. 62—66. (d) Life of Pole, Vol. II. P. 8. 8vo, Edit, defired him to employ his interest with the Emperor for the same purpose. The Cardinal also wrote a letter on this occasion to the Privy Council of England. But as he had been for some years an attainted exile, and was one of the few excepted in the act of grace at the accession of Edward VI. there was little prospect that any regard would be paid to his admonitions, by those Counsellors who were acquainted with his intrigues in the late reign. However, out of pure love and kindness, he assured them, that if they listened not to him, "the whole Realm would " be brought into imminent danger, and that the Pope, with " his allies, could alone prevent the impending from, and be of " more fervice to them, than all other Princes without him : " that his Holiness proposed therefore, in charity to their souls, " to fend him over with sufficient authority, not only to give " them good advice, but also to remedy their evils." But all this had no effect; for the Members of the Privy Council refused to receive either the letter, or him who brought it ( e ). The Cardinal also drew up a treatise, and inscribed it to Edward VI. which contained a laboured vindication of his behaviour to the young King's father, Henry VIII. It does not, how-

ever, appear, that it ever came to Edward's hands.

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In November, 1549, Pope Paul the Third died, upon which the Cardinals affembled in order to elect a new Pope; and Cardinal Farnese, who had great weight in the Conclave, deliberating with himself what person he should patronize on this occasion, pitched upon Cardinal Pole; in which he was seconded by many of the Electors, especially of the Imperial faction : but the French party, who were at that time at variance with the Imperialists, set themselves to oppose his election, through fear of his too great attachment to the Emperor's interests. However, the majority of votes was in Pole's favour; but the French objected that some of their party were not arrived, by reason of the distance, and complained that the election was hurried. This party was joined by Caraffa, who hoped, if Pole was fet afide, to be chosen himself; and therefore not only backed their arguments, but began to load Pole with calumnies, objecting that he lay under a suspicion both of Heresy and incontinency. In support of which, he alledged Pole's familiarity with Flaminius and Tremellius, and with many of the Lutherans; that he had spared several Heretics at Viterbo, punishing but few in any way, and none at all with death. Neither was that gravity of countenance he wore, fo far removed from the suspicion of luxury, but that many persons thought the young Nun whom he main-tained at his own expence, was really the fruit of his own loins. But Pole effectually defended himself against these accusations: with regard to the first, he appealed to all that he had done and suffered for the dignity of the Roman Church, and the Catholic

doctrines. Secondly, as to his conduct at Viterbo, it was faid, that he had governed in such a manner, as to have no occasion to proceed to extreme punishments. And thirdly, with respect to the young Nun, he made it appear that she was an orphan, whom he had placed in a nunnery, to prevent her from falling into a vicious course of life; and that he had deposited an hundred crowns for her maintenance, in a bank established for such charities, to be added to a small sum of money which had been

left her by her mother.

Pole's vindication of himself was, upon the whole, so clear and fatisfactory, that his party grew warmer in his behalf; and immediately proceeding to confirm their election by a fecond scrutiny, they went thence to Pole's apartment; and finding he was gone to bed, (for it was now late at night), they fpoke to Priuli, who was then in waiting as gentleman of the bedchamber, to awake his mafter, and acquaint him that they were come to adore him, and so to bring the matter to a final iffue. Priuli performed the request with much joy, but Pole received him in a very different manner from what he expected. He appeared very angry with him, and told the Cardinals, that he would not have a thing which was to be feared rather than defired, to be carried on rashly and tumultuously: he therefore defired that it might be done in a regular and canonical manner, in the morning, at the hour of mass, and not in the darkness of the night, which might carry the appearance of stealth; and if it was the pleasure of GOD to place him in the Papal chair, he would doubtless effect it in the morning as well as then. Pole thus refufing to receive the accustomed adoration, the Cardinals retired; but a short time after, two of the Members of the College came to him again, and represented to him, that they required nothing of him but what was usual; and he then told them, he would do as they would have him. But they were no fooner gone, than he repented of the affent he had given, and fent one of his domestics to intreat those Cardinals, whose influence was the greatest, that the whole affair, if possible, might be deferred till the next morning; and the person, when he re-turned, acquainted Pole, that he had found them, of their own accord, come to that resolution. On the following day, how-ever, other views and dispositions took place; for the Cardi-nals appear to have been much disgusted with the behaviour of Pole, which they attributed to meanness of spirit (f): Far-

Pole's behaviour to the great mode-ration of his temper. Mr. Ridley, however, supposes him to have been actuated by motives of a very different kind; and that his behaviour is safily accounted for by the

(f) Many writers have attributed leading point he always had in view, and his wonted irrefolution whether to accept or refuse a tempting offer, which was inconfistent with a greater in expectation:" namely, marriage with the Princels Mary, and the hopes of a Crown in consequence. nese and De Guise, therefore, who were the leaders in the Conclave, determined at last to make the election in favour of Cardinal De Monte, who assumed the name of Julius the Third (g).

When the Cardinals met in the chapel, to perform their adoration in form to the new Pontiff, Pole presented himself to kiss his Holiness's seet among the rest: upon which the Pope raised him up, and embraced him, telling him, that it was to his disinterestedness he owed the Papacy. When Julius III. was established in the Papal chair, and the tranquility of Rome began to be disturbed by the war in France, and on the borders of Italy, Cardinal Pole began to think of retiring from Rome to some place of greater quietness and privacy. Accordingly, being Cardinal Protector of the Benedictine Order (b), and much carested by the brethren of Monte Cassino, he chose for his retreat a convent of their's at Maguzano, in the territory of Verona. Thither he retired with his whole family, by the Pope's permission; and spent some time there with much satisfaction.

Pole continued in this retirement till the accession of Queen Mary, when it was determined by the Court of Rome, that he should be sent as Legate into England, in order to effectuate the reduction of that kingdom to the obedience of the Holy See. Pole, however, did not think it prudent to venture his person in England, till he was thoroughly informed of the Queen's disposition, and the state of the nation. He therefore dispatched his Secretary into England with letters to the Queen, who gave him the most ample assurances of her attachment to the Catholic cause. And accordingly the Cardinal set out for England, by the way of Germany, in October, 1553: but he had not proceeded far in the Emperor's dominions, before a message came to him from that Prince, to put a stop to his further pro-

It must be owned, that this supposition is countenanced by Pole's having hitherto "kept himself out of Priest's Orders, that his return to the secular world might not be impracticable; a permission to lay down the Purple before entering into the Priesthood being to be obtained without much difficulty: though he had laboured at the time, that even that difficulty might not have lain in his way." Review of Philips, P. 213—216.

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(g) Vid. Biograph. Britan. Beccatelli, P. 74, 75. and Philips's Life of Pole, Vol. II. P. 32, 33. After Cardinal De Monte was elected Pope, he gave his own hat (according to the custom of the Popes, who bestow their hats before they go out of the Conclave) on a boy who was his monkey-keeper; and being asked what he saw in him to make him a

Cardinal, he answered, as much as the Cardinals had seen in himself to make him Pope. But it is faid, that the secret of his advancement was an unnatural affection to him.

(b) Pole succeeded Contarini in this character. The Benedictines had the name here given them by their first founder, who erected his first Monastery at Monte Cassino, though he met with great opposition from the evil Spirit (as St. Gregory relates in his Dialogues) before he could accomplish his work. He was buried on that chosen spot; and his Order became afterwards in such wondrous repute, that in the time of Pope John XXII. there were computed above forty thousand Saints of that society only!"—Pye's Beccatelli, P. 81, Note (z).

gress at present. The Emperor was negociating a treaty of marriage between his son Philip and the Queen of England; and as he knew that Pole had been thought of as an husband for that Princess, he was unwilling that he should reach England before his son's marriage was concluded, lest the Cardinal's arrival there should prove any obstruction to the match (f). Pole had also been commissioned by the Pope to endeavour to mediate a peace between the Emperor and the French King, but the Emperor refused even to admit the Legate into his presence. Pole complained grievously of this treatment, but his remonstrances

were without effect.

To complete the Legate's disappointment, advice was also fent to him from Queen Mary, that his coming to England at present would neither be seasonable to her affairs, nor safe to him; for she was afraid her subjects would murder him; and therefore thought it more prudent for him to postpone his journey to England. However, to keep him in good humour, the Queen also sent him the two acts that had passed, for the justification of her mother's marriage, and for bringing things back to the state they were in at her father's death, desiring him like-wife to fend her a list of such persons as should be appointed But the Legate being satisfied, that the real cause of Bishops. this delay was to prevent his arrival in England before the Queen's marriage to Philip should be completed, was not a little nettled at it; and he wrote a letter to her Majesty, wherein he intimated to her, that he knew this stop to his journey proceeded from the worldly motives with which the Emperor was actuated. That he had spoken with the Emperor's Confessor about it, and had convinced him of the impropriety of fuch proceedings, and fet him to work on his master. He also told the Queen, that he was afraid carnal pleasures might govern her too much, and that she might thereby fall from her simplicity in CHRIST, wherein the had hitherto lived : he encouraged her, therefore, to put on a spirit of wisdom and courage, and trust in GOD, who had preserved her so long. He affured her, that he had written to moderate matters with the Pope and Cardinals, by whom there was reason to believe the treatment he had received, in being stopped on his journey, would be refented.

(f) There were three persons who are said to have been proposed to Mary, in her choice of a husband. The first was Courtenay, Earl of Devonshire, who was nearly allied to the Crown, and of an engaging person and address; and him Mary is said to have preferred; but he disgusted the Queen, by slighting the evertures that were made on her behalf, and giving a visible preference to the Princess Elizabeth. The next

was Cardinal Pole; but he was now in the decline of life, and as he had contracted habits of fludy and retirement, he was reprefented as unfit for the buftle of a Court, and the hurry of bufiness. Pole was now fifty-three years old, and the Queen about eight and thirty. The third who was proposed was the Emperor's son Philip, and to him the preference was at latt given.

But he had intimated to them, that this was done with a view of waiting till his attainder was taken off; and to make a shew of going forwards, he had fent his houshold-stuff to Flanders. And with respect to the two acts which had been passed, he found fault that in that for confirming the marriage of her Majesty's mother, no mention was made of the Pope's Bulls; by the authority of which only, he faid, it could be a lawful marriage. And as to the other act, he did not like it, that the worship of GOD, and the Sacraments, were to be as they were at the end of her father's reign; for then the people, he faid, were still in a state of Schism, and Schismatics have no right to the Sacraments; the Pope's interdict still lay on the nation, and till that was taken off, none could, without fin, either administer or receive them. He recommended to her, above all things, the establishing the authority of the Church, and the rendering to the rightful fuc-ceffor of St. Peter, his just title of Supreme Head of the Church, without which she could not properly affert her own authority over the kingdom. He confessed, that he knew none of either House of Parliament, who were fit to propose the matter of rejecting that supremacy which had been usurped by her father and brother; and therefore he thought it best for her Majesty to go herself to the Parliament, having before-hand acquainted some few, both of the Spirituality and Temporality, with her defign, and tell the House, she was touched with the Schism, and defired a Legate from the Apostolic See to treat about it; and should thereupon propose the reversing of his attainder, that he might come over for this purpose. That whereas some might apprehend thraldom from the Papacy, she might affure them she would see all things so well secured, that no danger should arise to the nation from it; and he defired them to be asfured, that he, for his part, would take as much care of that, as any of the Temporality could defire (i).

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fon was Pole's journey into England being delayed, he employed himfelf in making overtures to the Emperor, in pursuance of his commission from the Pope to mediate a peace between the Empire and France; and he made a journey to Paris with the same view. He also drew up a long discourse concerning peace, for the use of the Emperor and the French King. But his discourse,

and his negociations, were all without effect.

In the mean time, the marriage between Philip and Mary was concluded; and no further opposition was made to Pole's journey. Accordingly the Lords Paget and Hastings were sent to Brussels, where Pole now was, to conduct him from thence into England. He arrived at Dover (k) on the 20th of November, 1554, where he was received by the Bishop of Ely, the Lord Vol. II. 8.

<sup>(</sup>i) Vid. Biograph. Britan. and (k) The wind happening to Burnet's Hift. of the Reform. Vol. II. change, and blow fair for England, P. 260, 261, Cellect. of Resords, fo as to enable Pole to pass over from P. 250.

Montague, and some other persons of rank. From thence he proceeded by land to Gravefend, where he was met by the Bishop of Durham, and the Earl of Shrewsbury, who presented him with the repeal of the act of his attainder, which had been passed the day before. At Gravesend he went on board a yacht (1), which conveyed him to Whitehall, where he was received in the most gracious and honourable manner by their Majesties ( m ). He was afterwards conducted to the Archbishop's palace at Lambeth, which had been sumptuously fitted up for his reception, by the Queen's orders (n). King Philip soon after paid Pole a visit, and they consulted together on the properest methods of re-uniting and reconciling the kingdom to the Holy Catholic Church. And that no time might be loft in this important and falutary work, the following day, the 27th of November, the Cardinal Legate went to the House of Peers, the King and Queen being present, and there made a long speech, in which he invited the Parliament to a reconciliation with the Apostolic

Calais to Dover, Mr. Philips is extremely defirous to turn this incident into a miracle. " Being arrived at Calais, (fays he) he was received, agreeably to the orders the Queen had given, with great magnificence, and found a Royal yacht and fix men of war in readiness, to wait on him of war in readine's, to wait on him to his country. Here an incident happened, which was remarked by every one there prefent, and interpreted as a declaration of Heaven in his favour; and which, in whatever light it may now be looked on by the reader, I must not omit. The wind, which for feveral days had been for country as to make the been fo contrary, as to make the paffage to England impracticable, and feemed as if it would continue fo, on the very night of the Legate's arrival, became on a fudden fair, and, in a few hours, conveyed him and his retinue to Dover." Amazing!

his retinue to Dover." Amazing i Vid. Life of Pole, Vol. II. P. 122.

(1) Mr. Philips fays, "It being notified to him on the part of their Majefties, that it was their pleafure he floudd now appear in the public character of Legate, the barge car-ried at her head the filver crofs, which was raifed in fo conspicuous a manner, as to be beheld by an infinite number of spectators, who covered both sides of the Thames."
Life of Pole, Vol. II. P. 125.
(m) Thuanus says, "The Bishop
of Winchester, Lord Chancellor, was

fent forwards, with many other Lords, to receive him as he landed. Philip himself, who was then fitting at table with Mary, rising up, went forth to meet him; and the Queen re-ceived him at the top of the stairs, and declared, that she felt as much joy and pleasure in her mind, at seeing him fafely returned, as she had felt, when she first entered upon the peaceable poffession of her kingdom."

Hift. Lib. xiii. ( n ) Within three days after Pole's arrival at Whitehall, another extraordinary affair happened, in which Mr. Philips has discovered the miraculous interposition of Providence. "The third day after (Tays he) he went to Court, and the King, who came out of the Anti-chamber to meet him, delivered into his hand a packet of letters he had just then received. It was a dispatch from Rome, and brought the Legate the most am-ple powers, in order to accomplish the great work of the nation's reconciliation with the Catholic Church; and the incident of its arriving at that critical juncture was interpreted as a declaration of Heaven in favour of a cause which then engaged the attention of all Europe."—Life of Pole, Vol. II. P. 126.—Without doubt, the arrival of this packet from Rome was a most stupendous miracle!

Apostolic See; from whence, he said, he was sent by the common Pastor of Christendom, to reduce them who had long strayed from the inclosure of the Church. This pathetic oration caused such emotion in the Queen, that she immediately fancied herself with child, and that she felt the embryo stir in her womb. Those about her, who knew her extreme defire of having iffue, flattered her in this opinion, so that her Majesty was at last firmly convinced of her pregnancy. Notice was accordingly given of it to the Council, who the same night wrote a letter to the Bishop of London about it, ordering a Te Deum to be fung on the occasion at St. Paul's, and the other churches of London: and Bonner caused public prayers to be put up, that the child might be a male, well-favoured, vigorous, and witty. And all that night, and the next day, there were great rejoicings about the

Court and city (0).

Two days after, the Speaker reported to the Commons the substance of Pole's speech; and a message coming from the Lords for a conference of some of their House with the Lord Chancellor, four Earls, four Bishops, and four Lords, to prepare a sup-plication for their being reconciled to the See of Rome, it was confented to; and the petition being agreed on at the Committee, was reported, and approved of by both Houses. It was addressed to the King and Queen, and represented, on the part of the Parliament, "That whereas they had been guilty of a " most horrible defection and schism from the Apostolic See, they " did now fincerely repent of it; and in fign of their repentance, were ready to repeal all the laws made in prejudice of that See: therefore, fince the King and Queen had been no way defiled by their schism, they prayed them to intercede with the Legate to grant them absolution, and to receive them again into the bosom of the Church." This petition being presented by both Houses on their knees to the King and Queen, they made their intercession with the Legate, who made a long speech on the occasion, in which he thanked the Parliament for repealing the act against him, and making him a member of the nation, from which he was by that act cut off: in recompence of which, he was now to reconcile them to the body of the Church. He told them, the Apokolic See cherished Britain most tenderly, as the first nation that had publicly received the Christian faith: and that in the union with the See of Rome, confisted the happiness and strength of all Churches. He was

( o ) It is faid that dispatches were fent to inform foreign Courts of the Queen's pregnancy; and fome time after midwives, rockers, and nurses, were provided. And afterwards, when the persecution was carrying on against the Protestants, and the were provided. And afterwards, prison were burnt ad anum, not when the persecution was carrying on against the Protestants, and the Queen again fancied herself with and Confessors put into her head.—

Memorials of Cranmer, P. 367.

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that the thought " the could not be fafely and happily delivered, nor that any thing could succeed prosperously with her, unless all the Heretics in

very liberal in his encomiums on the Queen, and faid, GOD had fignally preserved her, to procure this great bleffing to the Church. He concluded with enjoining them, by way of penance, to repeal the laws which they had made against the Romish religion; and then, in the Pope's name, he granted them a full absolution (p), which they received on their knees; and he also absolved the whole Realm from all ecclesiastical censures. After this, they all went to the Royal Chapel, where Te Deum was sung on the occasion.

The following Sunday the whole Court attended Pole to St. Paul's, where he went in great flate, high mass being there celebrated in the presence of the King and Queen; and the Chancellor himself, Gardiner, preached on this text, Romans xiii. 2. "Now it is high time for us to awake out of sleep; for now is

" our falvation nearer than when we believed."

But however acceptable the late proceedings in Parliament were to the Court and Courtiers, Pole had the mortification to find that the citizens of London abhorred those acts, and that he was not received with that pleasure and respect he wished. "The "Legate" (as Mr. Strype tells us from a spectator of Pole's pompous procession into the city) "rode---blessing the people as "he went; for which he was greatly laughed to scorn. For few of the people had now any good conceit of the Pope, or his creature's blessings. Nor did they put off their caps, and make courtesy to the cross; neither was there scarce any expression of joy at the sight of the King and Queen: none faying, GOD SAVE THEM. The Bishop of Winchester was fore offended at this, and threatened the people hard for their diffrespectful behaviour." It appears also from the same Historian, that the kingdom in general took such little satisfaction in this reconciliation with the Pope, that the Queen found herself obliged to write circular letters to the Sheriss, to order rejoicings

(p) Mr. Philips fays, that, "During the absolution, the Queen, and many others, shed team of joy and piety; and it being now over, they all rose up, and embraced one another, often repeating, To-day we are born again!"—Life of Pole, Vol. I.

Beccatelli fays, that the Lord Chancellor, Gardiner, made a speech on this occasion, in which he dwelt much on the extraordinary mercies of GOD to this kingdom, "which had preserved this angelic Minister (Pole) for their sakes, who came to lead them out of darkness into light, through this their present act of obesience to the Apostolic See, which

their ancestors had always acknow-ledged,"—Mr. Pye observes, that "this hypocritical rant of Gardiner's, in praise of a man he was known to distike, whose angelic mission he had long struggled to render abortive, by keeping him by every possible artistice out of the kingdom; and whose cause (that of restoring the Papal Supremacy over this nation) he had publicly written against, must, one would have imagined, have disturbed the mock solemnity of that day, and have thrown the whole House into a burst of laughter, had not Spanish grawity insected the whole Assembly, or Spanish gold reconciled bare-saced knavery, as well

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rejoicings upon this occasion: the people not being forward of themselves to make any outward signification of their joy (q).

After the dissolution of the Parliament, the first thing taken into confideration was, in what manner to proceed against the Heretics. Pole had been charged by some with favouring the Protestants: but he now expressed a very great detestation of them; and he would not even converse with any who had been of that party, excepting Sir William Cecil. Indeed ever fince his arrival in England as Legate, his behaviour had been much changed from that freedom of conversation which he had formerly practifed. He was in referve to all, spoke little, and, as Burnet fays, put on an Italian temper, as well as behaviour; making Priuli and Ormaneto, two Italians whom he had brought with him, his only confidents. However, it is faid that he recommended moderate measures with respect to the Heretics, and professed himself an enemy to severe proceedings; whilst Gardiner, on the contrary, laboured to promote the bloody persecution which followed (r). But it is certain, that one of the first acts of Pole's legantine authority was to grant commissions for the profecution of Heretics. Soon after others were iffued to the Bishops and Officials of the vacant Sees, to reconcile and absolve both Clergy and Laity. But to these were tacked some instructions, which shew that Pole was not so averse to persecu-

as bigotry, to their deluded fenfes."

Father Paul fays, that Pole's speech to the Parliament, when he invited them to a reconciliation to the See of Rome, was "very long and artificial; and the conclusion was, that he had the keys to bring them into the Church, which they had shut, by making laws against the Apostolic See; which when they did revoke, he would open the doors unto them. The Cardinal's person was well accepted, and an apparent affent was given to his proposition, though the major part did secretly abhor the quality of a Pope's Minister, and were grieved to come under the yoke again. But they had suffered themselves to be carried so far, that they knew not how to return." Lib. V.

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The Legate having performed the important business of reconciling the kingdom to the Church of Rome, communicated the news to the Pope, who testified his joy upon this occa-fion in a very singular manner, by publishing indulgences, ordering processions, and proclaiming a jubilee, and the like. As Pole bad appointed

St. Andrew's Day, on which this great work was completed, to be kept beneforward with peculiar folemnity. (Philips, P. 130); his Holiness and the good people of Rome expressed their grateful homage to the Saint in this pious and rational manner. "The head of St. Andrew was kept uncovered the whole day, that all the people might see it, visit it, and worship it as became them." Neve's Animadversions, P. 497.

(q) Vid. Neve's Animadversions, P. 498, 499. (r) Vid. Burnet's Hist. of the

(r) Vid. Burnet's Hift. of the Reform. Vol. II. P. 299. Mr. Hume has filled up feveral pages of his Hiftery with the arguments by which Gardiner and Pole, and their party, supported, " or might have supported," their different opinions concerning toleration. However, what is offered on this subject in Mr. Hume's Hiftory, was evidently never produced either by Pole or Gardiner, or their adherents, but is almost entirely the fabrication of the ingenious and inventive Historian himsels. Vid. Hist. of Eng. Vol. IV. P. 435—449. Svo. Edit.

tion as some Protestant writers have supposed. " In these in-" structions (says Mr. Strype) there are several strictures, that make it appear Pole was not so gentle towards the Heretics (as the Professors of the Gospel were then stiled) as is reported, but rather the contrary; and that he went hand in and with the bloody Bishops of these days. For it is plain here, that he put the Bishops upon proceeding with them according to the sanguinary laws, lately revived, and put in full force and virtue. What an invention was that of his, a kind of inquifition by him fet up, whereby not a man might " escape, that stood not well affected to Popery? I mean, his " ordering books to be made and kept, wherein the names of all such were to be written, that, in every place and parish in 46 England were reconciled: and so whoever were not found in 44 those books, might be known to be no friends to the Pope; " and fo to be proceeded against. And indeed after Pole's at crafty and zealous management of this reconciliation, all " that good opinion that men had before conceived of him va-" nished, and they found themselves much mistaken in him; se especially, seeing so many learned and pious Gospel Bishops 44 and Ministers imprisoned and martyred under him, and by his commission. Insomuch that now people spake of him as bad as of the Pope himself, or the worlt of his Cardinals (1)."

In March, 1555, Pope Paul III. died, and in less than a month after his successor Marcellus II. died also; upon receiving the news of which, Queen Mary made use of her interest in order to raise her kinsman, Pole, to the Papacy; but without effect. In June, this year, the Cardinal went over into Flanders, in order to mediate a peace between France and the Emperor; but this negociation proving unsuccessful, he returned again to England. The new Pope, Paul IV. was no friend to Pole, he had more liking to Gardiner, and in that disposition he favoured the views of the latter upon the See of Canterbury. Nor was Pole's nomination to that dignity confirmed by his Holiness, till after the death of Gardiner. Pole is not free from a suspicion of having contributed to hasten the death of Cranmer, who was burnt at Oxford on the 21st of March, 1556; and on the next day Pole (having previously received Priest's orders) was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury in the church of the Grey Friars at Greenwich. On the 28th of the same month, he went in state to Bow Church; where the Bishops of Worcester and Ely, after the former had faid mass, put the pall upon him; and thus invested, he went into the pulpit, and made a fermon about the origin and use of that vestment (f).

(s) Memorials of Cranmer, P. 347,

Canterbury, and kept that constant residence there which became a good (f) Beccatelli fays, that "Pole Pastor; but the Queen would never would fain have fixed his abode at fuffer him to leave the Court, infist-

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In November, the same year, he was elected Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and foon after of Cambridge; and in the beginning of the year 1557, he visited both by his Commis-Those sent to Oxford were commissioned to enquire if there were any who neglected the Popish ceremonies, and upon the least suspicion to eject them; accordingly they proceeded against numbers in the University, and burnt all the English Bibles, and such other heretical books as they found, in the public market place. They also made a process against the body of Peter Martyr's wife, that lay buried in one of the churches there. And she being a foreigner, who understood no English, no witnesses were to be found that had heard her utter any heretical points. Hereupon they gave notice thereof to the Cardinal, who wrote back, that her body should be taken up, because it lay near that of St. Frideswide. This was accordingly done, and her body buried in a Dunghill.

The Commissioners who were sent to Cambridge, on their arrival there put the churches of St. Mary's and St. Michael's under an interdict, because the bodies of the Heretics Bucer and Fagius were laid in them; after which they proceeded against them in a formal course of law. The bodies were cited to appear, or if any would come in their names, they were required to defend them. But after three citations, the dead bodies not rifing to speak for themselves, and none coming to plead for them, (for fear of being fent after them) the visitors thought proper to proceed. And accordingly having examined many witnesses concerning the Heresy which had been taught by Bucer and Fagius, they adjudged them obstinate Heretics, and appointed their bodies to be taken out of the holy ground, and to be delivered to the secular power. And a writ for the purpose being brought from London, their bodies were taken up, and carried in coffins; and being tied to stakes, with many of their books, and other heretical writings, were all burnt together (1).

Notwithstanding the important services which Pole had ren-

dered to the Holy See, by being the instrument of reducing England to its obedience, and his present concurrence in the persecution of the Protestants, and the zeal shewn by him in the extirpation of Herefy, the animofity of the present Pope was so great against him ( u), that, upon various pretences, he accused Pole

ing, that it was more for the interest of the Catholic faith that he should refide near her person, than at Can-terbury.—Many able Divines were consulted on this point, who affured the Cardinal, that he could not, with a fafe conscience, abandon her Majefty, when there was so much husiness French Monarch for that purpose, to be done, to crush the Heretics, and give But the Pontiff (Dr. Neve observes) are life to the Catholic sause." P. 109. knew Pole to be " ever devoted to

( !) Vid. Biograph. Britan. and Burnet's Hift. of the Reformation,

Vol. II. P. 345, 346.

(u) Pope Paul IV. was now engaged in a war with Philip, King of Spain, and husband to Mary, having entered into an alliance with the French Monarch for that purpole. But the Pentiff (Dr. Neve observes) Pole as a suspected Heretic, summoned him to Rome to answer the charge, and depriving him of the legatine powers, conferred them upon Peyto, a Franciscan Friar, whom he had sent for to Rome, and made a Cardinal for the purpose, defigning also to cause his promotion to the See of Salisbury ( w ). This appointment was made in September, 1557; and the new Legate was actually on the road for England, when the Bulls came to the hands of Queen Mary; who having been informed of their contents by her Ambasiador, laid them up without opening them, or acquainting Pole with them, in whose behalf she wrote to the Pope. And Beccatelli fays, the directed her Ambassador at Rome to tell his Holiness, that " this was not the method to " keep the kingdom stedfast in the Catholic faith, but rather to make it more heretical than ever, for that Cardinal Pole was " the very Anchor of the Catholic party." Indeed, Mary feems on this occasion to have exerted some of her father's spirit; for the wrote also to Peyto, forbidding him to proceed on his journey, and charging him at his peril not to fet foot upon English ground. But notwithstanding all her care to conceal the matter from the Cardinal, it was not possible to keep it long a fecret; and Pole no fooner became acquainted with the Holy Father's pleasure, than out of that implicit veneration which he constantly and unalterably preserved for the Apostolic See, he voluntarily laid down the enfigns of his legatine power, and forbore the exercise of it; dispatching his trusty friend Ormaneto to Rome with letters, in which he vindicated himself in such fubmissive terms, as even mollished and melted, we are told, the obdurate heart of Pope Paul. However, the Cardinal was reftored

the interests of Spain. He wanted a Legate at the Court of England, like himself, vigorous and resolute; who by taking the lead in Council, and gaining the Queen's confidence, might prevent her from engaging in her husband's quarrels. But so long as Pole remained in that station, he was apprehensive, that by his instigation she might enter into alliances defructive to his politics."—Animadversions, P. 442.

madversions, P. 542.

Bishop Burnet intimates, that it was Pole's fear of the Pope, that induced him to concur in the perfecution of the Protestants, against his inclinations. "He shewed (says he) the weakness of his spirit in one thing, that being against cruel proceedings with Heretics, he did not more openly profes it; but both suffered the other Bishops to go on, and even in Canterbury,—he left those poor men to the cruelties of the

brutal and fierce Poplifi Ciergy. In this he was to be pitied, that he had not courage enough to contend with fo haughty a Pope as Paul the IVth was; who thought of no other way of bearing down Herely, but by ferting up the Inquifition every where a fo Pole, it feens, judged it sufficient for him, not to act himself, nor to set on any; and thought he did enough, when he discouraged it in private a but yet he granted commissions to the other Bishops and Archdeacons to proceed against those called Heretics."——Hist. of Reform. Vol. II.

P. 327.

(w) This Peyto, or Peto, had diftinguished himself by the insolent liberties he took with King Henry VIII. in a fermon he preached before that Monarch at Greenwich.—See the first Volume of our Work,

P. 347.

Lored to his legatine powers soon after; but did not live to enjoy them a full twelvemonth, being feized with a double quartan ague, which carried him off the 18th of November, 1558 (x). His body being put into a leaden coffin, lay forty days in great state at Lambeth; after which it was conveyed from thence with much funeral pomp to Canterbury, and interred on the north fide of Thomas of Becket's chapel, in the cathedral there. Over his grave was erected a tomb, on which was inscribed only this short epitaph, DEPOSITUM CARDINALIS POLI, the Re-

mains of Cardinal Pole (y).

The Cardinal was, as to his person, of a middle stature, and of a lean habit of body; his complexion was fair, and he was yellow haired. He had a large open countenance, enlivened with a chearful and pleasant eye. His constitution was healthful, though not firong; and he was feldom out of order, but when he was troubled with a rheumatic defluxion, which fell fometimes into his arm, and was very painful to him; and at others occasioned an inflammation in one of his eyes ( z ).

He was a learned and an eloquent man, and naturally of a benevolent and mild disposition; but his bigotted attachment to the See of Rome occasioned his being concerned in transactions which reflect great dishonour on his memory. " That Pole's natural temper might be averse to fanguinary proceedings, (fays Dr. Neve), that these violent measures were chiefly promoted by others, and that he shewed some instances of clemency and compassion, is not to be denied; but it doth not appear that he disfuaded the Court from these cruelties, or exerted his influence to prevent them (a)." It is at least certain, that the most cruel persecutions were carried on in his name (b).

Pole's Vol. II. 8.

(x) Queen Mary died the day be-fore the Cardinal. Beccatelli fays, "He had been told of the Queen's death, as he never ceased enquiring about her almost every instant, and would not fuffer any one to attempt to deceive him; and when the account was brought him, he faid, I bope CHRIST, in bis mercy, will not abandon this poor kingdom; neither did this event the least alter or difcompose him, but he continued in prayer and devour meditation, with great firmness of mind, to the last. About an hour before he expired, (as I was told by the Bishop of St. Afaph, who gave him extreme unction, and was always in the room with him), he asked, if the book of Recommendatory Prayers, to be used at the foul's departure, was ready, as he had defired; which, when the

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Bishop shewed him, he looked upon it, and faid, Now then is the time to use it; and with these words he ex-pired, and was received, we hope, pired, and was received, we hope, into the habitations of Bleffed Spirits, with the pious and Catholic Queen, his mistress, after a toilfome

pilgrimage of fifty-eight years and fix months," P. 129, 130.

(y) Vid. Biograph. Britan.

(z) Beccatelli, P. 133.

(a) Animadverfions, P. 523.

(b) Mr. Philips fays, (Vol. II.

P. 216.) that not one was put to death in the Diocefe of Canterburg. death in the Diocese of Canterbury, after Cardinal Pole was promoted to that See." But that this is abfolutely untrue, is sufficiently shown by Mr. Ridley, (Review, P. 326.) no less than twenty-four being burnt in one year in the Diocese of Canter-bury, whilst Pole was Archbishop of

Pole's private life appears to have been regular and unblame. able; and there is the greatest reason to believe, that he was sincerely pious. "His behaviour in his last moments shewed, (fays the judicious writer just quoted) that his religion, though ill-directed, was fincere and genuine (c)." He appears to have been charitable and generous, and a kind master to his domestics. He was naturally addicted to study and retirement; and tho' he feems not to have been without a tincture of ambition, he appears not to have had spirit or activity enough for the public

and active scenes of life (d).

The Cardinal was very temperate in his diet; he allowed himself two meals a day, but the least was in the evening. He was an early rifer, generally getting up before day-break, to follow his studies and devotions; and was not fond of the parade of having many fervants about him. His conversation is said to have been very facetious and agreeable. He left his beloved friend Alvise Priuli, a Venetian man of quality, his executor and heir; but the generous Italian, who had followed the Cardinal into England, and had ever shewn the most disinterested attachment to him, would not enrich himself by the wealth of his

madversions, P. 558, 559.

Mr. Philips, who, under the pretence of writing the History of the Life of Reginald Pole, hath taken abundant pains to varnish Popery, and to recommend it to the good people of this country, has been con-victed, upon the clearest and the fullest evidence, by Dr. Neve, Mr. Ridley, and others, of flagrant per-versions of History, of the groffelt mifreprefentations, and of manifest falshoods. He hath lately published a new edition of his Work, in two Volumes in Octavo; at the end of which, Vol. II; P. 327, he hath added fome pages in his own vindication, But, instead of attempting to produce any fatisfactory refutation of the charges which have been brought against him, (which indeed he knew was impossible) he bath contented himself with filling up about twelve pages, in a manner truly jefuitical, in endeavouring to convince his readers that his principles are of a very peaceable and harmless tendency, and that he himself is an exceeding good subject. He tells us, that he has "too real a respect for the public to trouble it with wrangles on facts, or dates, or authorities, of lit-

that See, See also Dr Neve's Ani- tle or no consequence." But the misfortune is, that the facts which Mr, Philips has mifreprefented in the groffest manner, and many absolute untruths which he has advanced, are of the greatest consequence of any in his History; and, indeed, he hath as good as pleaded guilty to the charge which hath been brought against him, of being a notorious falfifier and perverter of History, by not offering ten lines to the purpose in his own desence.

(c) Neve's Animadversions, P.

560.

(d) "There is no part of his character more amiable than when we view him in his retirements, and in the focial intercourfes with private friends: here he appeared to great advantages, and displayed all the endearing good qualities of the polite feholar, the chearful companion, and the fincere friend. His fame would have been handed down to posterity with undiminished Justre, if he had never engaged in the turbulent, ac-tive fcenes of life; for which he ei-ther was not defigned by nature, or, had rendered himself unfit by indulging an indolent and timid dispo-fition." — Neve's Animadversions on Philips, P. 553, 554.

friend, whom he furvived only twenty months, which time was wholly spent in collecting the Cardinal's effects, which were dispersed about in different places; and having discharged all the legacies, he gave away the remainder in such a manner as he thought would be most agreeable to the Cardinal's mind, reserv-

ing to himself only his friend's Breviary and Diary.

Several of Pole's pieces have been mentioned in the course of our account of his Life. Some other small pieces, and some translations from the Fathers, were also published by him. He was several years employed in collecting various readings, emendations, &c. of Cicero's works, with a design to publish a complete copy of them; but he was prevented by his death, and the papers are now lost (e). Four large Volumes of letters which passed between Pole and his learned friends, with preliminary discourses to each Volume, were published by Cardinal Quirini, between the years 1744 and 1752. And a fifth Volume was published in 1757, since the decease of Quirini, but from the collections made by him.

(e) Vid. Biograph. Britan. The Author of Pole's article in that Work fays, "We are told by Mr. Strype, that Pole wrote a book about 1530, to perfuade King Henry to continue the negociation of his marriage with Anne Boleyn, which was perufed by Cranmer: in which he is followed by the Author of Pole's Life in the General Biographical Dictionary, 8vo, (Vol. IX. P. 394.) who adds, "this is really not credible." But both these Writers are mistaken. Strype fays no such thing. He mentions a

book of Pole's, written about 1530, which was perused by Cranmer; but does not say, that the book was written to persuade Henry to continue the negociation of his marriage with Anne Boleyn; but, on the contrary, that it was written to dissipate the King from prosecuting his divorce from Catherine, and to persuade him to submit his cause to the Pope's judgment.——Pid. Strype's Memorials of Cranmer, P. 6——3, and Appendix, P. 3, 4, 5.



## The Life of NICHOLAS RIDLEY, Bishop of London.

ICHOLAS RIDLEY was born in the beginning of the fixteenth Century, in Tynedale, at a place called Wilmontfwick in Northumberland. He received his school education at Newcastle upon Tyne, from whence he was removed to Pembroke Hall in Cambridge, about the year 1518, when Luther was preaching against indulgences in Germany. His disposition was open and ingenuous; the care taken of him in his youth, feafoned his mind with an early piety; and as he was remarkably endued with constancy and refolution, he was indefatigable in his studies, both at New-castle and at the University. He had an opportunity of learning the Greek tongue, at the public lectures of Richard Crook, who about that time began to teach it in Cambridge; to which all the scholars equally contributed, whether they attended, or not. As to religious opinions, his first prejudices were all in favour of the Romish Church: and it is probable that his uncle, Dr. Robert Ridley, then Fellow of Queen's College, at whose expence, and under whose influence he was now educating, would keep him fleady in that tract. In short, his character at this time appears to have been that of an ingenious, virtuous, zealous Papit (f).

In 1522, Mr. Ridley took the degree of Batchelor of Arts.

He had already acquired a confiderable skill in the Latin and Greek languages; and was now making himself master of the learning more in vogue, the philosophy and theology of the schools. This was certainly, in some degree, a mispending of his time. He is not, however, consurable on that account; it was the fahion of the age; and his prosecution of these studies, in which he was very expert, was not wholly without its use. For he was afterwards thereby the better qualified to discern the vanity of this kind of knowledge, and to detect the sophistry of

his antagoniffs, when attacked from this quarter.

In 1524, his abilities were fo well known, and fo generally acknowledged, that the Mafter and Fellows of University College in Oxford, invited him to accept of an exhibition there. This, however, he thought proper to decline; and was the same year chosen

<sup>(</sup>f) Vid. Life of Dr. Nicholas by the Rev. Glocester Ridley, LL. B. Ridley, fome time Bifhop of London, 4to, Edit. 1763. P. 2, 3, 48, 49.



NICHOLAS RIDLEY
Bishop of London O.

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chosen Fellow of his own College in Cambridge. The next year he took the degree of Master of Arts; and in the year following he was appointed by the College their general Agent in all causes relating to the churches of Tilney, Soham, and Saxthorpe, belonging to Pembroke Hall. But as his studies were now directed to Divinity, his uncle, at his own charge, sent him for his farther improvement to spend some time among the Doctors of the Sorbonne in Paris, and afterwards among the Profesors of Louvain; where he probably spent the years 1527, 1528, and 1529.

In 1530, Mr. Ridley was chosen junior Treasurer of his own College; and it was at this time, when he was pursuing his theological studies, the foundation of which he had laid abroad, that he not only applied himself with great diligence to the reading of the Scriptures, as the safest guide in those studies, but also took pains to imprint them in his memory: and for this purpose he used to walk in the orchard at Pembroke Hall, and there get without book almost all the Epistles in Greek; which walk is to

this day called Ridley's Walk.

In the beginning of the year 1532, George Throgmorton and John Askwell, two young men from Oxford, who had formed a very high opinion of themselves, ventured to Cambridge on no wifer an errand, than to challenge all that University to a disputation on two questions, in which they had prepared themselves. Ridley, being famous for his abilities as a disputant, was one of the five appointed to undertake the challengers. The oddness of the occasion drew together a great concourse of scholars, so that the school doors were broken down by them. For the number of scholars then at Cambridge was very great, as may be concluded from a passage in Latimer's sermon before King Edward in 1550; where he fays, that " he verily believes there were " then ten thousand scholars fewer than there were twenty years " ago." Throgmorton was to respond on the first question, whom his opponents so pressed, that, finding him a little embarraffed, they purfued their advantage, (which was particularly the method of Ridley, when he met with fuch vain-glorious difputants) and never suffered him to recover himself again. which his fellow-adventurer Askwell, who was to respond on the fecond question, was so discouraged, that he declined the disputation, by feigning himself fick. And thus ended this ridiculous challenge, to the difgrace of the challengers .--- Archbishop Tennison, in his manuscript notes in the Library at Lambeth, calls this Duellum Religiosum, a religious Combat; but in truth, there was no more of religion in the questions, than there was of discretion in the challenge. The first was, Whether the Civil Law was more excellent than Medicine? And the fecond, from which we may form fome judgment of what learned trifles they busied themselves with in that age, was, Whether a woman, condemned

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condemned to death, being twice tied up, and the cords both

times breaking, ought to be hanged the third time (g)?
In 1533, Mr. Ridley was chosen senior Proctor of the University. And while he continued in that office, the important point of the Pope's Supremacy came before them to be examined upon the authority of Scripture. And for this purpose public disputations were appointed, for fifting the question thoroughly. In consequence of which, the University came at length to this resolution, " That the Bishop of Rome had no more authority and jurisdiction derived to him from GOD, in " this kingdom of England, than any other foreign Bishop." This was figned in the name of the University, May the 2d, 1534, by Simon Heynes, Vice-Chancellor; and by Nicholas

Ridley and Richard Wilkes, Proctors.

Mr. Ridley discharged himself of his Proctor's office about October, 1534, and then took the degree of Batchelor in Divinity, and was chosen Chaplain of the University. He was likewife (if it be not the same office) Public Reader, as himself informs us; which Archbishop Tennison calls PREDICATOR Publicus. He is also called in the Pembroke MS. MAGISTER GLOMERIE, whose office is supposed to have been similar to that of the University Orator at this day. Whilst he was in these offices, he lost his good uncle and friend, Dr. Robert Ridley (b), on the 12th of June, 1536. But the education which the uncle generously bestowed, and the improvement which the nephew had made by his great application, foon recommended him to another and greater patron. For in the very next year, his great reputation as an excellent preacher, and the best disputant of his time, his great and ready memory, and intimate acquaintance with the Scriptures and the Fathers, occasioned the Archbishop of Canterbury to defire the assistance of his learning; for Cranmer's house was a kind of University, where many learned men were entertained, foreigners as well as natives. But Ridley was ingrafted into the Archbishop's family, and appointed one of his Chaplains; and had an opportunity this year of enjoying much of the Archbishop's company and leifure. And as an earnest of his favour and approbation, on the 30th of April, 1538, the Archbishop collated him to the Vicarage of Herne in East Kent. Here he was diligent to instruct his charge in the pure doctrines of the Gospel, as far as they were yet discovered by him, (not from the Schoolmen and Popish Doctors), except in the point of Transubstantiation, from which error he was not yet delivered. And the good fruits of his Ministry there, were seen in the effects it produced, particularly in the Lady Fiennes, whom he brought to have a just fense

<sup>(</sup>g) Vid. Life of Ridley, as before, Queen Catherine's advocates in the 7. 62, 64, 96, 97. (1) Dr. Robert Ridley was a celelegantine Court. Cavendish observes of him, that he was a little man, but brated Canonift. He was one of a great Divine,

of the doctrines of Christianity; and which she afterwards testified by her exemplary life and good works. And to enliven the devotion of his parishioners, he used to have the Te Deum read in his parish church in English; which was afterwards urged in

acculation against him.

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It was in 1539, that the act of the Six Articles was passed, against which Mr. Ridley, who had now the character of a zealous Scripturist, bore his testimony in the pulpit: though otherwise he was in no danger from the penalties of the statute. For the article of the corporal presence was at that time an article of his Creed. The marriage, or uncleanness of Priests, did not affect him, who never acted against the statute in the former instance, and was never charged with doing so in the latter. And as to the article of auricular confession, he tells us towards the close of his life, that he always thought confession to the Minister might do much good. But he made a difference betwixt what he thought an useful appointment in the Church, and the pressing it on the conscience as a point necessary to salvation. This testimony, however, occasioned him no small trouble.

Mr. Ridley had now been two years at his parish of Herne, getting new lights himself, by a close application to his studies of the Scriptures and the Fathers, and by friendly conference with his patron the Archbishop; and faithfully communicating to his people the word of GOD, " not after the Popish trade," as himself teffines, in his Farewell: though as yet he acknowledges, GOD had not revealed to him the doctrine of the LORD's Supper. His improvement in knowledge was very unjustly charged upon him as a fickle change of opinions, and a fervile conformity to the times: but there never appeared any fluctuating or shifting backward and forward in his judgment, but a regular progreffion and advancement in the discovery of truth. He sought it with diligence, and he generally, though gradually, found it; being uninfluenced by worldly motives. Of this he afterwards made a very folemn declaration, before the Commissioners at Oxford. I have thought otherwise (said he) in times past, "than I now do: yet (GOD I call to record unto my foul, I lie " not) I have not altered my judgment, as now it is, either by " constraint of any man, or laws, either for the dread of any danger in this world, either for any hopes of advantage; but " only for the love of the truth, revealed unto me by the grace of GOD (as I am undoubtingly perfuaded) in his holy word,

During the time that Mr. Ridley continued at Herne, he for diligently and confcientiously discharged his pastoral office, that he gained the general applause of the people in the neighbouring parishes; who, neglecting their own teachers, would come for many miles round to hear his sermons. But in 1540, he repaired to Cambridge, and there took the degree of Doctor in Divinity; which he probably did by the persuasion of the

Archbishop.

Archbishop, who was now meditating to bring his Chaplain more into the light. And in the October following, the Mastership of Pembroke Hall becoming vacant, the Fellows, who well knew the learning, abilities, and good dispositions of their old Collegiate, invited him back again to College, to take upon him the guardianship of their society. And about this time Cranmer's recommendation appeared to be of its usual weight with the King, by his Majesty's appointing Dr. Ridley to be one of his own Chaplains. Soon after this, the cathedral church of Canterbury was made collegiate, with a Dean, and twelve Prebendaries, and fix Preachers; which, being Cranmer's own church, he found no difficulty in obtaining the fifth prebendal stall for Dr. Ridley.

stall for Dr. Ridley.

With how much integrity our new Prebendary discharged the duties of his function, appears from his endeavours in the pulpit to set the abuses of Popery so open before the people's eyes in his sermons, as to provoke the Prebendaries and Preachers of what was called the Old Learning, to exhibit articles against him, at the Archbishop's visitation in 1541, for preaching contrary to the statute of the Six Articles. He seared not to bear his testimony against any error which he had discovered; but yet, from respect to the authority by which the Six Articles were enjoined, he delivered his opinion so cautiously, that his accusers could prove nothing but the malice of their accusation.

The subjects upon which he treated were, the necessity of prayer in a known tongue; without which, he said, it were but babling; that men ought not to build any security upon mere ceremonies; and that auricular confession, though it might be useful, was not enjoined by Divine authority in the Scriptures. The manner in which he treated these subjects, we learn from the acknowledgment of the Bishop of Winchester, in a letter to Ridley in King Edward's reign. He says, "You declared yourself slike words desired the subjects, as you professed; not extending any of your affeverations beyond your knowledge, but always adding such like words, as far as you had read; and if any man could shew you further, you would hear him; "wherein you were much to be commended." Such was the meek and gentle spirit, and the same time such the steady and consistent conduct, of Dr. Ridley.

But notwithstanding this, a design was formed, in 1543, by the Bishop of Winchester, and some of his Popish associates, particularly Dr. London, to procure the ruin of Archbishop Cranmer, and of such Divines as were connected with him, and who savoured the Reformation. And in pursuance of this scheme, and as a part of it, an information was laid against Dr. Ridley, before the Justices in Kent. The articles of this accusation were, 1. That he preached at St. Steven's in Rogation week, and said, that auricular confession was but a mere positive

law,

law, and ordained as a godly mean for the finner to come to the Priest for counsel; but he could not find it in Scripture. 2. That he said, there was no meeter term to be given to the ceremonies of the Church, than to call them BEGGARLY CEREMONIES. 3. That Te Deum had been sung commonly in English at Herne, where the said Master Doctor is Vicar. But the malevolence of the design formed for the ruin of Cranmer and his friends, being discovered to the King, the whole design was crushed, and a stop put to the prosecution against Dr. Ridley. (i)

The greatest part of the year 1545, Dr. Ridley spent in retirement at his Vicarage of Herne. He had hitherto been an unsuspecting believer of Transubstantiation. The generally received doctrine, the decrees of Popes, and decisions of Councils, Vol. II. 8.

(i) This year, 1543, Dr. Smollet tells us, that "three Protestants were burned at Windfor;" after which he further observes, that Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, and the other enemies of the Reformation, were " not contented with the destruction of those, and other such innocent Embusiasts. Hift, of Eng. Vol. VI. P. 18. Octavo Edit. Was it the defign of the Doctor here to infinuate to his readers, that Protestant and Entbusiast are fynonimous terms? In the same Vo-lume of his History, P. 61. after having given us the characters of the Bishops of Salisbury, Worcester, and St. Afaph, Shaxton, Latimer, and Barlow, he afferts, that " the other preachers of the assu religion, were generally Enthufuefts." And these are not the only instances of Dr. Smollet's speaking in a very contemptuous, and we will add, in a very unjust manner, of the first Reformers .- Vid. P. 153. of the first Volume of our Work.

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But there is another modern Historian, Mr. Hume, who hath bestowed the epithets fanatical and enthysastical upon the Reformers, with a still more liberal hand. This gentleman says, that, "The first Reformers, who made such surious and successful attacks on the Romish supersition, and shook it to its lowest foundations, may safely be pronounced to have been universally enslamed with the bigbest Enthysiasm."—Hist. of Gr. Britain, Vol. I, P.7. In another place he says, "When the an-

raged and fanatical Reformers took arms against the Papal Hierarchy, and threatened to rend from the Church at once all her riches and authority; no wonder she was animated with equal zeal and ardor, in defence of such antient and invaluable possessions."—Hist. of Gr. Brit. P. 26. Edit. 4to. Edinb. 1754. And "the Protessions Fanasicism, the Protessions Entbusiam, and the fanatical Reformers." are phrases very familiar with this Historian. In short, he not only speaks of the Reformers in general as Fanatics and Enthusiasts, but appears to consider Enthusiasm as the great characteristic of the Protession.

That the Reformers were not all equally endued with prudence and ability, is certain; it is also certain, that many of them were animated with great zeal in defence of truth, and in opposition to ecclesiastical tyranny; but this we think no diferedit to their characters, nor no evidence of Enthusiasm. And that they did not deserve this charge of Fanaticism and Enthusiasm, thus injurioully and indifcriminately brought against them, must be, we apprehend, fufficiently apparent to every man, who is disposed to examine the matter with any degree of fairness and candour.

This subject has, however, been well considered by a late learned and ingenious Writer; and whose words we shall, therefore, borrow on this occasion. "Were the main princi-

had implanted this faith in him; the rhetorical expressions of the Fathers, and the letter of Scripture, had confirmed him in this

ples (fays he) on which the Reformation was founded, and according to which it was conducted, irrational? or were they wild and irregular? Then, indeed, would they have been known to be of the enthufiaftic kind. But did the first Reformers ever speak of any new revelation of the Divine Will, that had been made to them from Heaven? Did they lay claim to prophetic inspiration? and, in consequence of fuch claim, did they mean to impose any doctrines of religion on the credit of their own testimony, and the weight of their own authority? Were these their pretensions? and was this the manner of their address ?

" In answer to these questions, I appeal to their History, to their writings yet extant, and even to what their enemies have faid concerning them. Was it not their avowed principle, That the faith of Christians was to rest on the word of GOD, and on this alone? and therefore, that any doctrine or practice whatever not fo grounded, ought not to be received with religious regard; and if it was condemned by holy writ, that it ought to be rejected, even though long prescription, and the fanction of ecclefiaftical authority, could be pleaded in its behalf; neither of which can stamp a value on error and folly, nor change the internal nature, though they may indeed the outward attire of truth and falshood. Thus did they proceed in rejecting Popish errors, and in propounding and confirming the oppofite truths. They objected; they argued; they drew their conclusions from reason and Scripture; they called upon their adversaries to try their doctrines by this test; and they exhorted Christians to judge for themselves, to search the Scriptures, and to be on their guard, against the influence of specious forms, of crafty arts, and timorous superstition. They had themselves shaken off the prejudices that were fo apt to entangle them in the fearch of truth; they led the way to others in the noble

path, and incited them to follow their example, and to affert their religious liberties, to which they had a native, an unalienable right, as men

and Christians.

"To the charge of novelty that was brought against their doctrine, they made answer, That it must appear new to those alone, who were unacquainted with the true doctrine of the Gospel, as contained in facred writ. - But as the plea of antiquity was strenuously urged, and the fame of the antient Doctors of the Chriftian Church was loudly founded by those who defended the Popish syftem; to the writings of the primitive Fathers also did the Reformers make their appeal, (though with a regard in no fort equal to that which they yielded to holy Scripture), and to the doctrines and practices of the pureft, that is, of the three first ages of Christianity. They did not deof Christianity. They did not de-cline even this inferior tribunal; well knowing that the Catholic cause could not be defended before it. Nay, they undertook to prove, that many of those corruptions of which they complained, had not been heard of in the church, during the space of fix or feven hundred years. Some others might be traced backwards to the fifth, or perhaps the fourth Century; but what they were at that time, was as much to be distinguished from what they were become in the fourteenth and fifteenth Centuries, as is the fmall stream of a river near its fource, from its deep and overflowing waters when it is poured into the

ocean.

"To the most antient General Councils they professed regard, tho' they denied infallibility. Neither could they perceive any fort of reason for granting it to the Papal chair, which had so long, and so arrogantly claimed it. In short, as they were not wanting in a proper respect to antiquity, so they adhered to the word of GOD, as the persect rule of Christian faith and practice, according to which all religious doctrines were to be tried, and by whose au-

thority

this opinion. In the year 1544, Luther had written with great warmth against the doctrine of the Zuinglians, upon this subject, declaring them Heretics. The Zuinglians replied in the beginning of the following year, when they published their apology; in which they explained their doctrine and faith, purged themselves of the guilt of Heresy, and stated Luther's and their doctrines, so that the world might judge where the truth lay. It was about this time, that Ridley began to examine into the foundation of the doctrine of Transubstantiation; and from the coincidence of time, it has been judged probable, that it was the perusal of this book, which was then very generally and eagerly read, that induced him to give the question a fair examination. It is however, certain, that, by whatever means induced, he now entered upon this enquiry. And it appears likewise, that he procured a little treatise, written seven hundred years before, by Ratramus, or Bertram, a Monk of Corbey, at the request of the Emperor Charles the Bald, about the year 840; which had been published at Cologn in 1532, and then sent by the Zuinglians to Albert, Marquis of Brandenburgh, to vindicate their doctrines from the charge of novelty. From this book Ridley learned, that the determination of the Church for Transubstantiation

thority they were to be finally determined. They translated the Scriptures into different languages, they earnestly recommended the study of them, and they generously afferted the right of private judgment, in the most important of all concerns, Religion.

" Is this the manner of Fanaticism or Enthusiasm? Was it ever known to be directed by fuch principles as these? or rather, does it not fly the test of reason, and fail in the reverence that is due to Holy Writ? whilft in their stead it appeals to internal light and perception, to firong impressions or impulses on the mind; in a word, to femething extraordinary and supernatural. Is this the spirit of Protestantism? Are these its principles and pretensions? Was this the spirit of the first Reformers? and this the plan upon which they acted ?- How abfurd to think of it in this manner ? -- How absurd, therefore, is it to affix the general character of Entbufiasts and Fanaties to those, who, upon the slightest attention, must be fully and at once acquitted as to the effential part of this charge?"

"Upon the whole, as the bleffings of the Reformation are truly inestimable, so we cannot help admiring those worthy men, who were fo unwearied in the profecution of its noble purposes. Their merit Their merit proved; their qualities were eminent, and their lives exemplary; their task was arduous; their labours inceffant; and their fuccefs, through the Divine Bleffing, proportionable. They were honoured to be the inftruments of diffusive and lafting good to the Christian Church: and therefore their names, on all thefe accounts, and notwithstanding their failings, ought to be transmitted with respect and honour among Protestants from age to age. They have been thus transmitted, and they will be fo; at least by all who deserve to wear that name, by all who have a due regard to the united interests of Truth, Liberty, and Religion."-Letters on Mr. Hume's History of Great Britain, printed at Edinburgh, 1756. P. 49 -- 55, 84.

had not been so early and general as he had before supposed; for that Bertram, a Catholic Doctor, so late as 840, held contrary to the present decrees; and that the faithful at that time, without either of them being condemned as Heretics, were divided in their opinions on this subject. This at once razed that foundation of AUTHORITY on which Ridley had so confidently built, and left him more open to consider the reasonings of his Author. And his eyes being by this means opened, he determined to fearch the Scriptures more accurately on this article, and also the doctrine of the primitive Fathers. And how firm foever Cranmer might be at this time in the belief of Transubstantiation, and how dangerous soever it was to doubt of that article, yet Ridley very honestly communicated his discoveries and scruples to his good friend and patron the Archbishop; who knowing the fincerity of the man, and his cool judgment, was prevailed upon to examine this doctrine with the utmost care. The event was the conviction of both of them. And the refutation, and setting aside of this absurd doctrine, was a very important article of Reformation: it was, indeed, laying the axe to the root of the tree; for, as Cranmer expresses himself, "the taking away of beads, pilgrimages, pardons, and such like Popery, was but the lopping a few branches; which would " foon spring up again, unless the roots of the tree, which were " Transubstantiation and the Sacrifice of the Mass, were pulled 4" up." And this he acknowledges was owing to conference with Dr. Ridley, " who by fundry persuasions, and authorities of "Doctors, drew him quite from his old opinion." And in the following year, by Cranmer's means, Latimer was also brought to a conviction of the same truth. But however instrumental Ridley might have been in leading the Archbishop into this enquiry, he always disclaimed the honour of being Cranmer's instructor, professing to be " but the young scholar to the master 44 in comparison of him:" always with an exceeding modesty refusing the due praises which even his adversaries gave him: not affuming to himself the glory of his own improvements, but gratefully referring them to the means and opportunities of acquiring them, with which the Divine Providence had favoured him. This change of opinion with respect to the Sacrament, happened to Ridley in 1545, in the close of which year his patron the Archbishop procured for him the eighth stall in the church of Westminster.

When Edward VI. ascended the Throne, in 1547, Dr. Ridley was a celebrated Preacher: and being appointed to preach before the young King on Ash-Wednesday, after having consuted the Bishop of Rome's pretended authority and usurped power, he took occasion to discourse concerning the abuses of images in churches, and ceremonies, and especially Holy Water for the driving away Devils. Among his auditors was Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester; who not relishing Ridley's sentiments on these subjects.

subjects, favoured him with a letter on the occasion the Monday following; in which he complimented him on his learning, and his candid and diffident manner of expressing himself, but at the same time offered some arguments in defence of images, and of the propriety of using Holy Water in order to drive away Devils ( k).

About this time, the Fellows of Pembroke Hall presented Dr. Ridley to the church of Soham, in the Diocese of Norwich; but the Presentation being disputed by the Bishop, Ridley was admitted to that Living on the 17th of May, by a command from the King. Three days after, a commission was granted to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishops of Durham and Rochester, Dr. Ridley, and fix others, to examine a cause of the Earl of Northampton, whose Countess had been guilty of adultery. The Canon Law granted a separation, but not the liberty of marrying again: the Pope indeed dispensed in these cases. These Commissioners were appointed to examine what was to be done upon the authority of the Scriptures, and the judgment of the primitive Christians. They were unwilling to be hasty and precipitate in a point of this consequence; and took more time than agreed with the Earl's impatience for a fecond marriage. He, therefore, ventured to take another wife before his cause was determined. His rashness and precipitancy gave offence: the Council separated him from his new wife, and delivering her to the care of the Queen-Dowager, obliged the Earl to wait the fentence of the Commissioners; who at length, though not till the beginning of the next year, dissolved the former marriage entirely, and gave to both the liberty of contracting again elsewhere.

On the 4th of September this year, Dr. Ridley was elected to fill the See of Rochester, which was become vacant by the translation of Dr. Holbeach to the Bishopric of Lincoln. He was consecrated on the 25th of September, in the chapel belonging to Dr. May, Dean of St. Paul's, in such form and manner as was at that time usual in the Church of England, by chrism, or holy unction, and imposition of hands; and after an oath renouncing the usurped jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiss, was vested, according to antient rites, with the robes and insignia appropriated to his dignity. These circumstances are particularly mentioned, because Dr. Brookes, in the subsequent reign, would not allow Ridley to have been a Bishop, and only degraded him from his Priest's Orders, which is not easy to be accounted for. For if the pretence was, that his abjuring the Pope invalidated his consecration, that would in like manner have unbishopped Bonner, and every Bishop after him. Nay, Tonstal, Gardiner, and every one of the most popishly affected, had renounced the Roman Pontiss after their consecrations (1).

<sup>(</sup>k) Vid. P. 224, 225, of this Vo- (1) Life of Ridley, P. 199, 2091 Jume. 211, 212.

In 1548, Bishop Ridley appears to have been employed in the reformation of the Common Prayer, in conjunction with Archbishop Cranmer, five other Prelates, and others. And in 1549, he was put into commission, together with Cranmer, and several others, to fearch after all Anibaptists, Heretics, and contemners of the Common Prayer. For complaint had been brought to the Council, that with the strangers who were come into England, some Anabaptists were mingled, who were disseminating their errors, and making profelytes. In confequence of Ridley's being put into this commission, he was concerned in bringing Joan Bocher, commonly called Joan of Kent, and some time after George Van Parre, a Dutchman, to the stake. These two acts of blood reflect the greatest dishonour upon Ridley, and his Pro-testant collegues. We have ever condemned persecution in Papists, and we will never defend it in Protestants. The putting these two unfortunate persons to death is indeed utterly indefensible, upon any consistent Protestant principles. We shall, however, fay the less of this matter here, because we have treated

of it more particularly in the Life of Cranmer.

Some time in the month of May, this year, Bishop Ridley, with others who were appointed in commission with him, repaired to Cambridge, to hold (as he then understood it) a visitation for the abolishing statutes and ordinances which maintained Popery and Superstition; for he knew not the further end proposed, which was the suppression of Clare-Hall. He desired to see the instructions: but was put off by his affociates, who feemed afraid to shew them unto him, till they had engaged him in the action, by opening it with a fermon, and proceeding two days in the business of it. They then ventured to shew him their instructions; in which he found the suppression of Clare-Hall was the thing intended, under a cover of uniting it to Trinity-Hall, and erecting there a new College of Civilians. Whether this design was agreeable to the Bishop, or not, he however thought it best to concur with the other Commissioners, in perfuading the Master and Fellows voluntarily to surrender their College into the King's hands: but the fociety could not be induced to confent to fuch a furrender. The Commissioners upon this fat privately by themselves, consulting in what manner they should proceed: and the majority determined that they might proceed to the union of the two Colleges, by the Royal authority, without the consent of the societies. But Ridley modestly opposed this determination, and with great calmness diffented. This put a stop to their proceedings for the present : and the Commissioners acquainted the Protector with this interruption from the Bishop of Rochester, complaining, that he BY HIS BARKING hindered them from proceeding in the King's fervice. The Protector thereupon wrote a chiding letter to Ridley, and feveral letters passed between them upon the subject. But not-withstanding all the means which were used to instuence our Prelate, he ultimately refused to give his countenance and concurrence to a proceeding which he thought unjust: and he being

thus steady, the affair dropped. The Visitors, especially Bishop Ridley, had another commisfion to execute, which was to prefide at a public disputation appointed to be held at Cambridge, as there had been one a short time before at Oxford, relating to the Sacrament of the LORD's Supper. The positions appointed to be the subjects of this difputation were: I. " Transubstantiation cannot be proved by " the plain and manifest words of Scripture, nor can thereof be " necessarily collected, nor yet confirmed by the confents of the " antient Fathers for these one thousand years past. II. In the " LORD's Supper is none other oblation or facrifice, than one " only remembrance of CHRIST's death, and of thankfgiving." After the disputations were ended, Bishop Ridley determined, in

a very learned, folid, and fatisfactory manner, against Transubstantiation, and the oblation of CHRIST in the LORD's Sup-

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This was more than a mere scholastic exercise: for the occafion of appointing this disputation arose at Oxford, where Dr. Smith, taking offence at Peter Martyr's exposition of Scripture, challenged Martyr to a public disputation; which Martyr declared himself ready to engage in, but not without the King's The Privy Council gave leave, but Smith ran away from his challenge. Then Martyr challenged all the Roman Catholics in that University to maintain their Transubstantiation, and the Privy Council appointed Delegates to hear and prefide at the disputation. And like disputations were appointed at Cambridge, that the Papists there might likewise have an opportunity of defending their opinions, if they could. Langdale, one of the disputants, and for his zeal made Archdeacon of Chichester by Queen Mary, composed a pretended refutation of Bishop Ridley's determination: but with this ground of suspicion of unfairness in his account of managing the dispute, that though he had the King's licence for printing it at Paris in February. 1553; yet it was not printed till three years after, when Langdale was secure that Ridley could make no reply. However, Pilkington, another of the disputants, afterwards Bishop of Durham, fays, that the Bishop made all things so clear in his determination, and the auditors were so convinced, that some of them would have turned Archbishop Cranmer's book on that subject into Latin (m).

In October, this year, Bonner, Bishop of London, was deprived. Bishop Ridley was one of the Commissioners before whom his cause was determined. And upon the confirmation of the fentence against Bonner, Ridley was thought the most proper person to fill the important See of London, on account of his great learning, and zeal for the Reformation. It was also thought needless to have two Bishoprics so near together as London and Westminster; the latter therefore it was now resolved should be suppressed, and united to the See of London. Ridley's patent to the See of London was DURING LIFE (n), tho' it appears that several other Prelates in this reign held their Bishoprics, according to their patents, only upon good behaviour

shoprics, according to their patents, only upon good behaviour. Ridley was installed on the 12th of April, 1550 (0).

Our Prelate filled up this high station with great dignity; for his behaviour in it was pious, benevolent, useful and exemplary. With respect to his predecessor Bonner, he was very careful to do him no injury in his goods, taking not one penny-worth of his moveables, which he found in the episcopal palace, but giving him liberty to remove whatever was his; and what he knew to be his, though not taken away according to this leave, he carefully preserved for Bonner's use. Bonner had bought a quantity of lead for the repairs of his house and church, which Ridley employed to the uses designed, but paid Bonner for it. And that no innocent persons might suffer by his promotion, he paid upwards of sifty pounds to Bonner's own servants, which sum was due to them from their master for liveries and wages. Nor did his predecessor's mother, or his sister, Mrs. Mungey, who lived near the palace at Fulham, lose the honour

(n) The patent was in the following terms: "For the fingular learning in the facred Scriptures, and most approved manners with which the faid Nicholas, late Bishop of Rochester, is endued, and because, according to the commendation of our SAVIOUR, we judge him above all others worthy to be put over many things, who hath been found faithful over sew, we of our grace and mere motion grant to him the Bishopric of London to have, hold, and occupy durante wita sua naturali, during the time of his natural life."

(5) This year HECTOR BOE-THIUS, (or BOEIS), the Scottish Historian, is supposed to have died. He was descended from an antient and considerable family, and born at Dundee, in the shire of Angus, about the year 1470. After having finished the course of his studies in polite literature at Dundee, he was fent over by his parents to the University of Paris, where he applied himself to Philosophy in the College of Mountague, and became a professor of it there, Here he had an

opportunity of cultivating an acquaintance with several persons of the most eminent learning, and particularly Erasmus, who kept up a correspondence with him afterwards. Dr. William Elphinston, Bishop of Aberdeen, having sounded the King's College in that city about the year 1500, sent over to Paris for Boethius, and appointed him Principal, He took for his collegue Mr. William Hay, and by their joint labour the kingdom was surnished with several eminent scholats. Upon the death of his patron, Bishop Elphinston, he undertook to write the Life of that Prelate, and of his Predecessor in the same See, This Work is in Latin, and entitled, Vitae Episcoporum Murt blacensium et Aberdonensium. It was published at Paris, in Quarto, in 1522. He begins at Beanus, the first Bishop of that See, and ends at Gawin Dunbar, who was Bishop when the book was published. A third part of the Work is spent in the Life of Bishop Elphinston, for whose sake it was undertaken.—Boethius next applied himself to write,

or the benefit of the Bishop of London's board. He always fent for them to dinner and supper, and placed Mrs. Bonner at the upper end of his table, never displacing her, though even any of the King's Council dined with him, as they often did; not frowning upon her misfortunes, but courteously alleviating them with all the honour and tenderness that he could shew to her, faying, " By your Lordship's favour, this place of right and " cultom is for my mother Bonner." As if he had succeeded to the relation, as well as to the office of her fon.

Our Prelate was a pattern of piety, temperance, and regularity, to all around him. He spent much of his time in prayer and contemplation; and took great pains in the instruction and improvement of his family. His mode of life was, as soon as he had risen and dressed himself, to continue in private prayer half an hour: then, if no other bufiness interrupted him, he retired to his study, where he continued till ten of the clock, at which hour he went to prayers with his family. He also daily read a lecture to them, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, Vol. II. 8.

in the same language, the History of lar humanity and courteousness." Scotland; the first Edition of which Erasmus says, " That he was a man was printed by Badius Ascensius at Paris, in the year 1526, and confifted of feventeen books, and ended with the death of King James J. But the next Edition, in 1574, was much enlarged, having the addition of the eighteenth book, and part of the nineteenth. The Work was afternineteenth. The Work was afterwards brought down to the reign of harmony of his periods, than to the James III. by John Ferrerius, a natruth of the facts which he related. tive of Piedmont.

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Dr. Mackenzie observes, that of all the Scottish Historians, next to Buchanan, Boethius has " been the most censured and commended by the learned men that have made mention of him." He has been much cenfured by Humphry Lhuyd, the eminent English Antiquarian, by Buchanan, by William Lloyd, Bi-shop of Worcester, by Bishop Stillingfleet, Gerard Voffius, Bishop Nicholfon, and his countryman Sir Robert Gordon. On the other hand, he has been much commended by Mr. William Gordon, John Ferrerius, Paulus Jovius, and Archbithop Sport-wood. And Buchanan, though he often censures him, aeknowledges, that " he was not only remarkable for his knowledge in polite literature above what was common in his time, but also that he was a man of fingu-

of an extraordinary and happy ge-nius, and of great eloquence." In-deed, the ftyle of his History is much and generally applauded; and the truth feems to be, that, like fome modern Writers of the English History, he was more attentive to the

" It appears (fays Dr. Mackenzie) that as to the endowments of his mind, he was well feen in the Belle Lettres, Theology, Philosophy, and History; but somewhat credulous, and much addicted to the belief of legendary stories. As for the ac-complishments of his body, 'tis faid that he was discreet, genteel, well bred, attentive, generous, affable, and courteous. He was acquainted with most of the learned men of his age and a man of fo great probity and integrity, that the great Erasmus says of him, That he knew not what it was to make a lye,"—Vid. Mackenzie's Lives and Characters of the most eminent Writers of the Scots nation, Vol. II, P. 376—451. Bio-graph. Britan. Vol. II, P. 846. General Dictionary, Vol. III. P. 437. New and General Biograph, Dict. 8vo. Vol. II. P. 237.

and so going regularly through St. Paul's Epistles, giving to every one that could read a New Testament, and hiring them to learn by heart some chosen chapters. After prayers he went to dinner, where he was not very forward to begin discourse; but when he did, he entered into it with great wisdom and discretion, and sometimes with facetiousness. This conversation he would indulge for an hour after dinner, or otherwise amuse himself during that time with playing at chess. The hour for unbending being expired, he returned to his study, where he continued till sive, except suitors, or business abroad, required otherwise. He then went to prayers with his family as in the morning, after which he supped; then diverting himself for another hour after supper, as he did after dinner, he went back to his study, and continued there till eleven at night, when he retired

to private prayer, and then went to bed (p).

Soon after Ridley's promotion to the See of London, he was engaged in a dispute with John Hooper, Bishop Elect of Gloucester, on the subject of Vestments. When the act of the Six' Articles was passed, in the preceding reign, Hooper, who then resided in the University of Oxford, was obliged to quit it, and some time after the kingdom (q); and accordingly he spent most of the remainder of King Henry's reign at Basil and Zurich. But early in King Edward's reign he returned to England, and being an able preacher, a man of most unblameable manners, and a zealous Protestant, he was nominated to the Bishopric of Gloucester, which was now vacant. But when Hooper came to be consecrated, he objected to the vestments (r) appointed to be used at that solemnity; and to the final clause in the oath, "So help me GOD, and all Saints!" And he applied to Cranmer to be dispensed with in these particulars; but the Archbishop told him, that these things were enjoined by statute, and that it was not in his power to dispense with them, without incurring a Premunire. Upon this Hooper applied

(p) Life, P. 298, 299, 300.
(q) After he left the University, he by some means got to be Chaplain and Steward in the house of Sir John Arundel, who was afterwards put to death in the reign of King Edward. But Arundel being displeased at Hooper's attachment to the reformed principles, he was obliged to quit that gentleman's service, and he then went into France. But after shaying some time there in a disagreeable fituation, he returned into England, and lived with a gentleman of the name of Saintlow. But at length being sought after, in order to avoid being apprehended, he disguised himself in

a mariner's habit, made himfelf mafter of a boat, and failed to Ireland, from whence he retired to Switzerland. During his refidence there he married, and became intimately acquainted with Bullinger; and also applied himself very closely to the study of the Hebrew tongue.

(r) John Fox says, that, "Notwithstanding that godly reformed for the study of the Hebrew tongue.

(r) John Fox fays, that, "Notwithstanding that godly reformation of religion that begun in the Church of England, besides other ceremonies more ambitious than profitable, or tending to ediscation, they used to wear such garments and apparel as the Popish Priests were wont to do. First, a chymere, and under that a

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to the Earl of Warwick, to write to the Archbishop in his favour, which he accordingly did; and the King also wrote a letter to Cranmer, in which he freed him from all dangers, penalties, and forfeitures, that he might incur by omitting the rites with which Hooper scrupled to comply; but the Archbishop, says Mr. Strype, thought the King's bare letters were not sufficient to secure him against established laws. Upon this endeavours were used to satisfy Hooper's conscience, and Bishop Ridley was thought a proper person for that purpose. Accordingly Hooper and Ridley conferred together upon this matter, and there were long arguings between them; and the debate at length kindled into some heats. From being personal, the controvery became general; the pulpits and schools engaged in the dispute, DE RE VES-TIARIA, as it was called; and Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, and some other learned foreigners, became parties in it. These contentions alarmed the Council; they fent for Hooper, and required him to cease the occasion of the controversy, and conform himself to the laws, with respect to the vestments (s). He defired he might be permitted to write his fentiments on the subject; which was granted him: and he accordingly offered a book to the Council, against the use of those habits which were then used by the Church of England in her sacred Ministries. Three days after the Council wrote to Ridley, that " whereas there had been some difference between him and the Elect of "Gloucester, upon certain ceremonies belonging to the making " a Bishop, their Lordships desire was, because they would in no " wife be stirring up of controversies between men of one proof fession, that he would cease the occasion thereof." In answer to this, Ridley requested, that as the Elect of Gloucester had leave to offer in writing his reasons for dissenting, he also in his own justification might put in writing such arguments as moved him to be of the opinion which he held; which was accordingly granted him ( t ). And at length the Council began to think Hooper blameable, and his great patrons to give him up. At first, therefore, he was suspended from preaching, and confined to his house, only with permission to resort to some of the Bishops for conference. This order of Council he did not obey; they therefore removed him to a more effectual, but honourable confinement,

white rochet, then a mathematical him for such ceremonial orders."
cap with four angles, dividing the whole world into four parts. These trifles, tending more to supersition

(s) As to the part of the oath than otherwife, as he could never abide, so in no wife could he be perfuaded to wear them. For this cause he made supplication to the King's Majesty, most humbly desiring his Highness either to discharge him of

P. 146. Edit. 1641.

(1) As to the part of the eath which Hooper objected to, it appears that the King himself struck out the words all Saints with his own hand.

( t ) Bishop Burnet, in his account of this dispute, fays, that the grounds on which Hooper went were, that the Bishopric, or else to dispense with the episcopal vestments " were human inventions, finement, committing him to the care of the Archbishop, at Lambeth, to be reformed or punished. After some time spent in vain to reduce him to a compliance, he was reported as obstinate to the Council, who committed him to the Fleet, with an order that he should be kept from conference with any person, except the Ministers of that House. However, after some time he became more tractable: and at length was confecrated at Lambeth chapel, after the usual form, Bishop Ridley and the Bishop of Rochester likewise assisting in their episcopal habits (u).

chapel, after the usual form, Bishop Ridley and the Bishop of Rochester likewise assisting in their episcopal habits (u).

In June, 1550, Bishop Ridley visited his Diocese, and set forth some injunctions, one of which was to take down altars, and set up tables instead of them for celebrating the LORD's Supper. In this he agreed with Hooper, who had preached before the King in the beginning of the year to the same purpose, saying, It would be very well that it might please the Magistrate to turn the altars into tables, according to the first institution of CHRIST; and thereby to take away the salse persuasion of the people, which they have of facrifices to be done upon the altars. Because, as long as altars remain, both the ignorant people, and the ignorant and evil-persuaded Priests, will dream always of facrifice."

In 1551, the Sweating Sickness prevailed in England, which destroyed great numbers. It appeared in London the 8th of

inventions, brought in by tradition or custom, not suitable to the simplicity of the Christian religion: that all such ceremonies were condemned by St. Paul as beggarly elements: that these vestments had been invented chiefly for celebrating the mass, with much pomp, and had been consecrated for that effect: therefore he desired to be excused from the use of them. Cranmer and Ridley, on the other hand, alledged, that traditions in matters of faith were justly rejected; but in matters of rites and ceremonies, custom was oft a good argument for the continuance of that which had been long used. Those places of St. Paul did only relate to the observance of the Jewish ceremonies, which some in the Apostles times pleaded were still to be retained, upon the authority of their first institution by Moses: so this implying, that the Messias was not yet come, in whom all these had their accomplishment, the Apostles did condemn the use of them on any such account; though when the bare abserving them, without the opinion

of any fuch necessity in them, was likely to gain the Jews, they both used circumction, and purished themselves in the temple: if then they who had such absolute authority in those matters, did condescend so far to the weakness of the Jews, it was much more becoming subjects to give obedience to laws in things indifferent. And the abuse that had been formerly, was no better reason to take away the use of these vertments, than it was to throw down churches, and take away the bells, because the one had been consecrated, and the other baptized, with many superstitious ceremonies. Therefore they required Hooper to conform himself to the law."——Hift, of Reformation, Vol. II. P. 152, 153.

(\*\*) Bishop HOOPER was a Pre-

(u) Bishop HOOPER was a Prelate of considerable learning, great piety, and of a truly primitive character. He was remarkably hospitable, generous, and liberal to the poor. He was thrown into prison soon after the accession of Mary, and deprived on the 19th of March, 1554. When he and Ridley were both in

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June, and ended the 19th, in which time 872 died of this distemper (w). At the same time died at Bugden, in the Bishop of Lincoln's palace, the two young Dukes of Suffolk, (for the younger survived to inherit the title a few hours), on the 16th of that month, both in the same bed. Several of the Court also fickened and died; which occasioned the King to remove from Westminster to Hampton Court. However, in the midst of this malignant and pestilential distemper, Bishop Ridley continued to reside in London, assiduous in the care of his Diocese, and to discharge his duty, by endeavouring to improve the present public calamity to the reformation of the manners of the people; and whilst he was thus employed, chearfully resigning himself to

the care of Providence, and neither fearing the pefilence that walketh in darkneft, nor the ficknefs that destroyeth in the noon day.

In 1552, Ridley visited his old College at Cambridge, and upon his return called at Hundsdon, to pay his respects to the Princess Mary. She thanked him for his civility, and entertained him with very pleasant discourse for a quarter of an hour, telling him, that she remembered him at Court, and mentioned particulary a fermon of his before her father : and then leaving her chamber of presence, she dismissed him to dine with her Officers. After dinner, the fent for him again; when the Bithop in conversation told her, that he did not only come to pay his duty to her Grace by waiting upon her, but farther to offer his fervice, to preach before her the next Sunday, if she would be pleased to permit him. Her countenance changed at this; and she continued some time filent : at last she said, As for this matter, I pray you, my Lord, make the answer to it yourself. The Bishop proceeding to tell her, that his office and duty obliged him to make this offer; she again defired him to make the anfwer to himself, for that he could not but know what it would be. Yet if the answer must come from her, she told him, the doors of the parish church should be open for him if he came, and that he might

prison, the latter wrote thus to in us for ever. And forasmuch as I Hooper, "Now, most dear brother, perceive, brother, the world ceases forasmuch as I understand by your not to defend its cause, and conspires tracts, that we thoroughly agree, and wholly confent together, in those things which are the grounds and substantial points of our religion, howsoever in time past, in smaller matters and appendages to religion, your wisdom and my plainness (I confess) have in some points varied, each following his feveral opinion; know that even with my whole heart, GOD is my witness, in the bowels of CHRIST I love you, in truth, and for the truth's sake, which shideth in us, and as I am persuaded, shall, by the Grace of GOD, abide

not to defend its cause, and conspires against CHRIST our Savious, with all possible force and strength, let us join hands together in CHRIST, and if we cannot overthrow, yet let us do our best to shake those powers, not with carnal, but with spiritual weapons.

Bishop Hooper was burnt at Gloucefter, on the 9th of February, 1555, (See P. 241. of this Volume), being then near fixty years of age. He was born in the county of Somerfet.

( w) See the first Volume of our Work, P. 390, 391.

might preach if pleased; but that neither would she hear him, nor should any of her servants. Madam, said the Bishop, I trust you will not refuse GOD's word. I cannot tell, says she, what you call GOD's word. That is not GOD's word now, which was GOD's word in my father's days. The Bishop observed, that GOD's word is the same at all times, but has been better understood and practised in some ages than in others. Upon which she could restrain her anger no longer, but said to him, You durst not for your ears have avouched that for GOD's word in my father's days, that now you do. And then, to shew how able a judge she was in this controversy, she added, As for your new books, I thank GOD, I never read any of them; I never did, and never will. She then flew out into many bitter expreffions against the form of religion at present established, and against the government of the Realm, and the laws made in her brother's minority; which she said she was not bound to obey, till the King came to perfect age; and when he was, she would obey them. She then asked the Bishop, if he was one of the Council? And on his replying in the negative, You might well enough, faid she, as the Council goeth now-a-days; and parted from him with these words, " My Lord, for your civility in " coming to fee me, I thank you; but for your offering to preach before me, I thank you not a whit." After this the Bishop was conducted to the room where they had dined, where Sir Thomas Wharton gave him a glass of wine; which when he had drank, he seemed concerned, and said, Surely I have done amiss! and vehemently reproached himself for having drank in that place where GOD's word had been refused; whereas, said he, if I had remembered my duty, I ought to have departed immediately, and to have shaken off the dust from my feet for a testimony against this house. This bigotry of the Princess Mary, gave Ridley but a forrowful prospect of what was to be expected, if ever she came to the Crown (x).

On the first of March, 1553, when the Parliament met, King Edward being dangerously ill, and in no condition to go to Westminster, ordered both Houses to attend him at Whitehall; where Bishop Ridley preached before him, and in his sermon much recommended charity, as a duty incumbent upon all to perform, especially those of the highest rank and dignity, as well in regard of their large abilities, as because they were under great obligations to give examples of goodness to others. The same day after dinner the King sent for the Bishop privately into the gallery at Whitehall, where he caused him to sit in a chair by him, and would not permit him to remain uncovered. Then after courteously thanking him for his sermon, he repeated all the principal points of it; adding, "I took myself to be especially "touched by your speech, as well in regard of the abilities

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which GOD hath given me, as in regard of the example which from me he will require. For, as in the kingdom I am next under GOD, so must I most nearly approach to him in goodness and mercy: for as our miseries stand most in need of help from him, so are we the greatest debtors; debtors to all that are miserable, and shall be the greatest accomptants of our dispensation therein. And therefore, my Lord, as you have given me (I thank you) this general exhortation, so direct me, I intreat you, by what particular actions I may this

" way best discharge my duty."

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The Bishop, equally assonished and rejoiced at hearing this speech from the King, continued for some time silent: at last, tears and words breaking out together, he declared to his Majesty, that as he little expected such a question, so he was not furnished with a present answer; for this matter had a great mixture of civil government, wherein he conceived that the citizens of London had best experience, as overburthened with multitudes of poor, not only of their own, but from all parts of the Realm beside; and therefore as they best knew both the quality of such people, and the inconveniencies which they occasion, so could they best advise what remedies were fittest: wherefore, if the King were pleased to afford his letters to that effect, he would confer with them, and very shortly return with an answer. The King immediately caused his letters to be written, and would not suffer the Bishop to depart till he had confirmed them with his hand and fignet, and enjoined the Bishop to be the messenger, desiring him to use as much expedition as The Bishop accordingly hasted with his letters to the Lord Mayor, Sir George Barnes, who presently assembled certain Aldermen, and twenty-four Commissioners, by whose advice the poor were divided into three classes. The first class comprehended those who were poor by impotency of nature, as young fatherless children, old decripid persons, ideots, cripples, and The second class comprehended diseased and sick persons, and wounded soldiers. The third class the poor by idleness or unthriftiness, as riotous spenders, vagabonds, loiterers, lewd strumpets, and their companions. The first they observed were to be educated and maintained; the fecond to be cured and relieved; and the third to be chastised and reduced to good order. When this was represented to the King, he gave to the city for education and maintenance of the first class of poor the Grey Friar's church near Newgate market, with all the revenues thereto belonging: for cure and relief of the second class, he gave St. Bartholomew's near Smithfield; and for correction of the third, he appointed his house at Bridewell, the antient mansion of many English Kings (y). For the mainte-

<sup>(</sup>y) Bishop Ridley had before liam Cecil, and other great men at made earnest solicitation to Sir Wil- Court, that this old palace might be converted

nance and support of these places, together with the new reedified hospital of St. Thomas in Southwark, the King gave seven hundred and fifty marks yearly out of the rents of the hof-pital of St. John Baptist, or the Savoy, with all the bedding and furniture then belonging to that place. And when the charter of this gift was presented to him, with a blank left for lands to be afterwards received in mortmain to an yearly value, the King presently with his own hand filled up the void space with these words, "four thousand marks by year." This done, the pious young Monarch fervently returned thanks to GOD, for having been graciously pleased to prolong his life to finish that busi-

ness (z).

On the 6th of July, 1553, the excellent and amiable King Edward died; and an attempt being made to raise Lady Jane Grey to the Throne, in which Bishop Ridley was induced by his attachment to the interests of the Reformation to concur, he was commanded by the Council to preach at St. Paul's, and recommend Queen Jane to the people; which order he obeyed with much zeal and earnestness, pointing out the danger in which the nation would be, if the Princess Mary succeeded; who was a rigid Papist, and would bring back again the Papal power to en-flave them, and subvert the true religion already established. He then related his own experience of her deafness to good counsel, and averseness from better information; refusing so much as to hear him, when on a certain time in the preceding year he had endeavoured to bring her to the knowledge of the Gospel: inferring from thence, that, if she was Queen, it must be expected she would overturn all the religion so happily established under King Edward, and would betray the kingdom to a foreign power.

However, the whole defign in favour of the Lady Jane mis-carried, and the Princess Mary was acknowledged and pro-claimed Queen. Mary was now at Framingham, where all haftened to her to implore her mercy; but this Bishop Ridley could not obtain; for he was fent up from Framingham on a lame horse, and committed to the Tower on the 26th of July. He was, however, never questioned for his sermon at St. Paul's, the Queen chusing rather to proceed against him for Heresy.

Notwithstanding this, Ridley might have faved himself from the danger which threatened him, and recovered the Queen's favour, if he would have brought over the weight of his learning and authority to countenance her proceedings in religion. He was, therefore, foon treated with more respect and indulgence than the other prisoners in the Tower; having the liberty of walking

converted into an hespital for reclaiming of vagrants, and other uleful purposes. Accordingly it was at a ral ufeful trades, length endowed, and granted by the Crown, as above-mentioned, for correcting and reclaiming idle, loofe

vagrants, and finding them work; and also for training up boys to seve-(z) Life of Ridley, as before, P. 396-399.

walking about in it, to see whether he would voluntarily be present at the mass, or not. And Mr. Fox says, that he was once present at it; but there is reason to think he was mistaken in this particular (a). However, it is certain that he was used with great civility in the Tower, the Papists sparing neither

courtefy, compliment, nor argument, to win him.

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In the mean time, Ridley was very defirous of conferring with Cranmer and Latimer, who were now his fellow prisoners, in order to fift his own opinions, and correct or strengthen them from the experience of those veterans. He knew his life was at stake, and he verily believed the truth of CHRIST was so also: he would not willingly rush on death through tortures for a mistaken question, or a point of little importance; nor weakly betray the cause of truth, either over-reached by their sophistry, or terrified by their cruelties. He therefore defired the fincere advice of these true friends, either to point out his errors, or confirm his resolution. And for this purpose they had several conferences, exchanging papers and letters on these subjects. Thus did Ridley employ himself during his imprisonment; examining himself, and trying his own spirit carefully, lest either ignorance or prejudice should mislead him; seeking the advice of the elder and more experienced; proposing his reasons, and submit-ting them to the censure of others. In short, through his whole life, he applied with great industry to acquaint himself with the truth; and when affured, no man shewed more resolution in maintaining it.

When Ridley had been about eight months in the Tower, he was conveyed from thence to Oxford, together with Cranmer and Latimer, to hold a public disputation there (b). And when he was first brought before the Commissioners appointed by the Convocation to defend the Popish doctrines, and the three articles which were to be the subject of the disputation were read to him; namely, that the natural body of CHRIST was really in the Sacrament; that no other substance remained in the Sacrament, after the words of confecration, than the substance of the body and blood of CHRIST; and that the mass was a propitiatory facrifice; Ridley answered, without the least hesitation, that the articles were all false; and that they sprang out of a bitter and four root. The Commissioners charged him with preaching a sermon, whilst he was Bishop of Rochester, in defence of Transubstantiation. But this he denied, defying them to produce one witness who heard him; which they could not do. They next asked him, whether he did not, about the same time, desire the present Lord Chancellor to stick to the mass? He answered, that the Lord Chancellor would fay no fuch thing; for if he . Vol. 11. 9. 3 C

<sup>(</sup>a) Vid. Life of Ridley, P. 434, (b) Vid. P. 168, 169, of this Vo-

did, he reported not the truth. It was then demanded of him, whether he would dispute, or no? He answered, that as long as GOD gave him life, he should not only have his heart, but also his mouth and pen to defend his truth: but that he required time and books. They said he should dispute on Tuesday, and till that time he should have books, and time to look for his dis-

putations.

The day appointed for Dr. Ridley's disputation was Tuesday the 17th of April, 1554. And in the course of the debate he displayed great acuteness of understanding, strength of reasoning, and extent of learning, though he had no less than fourteen opponents. He would, however, have done more justice to his cause, if he had not so readily admitted the authority of the Fathers, on which his adversaries laid great stress. But in what a tumultuous and disorderly manner the disputation was carried on, we may form some judgment by an account given of it by Bishop Ridley himself, and which has been preserved by Fox. "I never yet since I was born (fays Ridley) saw or heard any thing done or handled more vainly or tumultuously, than the et disputation which was with me, in the schools at Oxford. Yea, verily, I could never have thought that it had been possible to " have found amongst men, recounted to be of knowledge and " learning in this Realm, any so brazen-faced and shameless, so " disorderly and vainly to behave themselves, more like stageer players in interludes to set forth a pageant, than grave Di-vines in schools to dispute. The clamours of the Sorbonne, which at Paris I have seen in times past, when Popery most " reigned, might be worthily thought (in comparison of this " thrasonical ostentation) to have had much modesty. And no " great wonder, feeing they which should have been moderators and guides of others, and who should have given good example in words and gravity, they themselves, above all others, gave worst example, and did, as it were, blow the trumpet to the rest, to rave, roar, rage, and cry out. Whence it manifests they have sometimes that they have south for truth, but for the "festly appears, that they never sought for truth, but for the glory of the world, and a bragging victory.----A great part of the time appointed for the disputations, was vainly spent in opprobrious taunts, histings, clapping of hands, and triumphs, er more than could have been borne even in stage-plays, and that in English to prejudice the common people. All which et things when I with godly grief did suffer, protesting openly " that such excesses and outrageous disorder was unbecoming \*\* those schools, and men of learning and gravity, and did but betray the weakness of their cause: I was so far by this my " humble remonstrance from doing any good, that what with " histing and shouting, and what with over-bearing, I was forced " to hear such reproaches, checks, and taunts for my labour, that no person of any honesty, without blushing, could abide to hear spoken, by a most vile varlet, against a most wretched " ruffian."

Two days after the disputations were ended, Bishop Ridley, with his fellow prisoners Cranmer and Latimer, were condemned as Heretics. After fentence of condemnation was passed, Ridley answered, "Although I be not of your company, yet I " doubt not but my name is written in another place, whither " this fentence will fend us fooner, than we should by the course " of nature have come."

Ridley was continued in close confinement at Oxford upwards of a year and a quarter after this condemnation, when a new process was carried on against him, as well as his fellow prifoners, the former proceedings having been irregular. A com-mission was now granted from Cardinal Pole, as the Pope's Legate, to the Bishops of Lincoln, Gloucester, and Bristol, impowering them to cite Latimer and Ridley before them, and to try them for Herefy. Accordingly they underwent another examination before these Commissioners, by whom they were finally condemned on the first of October, 1555.

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During the time that Ridley and Latimer lay in prison after their condemnation, which was about a fortnight, every method was tried to win the former. They seemed ashamed to sacrifice a man of such piety and learning, and rather wished to bring him over, to add weight to their own party. Brookes, Bishop of Gloucester, in great simplicity pointed out to him the only method of reclaiming him to the Church of Rome, which was to captivate his senses, and subdue his reason;" and then "he " doubted not but he might be easily induced to acknowledge " one Church with them." Lord Dacres, who was kinfman to Ridley, about this time offered ten thousand pounds to the Queen, if she would preserve so valuable a life. But this she would not agree to, on no condition but that of his recantation; and Ridley, with the spirit of a primitive martyr, nobly refused life on any fuch terms.

Accordingly, on the 15th of October, which was the day preceding that appointed for his execution, he was degraded from Priest's Orders by the Bishop of Gloucester; after which he prepared himself for his approaching death; which a found judgment, and a good conscience, made him look upon as a matter of joy and triumph. He called it his MARRIAGE, and in the evening washed his beard and his legs, and supped (c) with his brother-in-law, Mr. Shipfide, and others, behaving with the utmost chearfulness. And when they arose from table, Mr. Shipfide offered to watch all night with him. But he would not fuf-

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<sup>(4)</sup> The following are the particulars of the supper which Bishop Ridley had the night before he suffered; which shows the manner of living, and the price of provisions, at that time. Bread

fer him, faying, that he minded (GOD willing) to go to bed, and to sleep as quietly that night, as ever he did in his life.

The next morning the Mayor and Bailiffs of Oxford brought forth their prisoners, Ridley and Latimer. Ridley came first, dressed in an handsome black gown, furred, faced with points, fuch as he used to wear in his episcopal character; about his neck was a tippet of velvet, furred likewise, his head covered with a velvet night cap, and his square cap upon that; and he walked to the stake between the Mayor and one of the Aldermen. As he passed towards the prison called Bocardo, he looked up to the chamber where Cranmer lay, in hopes of feeing him at the window, and speaking to him: but the Archbishop was at that time busily engaged in disputation with Friar Soto and others, fo that he happened not to be at the window at that When Ridley arrived at the stake, he earnestly lifted up his hands and eyes to Heaven; and then feeing Latimer coming towards him, he with a most chearful countenance ran to him, embraced and kissed him, and said to him, " Be of good heart, " brother, for GOD will either assuage the fury of the slame, " or else strengthen us to abide it." Then moving to the stake, he kneeled down, and kissing it, prayed earnestly, as did Lati-Then rifing, they conferred together a little mer likewise. while. Dr. Smith was appointed to preach at the stake; and when he had ended his fermon, Ridley requested of the principal persons present, that he might be permitted to speak two or three words: but he was rudely refused, and was told, that he must not have liberty to speak, unless he would recant his erroneous opinions. Not otherwise? said he. No, returned Dr. Marshall; therefore if you will not do so, then there is no remedy, but you must suffer for your deserts. "Well," replied the noble martyr, " so long as the breath is in my body, I will " never deny my LORD CHRIST, and his known truth. GOD's " will be done in me." They were then commanded to make themselves ready; upon which Bishop Ridley, taking off his gown and tippet, gave them to his brother Shipside. Some part of his apparel he gave elsewhere, and some the Bailiffs took. He likewise gave away several other small things to gentlemen standing by, many of whom wept, and were greatly affected. When he was stripped to his shirt and truss, he would

	£. S.	D.
Bread and ale -	0 0	3
Shoulder of mutton	0.0	9
A pig —	0 0 1	t.
A plover -	0 0	
Wine	0 0	halfpenny.
Cheese and pears —	0 0	2
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have been burnt in them: but his brother Shipfide prevailed on him to pull off the latter, as it would else encrease his pain, and might do a poor man good. Then standing at the stake upon a stone, he lifted up his hands towards Heaven, and prayed, "O " Heavenly FATHER, I give unto thee most hearty thanks, for " that thou hast called me to be a professor of thee, even unto " death. I beseech thee, LORD GOD, take mercy upon the " Realm of England, and deliver the same from all her ene-" mies." Then the fmith took an iron chain, and brought it round the middles of both the martyrs; and as he was driving in the staple, Dr. Ridley shook the chain, and said to the smith, "Good fellow, knock it in hard, for the flesh will have its " courfe." And now his brother-in-law, Mr. Shipfide, brought him some gunpowder in a bag, and would have tied it about his neck. The Bishop asked what it was; and being informed, faid, "I take it to be sent of GOD, and therefore I will receive " it as fent of him: and have you any for my brother Lati-" mer?" And being answered in the affirmative, he bade him give it to him betime, left it should be too late : which was done accordingly.

Dr. Ridley then faid to the Lord Williams, " My Lord, I must " be a fuitor to your Lordship in the behalt of divers poor men, and especially in the cause of my poor sister: I have made a " supplication to the Queen's Majesty in their behalf. I be-" feech your Lordship, for CHRIST's fake, to be a mean to her Grace for them. My brother here hath the supplication, " and will refort to your Lordship to certify you hereof. There is nothing in all the world that troubleth my conscience, I " praise GOD, this only excepted. Whilst I was in the See of "London, divers poor men took leafes of me, and agreed with " me for them. Now I hear fay, the Bishop, who now occupi-" eth the same room, will not allow my grants unto them made, " but, contrary to all law and conscience, hath taken from them " my livings, and will not fuffer them to enjoy the same. I be-" feech you, my Lord, be a mean for them. You shall do a " good deed, and GOD will reward you." There is fomething extremely great in this behaviour of Ridley: in his shewing himself, at the very instant that a cruel death awaited him, so regardless of his own sufferings, and so recollected and solicitous for the good and happiness of others.

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When the faggots were kindled, and Ridley saw the fire flaming up towards him, he cried out with an exceeding loud voice, "Into thy hands, O GOD, I commend my spirit; O "LORD receive my spirit." His fellow sufferer Latimer was soon dead; but the fire was so ill managed on the side on which Ridley was, by piling too great a quantity of saggots over the furze, that the fire first burned beneath, being kept down by the wood: which when Dr. Ridley selt, he desired them, for Christ's

fake, to let the fire come to him. His brother hearing his earnest request, but not understanding well the reason of it, with an ill-advised kindness, to rid him out of his pain, heaped more faggots upon him, quite covering him with them; which made the fire, mouldering beneath, so intense, that it burned all his nether parts before it once touched the upper. This made him leap up and down under the faggots, and often defire them to let the fire come to him, faying, "I cannot burn." Which, indeed, appeared too true; for after his legs were consumed, he shewed that fide towards the spectators, clean, shirt and all, untouched with flame. Yet in all this torment he forgot not to call upon GOD, having still in his mouth, "LORD have mercy " upon me;" adding between whiles, " Let the fire come to me, I cannot burn." Thus he continued crying out without relief, till one of the standers by, with his bill, pulled off the faggots above; and where the tortured martyr faw the fire flame up, he wrested himself to that side. And when the flame touched the gunpowder, he was feen to ftir no more; but burned on the other fide; and either from the chain's loofing, or by the overpoise of his body, after his legs were consumed, fell over the chain, down at Latimer's feet (d).

Such was the end of Bishop Ridley! a Prelate of great learning and piety, of the most distinguished abilities, and of exemplary manners. He was of a chearful and agreeable temper; he behaved to those about him with much courteousness and affability, and he was very generous and liberal to the poor. In this respect Turner, afterwards Dean of Wells, bears an honourable testimony concerning him. " If there were no other witness of his beneficence to the Poor, (fays he), I will testify this to all, that before he was advanced to any ecclefialtical " preferment, he carried me along in company with him to the 
mext hospital; and when I had nothing to give to the poor, 
beside what he himself, according to his estate, liberally gave, 
he often supplied me, that I might give too. While he was " himself in prison, what aid he sent out of England to us in " our exile in Germany, that learned man, his faithful Achates, " Dr. Edmund Grindall, now Bishop of London, can testify; " and many others who were affisted by his liberality." Anthony Wood fays of Bishop Ridley, that " he was a person small " in stature, but great in learning, and profoundly read in Di-" vinity."

The fame Writer mentions the following pieces, which were written by Ridley. 1. A Treatife concerning Images, not to be fet up, nor worshipped, in churches. 2. Brief declaration of the Lord's Supper, published in 1555, and 1586, in Octavo; writ-

ten during his imprisonment in Oxford. It was translated into Latin by William Whittyngham. 3. A friendly farewell, written during his imprisonment at Oxford, unto all his true lovers, a little before his death. Lond. 1559. 8vo. 4. A piteous lamentation of the miserable state of the Church of England, in the time of the late revolt from the Gospel. Lond. 8vo. 5. A comparison between the comfortable doctrine of the Gospel and the traditions of Popish religion. 6. Account of the disputation held at Oxford, printed at Oxford in 4to. 1688. 7. A Treatise of the blessed Sacrament.—Many of Ridley's letters, and also some of these pieces, have been likewise published by Fox, and also lately by the Reverend Mr. Glocester Ridley, in his copious and accurate account of Bishop Ridley's Life, to which we have been so much indebted in our account of the Life of this excellent Prelate.



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# The Life of JOHN LELAND.

ohn Leland was born in London, but in what year is not known. He loft both his parents whilft he was very young, but he met with a generous friend and patron in Mr. Thomas Miles, who brought him up, and caused him to be carefully educated at St. Paul's school, under the famous William Lily. When he had made a sufficient progress in grammatical learning, he was sent to CHRIST's College in Cambridge, where having studied for some years with great diligence and success, he removed from thence to Oxford, and surther prosecuted his studies in All Soul's College (e).

Having thus laid in a confiderable stock of learning in his own country, he travelled for further improvement to Paris, where he had the advantage of the conversation and instructions of Budæus, Faber, Paulus Æmilius, Ruellius, and Francis Sylvius; by whose affistance he perfected himself in the Latin and Greek tongues. He also learned the French, Italian, and Spa-

nith languages.

Upon his return to England, he entered into holy orders, and was presented to the Rectory of Poppeling, or Popering, in the Marches of Calais. And King Henry VIII. appointed him one of his Chaplains; and conceiving an high opinion of his learning, and particularly in Antiquities, he constituted him his library-keeper, and dignified him with the title of his Antiquary; a title which was never enjoyed by any other, either before or fince.

In the year 1533, a commission was granted to him under the Great Seal, by virtue of which he had free liberty and power to enter and search the libraries of all Cathedrals, Abbies, Priories, Colleges, &c. as likewise all other places wherein any records, or writings, that related to the English History and Antiquities, were deposited. And with this view, he obtained, in 1536, a dispensation for non-residence upon his Living at Popeling, that he might prosecute his design of travelling throughout England, in search of its most valuable Antiquities.

"He entered upon this journey (fays Mr. Hearne) with an unufual willingness, being very apprehensive that 'twould conduce much to the honour of this nation, and to the common benefit

<sup>(</sup>c.) Vid. Biogr. Britan. New and Gen. Biog. Dict. and Wood's Athens Oxoniences, Vol. I. Col. 67-70. Edit. 1691.

nefit of learning. He carried on his travels, without intermiffion, for several years, in which time he went over most parts of England and Wales: and he was so inquisitive in his remarks, that being not content with what the libraries of the respective houses, to which he applied himself, afforded, nor with what was recorded in the windows and other monuments belonging to Cathedrals, Monasteries, &c. he wandered from place to place where he thought there were any footsteps of Roman, Saxon, or Danish buildings, and took particular notice of all the tumuli; coins, inscriptions, &c. which he happened to light upon (f)."

We may form some idea of Mr. Leland's great labours, and extreme affiduity, in fearching after Antiquities, and whatever was worthy of notice, in every part of England, by what he himself says in his NEW-YEAR's-GIFT, which was addressed to King Henry VIII. in 1545. " I have (fays he) fo travelled in " your dominions, both by the fea-coasts, and the middle parts; " sparing neither labour nor costs, by the space of these six " years past, that there is almost neither cape, nor bay, haven, " creek, or pier, river, or confluence of rivers, breaches, washes, " lakes, mires, fenny waters, mountains, vallies, moors, heaths, " forests, chaces, woods, cities, boroughs, castles, principal manor-places, monasteries, and colleges, but I have seen "them; and noted, in so doing, a whole world of things very memorable (g)."

In this address to the King, Mr. Leland, after a short relation of his travels, and his collections, also acquaints his Majesty, that he had digested into four books an account of the illustrious Writers in this Realm, with their lives and monuments of literature; and also lays before him a scheme of what he further intended to do. Promising a draught or map of England on a filver plate; and a description of the kingdom, in which the antient names of places in Britain would be restored; then the civil History of this nation, in as many books as there are shires in England and Wales; a survey of the British isles in six books; and, finally, an account of the Nobility of England in three books.

Mr. Leland did not only fearch out and rescue antique monuments of literature from the destructive hands of time, by a faithful copy and register of them, but likewise saved many from being despoiled by the hands of men. For in that age the English were remarkably negligent and inattentive to their own History and Antiquities; and they paid scarce any attention to the most valuable monuments of English literature (b). This being observed by foreigners, especially in Germany, young 3 D Vol. II. 9. fludents

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of the Itinerary, P. 5, 6.
(g) New-Year's-Gift, prefixed to the first Volume of the Itinerary,

<sup>(</sup>f) Preface to the first Volume published by Tho. Hearne at Oxford, in 1710. P. 21.

<sup>(</sup> b ) See Vol. I. P. 364.

ftudents were frequently sent from thence, who cut them out of the books in the libraries, and then, returning home, published them as monuments of their own country (i). This pilferage, together with the great havock which was made of them at the dissolution, of the Monasteries, was observed by Mr. Leland with the utmost regret. He wrote a letter to Cromwell, when that great man was Secretary of State, soliciting his assistance for the preservation of many antient manuscripts, which were in danger of being utterly destroyed: and accordingly our Antiquarian had the satisfaction of preserving many good antient Authors, that otherwise would have perished, to the great detriment of learning: some of them he placed in the King's li-

brary, and fome remained in his own custody.

In 1542, Mr. Leland was presented to the Rectory of Haseley in Oxfordshire; and in 1543, the King gave him a Canonry in King's College (now Christ-church) in Oxford; and, about the same time, the Prebend of East and West Knoll, in the cathedral church of Sarum: but the Canonry of Christ-church he lost in 1545, upon the surrender of that College to the King, and instead of it had no pension allowed him as other Canons had, but (according to Anthony Wood) preferment elsewhere. He had retired to his house in St. Michael le Querne, London, in order to digest the numerous collections which he had made, and to finish the works which he had defigned. But either too hard fludy, or some other cause unknown, deprived him of his understanding, and threw him into a frenzy. Whereupon King Edward VI. by letters patents, dated March 5, 1550, granted the custody of him, by the name of John Laylond, junior, of St. Michael's parish in le Querne, Clerk, to his brother, John Laylond, senior; and for his maintenance, to receive the profits of Haseley, Poppeling, and East and West Knoll above-mentioned. In this distraction he continued, without ever recovering the use of his reason, two years, when the disorder put a period to his life on the 18th of April, 1552. He was interred in the church of St. Michael le Querne, which stood at the westend of Cheapfide, London.

Anthony Wood calls Mr. Leland, a "fingular light and ornament of Great Britain;" and further observes, that "he was esteemed by the generality of scholars of his time an excellent Orator and Poet, learned in the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, Spanish, British, Saxon, Welch, and Scottish tongues, a most diligent searcher into Antiquity, and a favourer and lover of all those that bent their minds that way." And one of his cotemporaries boldly assirms, that England never saw, and, he believes, should never see, a man to him in all things to be compared, with regard to his skill in the Antiquities of Britain: for that undoubtedly he was in these matters wonderful and

peerless;

peerless; so that concerning them, England had yet never a greater loss. Upon the whole, Leland may not unjustly be stiled the Father of English Antiquaries, since his works have been made use of by John Bale, in his catalogue of English Writers; Mr. Camden, in his Britannia; William Burton, Esq; in his description of Leicestershire; Sir William Dugdale, in his Antiquities of Warwickshire, and Baronage of England; and by most of our other learned Antiquarians .---- Leland was a great favourer of the reformed opinions; and it was intimated by some of the Catholics, that the loss of his fenses was a judgment on him for having degenerated from the Romish religion.

Those Works of Mr. Leland which have been printed (k), are as follows:

I. JOANNIS LELANDI ANTIQUARII DE REBUS BRITANNI-CIS COLLECTANEA. Published by Thomas Hearne at Oxford, in 1715, in fix Volumes, 8vo. The fourth Volume of this Work, containing the lives and characters of most of the eminent Writers of England, had been before published by Mr. Anthony Hall, under the title of Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, auctore Joanne Lelando Londinate, Oxon, 1709, 2 Vols. 8vo.

II. THE ITINERARY OF JOHN LELAND THE ANTIQUARY. Published by Hearne at Oxford in 1710, in 9 Vols. 8vo. A second Edition of this Work was re-printed in 1745, with improvements and additions.

III. NÆNIÆ IN MORTEM THOMÆ VIATIEQUITIS INCOM-PARABILIS. An Elegy on the death of Sir Thomas Wiat, Knt. Lond. 1542. 4to. reprinted by Hearne, at the beginning of the fecond Volume of the Itinerary.

IV. A Poem on the birth of Edward, Prince of Wales, in Latin. Lond. 1543. 4to. re-printed in the 9th Vol. of the Itinerary. Bishop Nicolson observes, that " John Leland is also reported by Pits, to have written a Dictionarium Britannico-Latinum. But I suspect there's no more grounds for such a story than only this: Leland published a Latin poem upon the birth of the Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward the Sixth; and, taking occasion to use some hard words in it, added to it, Syllabus et Interpretatio Antiquarum Dictionum, que passim per libellum lectori occurrunt. And this, I believe, is all the Welch Dictionary that will be found of his composure."

V. Assertio inclytissimi Arturii, regis Britanniæ. Elenchus Antiquorum nominum. Lond. 1544. 4to. translated into English, and published by R. Robinson in 1582.

3 D 2 lections were efteemed to valuable, hands, and the largest and most va-that King Edward VI. thought them luable part of them were at length worth his notice and care; and accordingly ordered his tutor, Sir John Hearne. Cheke, to take them into his cuftody.

( k ) Mr. Leland's manuscript col- From him they passed into several published by the industrious Thomas VI. CYGNEA CANTIO. A Swan's Song, with a Commentary on the same. Lond. 1545. 4to. re-printed in 1658. 12mo. and in the 9th Volume of the Itinerary. Bishop Nicolson observes, that this is "a poetical piece of flattery, or a panegyric on King Henry; wherein the Author brings his Swan down the river of Thames, from Oxford to Greenwich, describing (as she passes along) all the towns, castles, and other places of note within her view. And the antient names of these, being sometimes different from what the common herd of Writers had usually given, therefore (in his Commentary on this Poem) he alphabetically explains his terms; and, by the bye, brings in a great deal of the antient Geography of this island."

VII. Principum ac illustrium aliquot et eruditorum in Anglia virorum encomia, &c. Published by Mr. Thomas Newton of

Cheshire, in 1589, 4to.

VIII. A New-Year's-Gift to King Henry VIII. in the 37th year of his reign; published in the Author's life-time by John Bale, with notes. Lond. 1549. 8vo. and re-printed by Hearne in the first Vol. of the Itinerary.

the first Vol. of the Itinerary.

IX. LAUDATIO PACIS. The Praise of Peace, a Latin poem.

Lond. 1546, 4to. Re-printed by Hearne in the fifth Volume of

the Collectanea.

Some other small pieces, written by Leland, have also been published by Mr. Hearne,



OHN DUDLEY was born in the year 1502, being the eldest son of Edmund Dudley, Fsq; by Elizabeth, daughter of Edward, Lord L'Isle. At the time his father was beheaded (1), which was towards the beginning of the reign of King Henry VIII. he was about eight years old. In 1511, an act was passed, by which the attainder of Edmund Dudley, the father, was reversed, and John Dudley, the son, was restored in blood; in consequence of which he inherited a

(1) EDMUND DUDLEY, father to our Duke, was a very eminent and able Lawyer, and Speaker of the House of Commons in 1504. But he is deservedly infamous in History for being a principal instrument of Henry VII. in his cruel and unjust oppressions and extortions of his people, in conjunction with Sir Richard Empson, for which they were both attainted of high treason, and beheaded at the beginning of the reign of Henry VIII. [See the first Volume of our Work, P. 315.] Lord Bacon gives the following account of the iniquitous transactions in which Dudley and Empson were concerned. "As Kings (says he) do more easily find instruments for their will and bumour, than for their service and bonour, he (Henry VII.) had gotten for his purpose, or beyond his purpose, two instruments, Empson and Dudley, (whom the people esteemed as his borse-leaches and spearers) bold men, and careless of same, and that took toll of their master's grist. Dudley was of a good samily, eloquent, and one that could put bateful business into good language. But Empson, that was the son of a fleve-maker, triumphed always upon the deed done, putting off all other respects whatsoever. These two

persons, being Lawyers in science, and Privy Counsellors in authority, (as the corruption of the best things is the worft) turned law and juffice into wormwood and rapine. For first, their manner was, to cause divers subjects to be indicted of fundry crimes, and fo far forth to proceed in form of law; but when the bills were found, then presently to commit them. And nevertheless, not to produce them in any reasonable time to their answer; but to suffer them to languish long in prison, and by fundry artificial devices and terrors, to extort from them great fines and ransoms, which they termed compositions and mitigations. Neither did they (towards the end) ob-ferve fo much as the half-face of justice, in proceeding by indiament; but fent forth their precepts to attach men, and convent them before themselves and some others, at their private houses, in a court of commission, and there used to shuffle up million, and there used to mille up a funmary proceeding by examination, without trial of Jury; affuming to themselves there, to deal both in pleas of the Crown, and controverfies civil. Then did they also use to enthral and charge the subjects lands with the subjects lands and the subjects lands and the subjects lands with the subjects lands. with tenures in capite, by finding falle offices, and thereby to work

very opulent fortune which had been left by his father. He had all due care taken of his education, his guardian, Edmund Guilford, Efq; being one of the finest gentlemen in King Henry's Court, and his mother a very accomplished woman. About the year 1523, this Lady married, with the King's confent, Sir Arthur Plantagenet, who, in her right, was created Viscount L'Isle; and about the same time she brought her son to Court, who being a young gentleman of a handsome person, and fine accomplishments, he attended the King's favourite Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, in his expedition into France; where his gallant behaviour greatly recommended him to the notice of his General, and also procured him the honour

of Knighthood.

Sir John Dudley appears to have been early tinctured with ambition; and it was probably motives of that kind which induced him to attach himself to Cardinal Wolsey, whom he accompanied in his Embassy to France, in the nineteenth year of that reign; soon after which he was appointed Master of the Armory in the Tower. His hopes at Court did not hinder him from attending to his concerns in the country, where he was very careful to improve his interest among the Gentry; and, in 1536, was Sherist of Staffordshire, where he lived hospitably, and made himself popular among his neighbours. Whilst Wolsey's power and instructed, Sir John Dudley paid court to him; and he afterwards ingratiated himself with Lord Cromwell, when he found that great man was much in the King's favour, and had the chief management of public affairs. And when the Lady Anne Cleves arrived in England, Dudley was made Master of the Horse to the intended Queen.

On the first of May, 1539, he was the first of the challengers in the triumphant tournament held at Westminster, in which he

appeared

upon them for wardships, liveries, primier seisines, and aliena ions, (being the fruits of those tenures) refusing upon divers pretexts and delays, to admit men to traverse those fails offices, according to the law. Nay, the King's Ward:, after they had accomplished their full age, could not be suffered to have livery of their lands, without paying excessive sines, sar exceeding all reasonable rates. They did also vex men with informations of intrusion upon scarce colourable titles.—They would also russes with Jurors, and inforce them to find as they would direct, and (if they did not) convent them, imprison them, and fine them. These and many other courses, fitter to be buried than repeated, they had

of preying upon the people; both like tame bawks for their mafter, and like wild bawks for themselves; infomuch as they grew to great riches and substance. But their principal working was upon Penal Laws, wherein they spared none, great nor small; nor considered whether the law were possible or impossible, in use or obsolete. But raked over all old and new statutes, though many of them were made with intention rather of terror, than of rigour; having ever a rabble of Promoters, Guessmongers, and leading Jurors, at their command, so as they could have any thing sound either for sact, or valuation."—Hist. of King Henry VII, P. 209, 210, 211, Edit, 1629.

appeared with great magnificence. This tournament had been proclaimed in France, Flanders, Scotland, and Spain, for all comers to try their prowess against the English challengers, who were Sir John Dudley, Sir Thomas Seymour, Sir Thomas Poynings, Sir George Carew, Knights; and Anthony Kingston and Richard Cromwell, Esquires. When the challengers came into the lifts, they were preceded by a band of Knights and gentlemen, all dreffed in white velvet, and the furniture of their horses of the fame; but the challengers themselves were much more magnificently dreffed. The first day there were forty-fix defendants, amongst whom were the Earl of Surrey, Lord William Howard, Lord Clinton, and Lord Cromwell, fon to the famous Minister of that name, who had been a short time before created Earl of Essex. Sir John Dudley, by some mischance of his horse, had the misfortune to be overthrown by one Mr. Breme; however, he mounted again, and performed very gallantly. After this was over, the challengers rode in state to Durham House, where they entertained the King, Queen, and Court. On the fecond of May, Anthony Kingston and Richard Cromwell were made Knights; and on the third, the challengers fought on horseback with swords, against twenty-nine defendants; Sir John Dudley and the Earl of Surrey running first with equal advantage. On the fifth of May they fought on foot at the barriers against thirty defendants. In the course of these military diversions, the challengers, at a vast expence, entertained both Houses of Parliament, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and their Ladies, and all the persons of distinction then in town; as a reward for which, the King gave to each of them a house, and an hundred marks a year for ever, out of the revenues of the Knights of Rhodes, which had been given to his Majesty by the Parliament then fitting (m).

In 1542, his father-in-law dying, Sir John Dudley was, by letters patent, raifed to the dignity of Viscount L'Isle, and at the next festival of St. George was elected Knight of the Garter. This was soon after followed by a much higher instance of the King's trust and confidence; for his Majesty, on account of his abilities and courage, constituted him Lord High Admiral of England for life. It is said, that he had served with reputation at sea, before he obtained this high employment; and in particular we are told, that he boarded and took the Admiral of

Sluys, fighting her ship to ship.

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In 1544, the Lord Admiral was ordered to command a fleet of two hundred fail, on board of which ten thousand men were embarked, in order to invade Scotland. The troops were landed about four miles from Leith, from whence they marched to Edinburgh, the Lord Admiral commanding the vanguard, and the Earl of Hertford the main battle. The former had the cre-

dit of routing the Scots, and of forcing the principal gate of Edinburgh, into which he was the first man that entered. They fet fire to that city, where they were joined by the Lord Evers, Warden of the East Marches, at the head of a land army. But not being able to take the citadel, the Earl of Hertford and the Lord Admiral retreated to Leith; to which setting fire, they reembarked, and having scoured the coasts of Scotland, and taken out of the havens and creeks all such vessels as they found there, made the best of their way home; while the land army burnt Seton, Haddington, and Dunbar; and having ravaged the coun-

try in its march, retreated in fafety to Berwick (n).

King Henry being now engaged also in a war with France, on the 9th of July, 1543, the siege of Bulloigne was formed by the Duke of Suffolk. The King himself came to the camp in perfon on the 26th of the same month, and the Lord Admiral arrived there two days after, where he encamped the nearest the town of any of the King's forces. In this siege he was present in most of the attacks, and had here the misfortune to lose his eldest son. Bulloigne was surrendered on the 14th of September, and on the 18th the King made his public entry into it, and soon after delivered the keys of the town to the Lord Admiral, with the title of Governor; and upon his embarking for England, on the 30th of the same month, declared him his Lieutenant-General.

The Dauphin of France being now not far diftant, with an army of upwards of fifty thousand men, he formed a design of retaking Bulloigne, and accordingly on the 9th of October attempted it by surprize; but through the vigilance and courage of the Lord Admiral, and his garrison, the French were repulsed, with the loss of eight hundred of their best troops. And on the first of February following, the Lord Admiral fallied out of Bulloigne, with a small body of horse and foot, and attacked a much superior corps of French forces, and forced them to retire with precipitation, making himself master of twelve pieces

of cannon.

The French Monarch being much galled at the conquest of Bulloigne by the English, hired from several of the Italian Powers, at a great expence, a considerable number of ships; and having assembled upwards of two hundred sail, besides gallies, gave the command of this sleet to Annebault, Admiral of France, in hopes of recovering Bulloigne, and also with a design of making some attempts on the English coasts. The French sleet, however, met with an accident when it first put to sea, one of their best ships, of the burthen of eight hundred tons, taking sire. But between Alderney and Guernsey, their gallies attacked the English Lord Admiral L'Isle, who then had but a small

<sup>(</sup> n ) Vid. Burchett's Complete Hift, of the most remarkable Transactions at Sea, P. 339, 340.

fmall squadron with him; and they bent all their endeavours to take his own ship; but he defended himself so well against eighteen of their vessels at once, that they were at last glad to retire. At length the whole French fleet appeared before St. Helen's, and making a shew of attempting something upon the coast, the Lord Admiral advanced, his fleet consisting of fixty fail; but after exchanging some shot, the French retired. The English fleet being then reinforced, and having taken some troops on board, offered the French battle again, which they accepted, and a sharp engagement ensued for two hours, till night parted the two fleets, when the French retired to Havre de Grace, and appeared no more. However, the English Admiral soon after paid a visit to the coast of France; and landing fix thousand men at Treport, burnt the town and abbey, with thirty thips which were in the harbour; all which he did with the lofs of fourteen men only, and then returned with his fleet to England.

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In 1546, the Lord Admiral was appointed, together with Tonstal, Bithop of Durham, and Dr. Nicholas Wotton, Dean of Canterbury and York, to take the oath of the French King, Francis I. for observing the treaty of peace which was figned the feventh of June, in that year. And on the 16th of October following he was, together with other persons of rank, named in a commission for fettling the accompts of the army. This appears to have been the last public service the Lord Admiral performed in the reign of Henry VIII. from whom he had received fome very confiderable grants; and that Monarch left him five hundred pounds by his will, and appointed him one of his fixteen executors, to whom the government of the kingdom was to be intrusted, during the minority of young Edward.

Notwithstanding that, by King Henry's will, his fixteen executors were equal in power, foon after the accession of Edward, the Earl of Hertford, the King's uncle, afterwards Duke of Somerset, was raised above the rest with the title of Protector of the kingdom. Shortly after, Lord L'Isle refigned the post of High Admiral, that office being given to Sir Thomas Seymour, Baron of Sudley, brother to the Protector; but Lord L'Isle was, the same day, the 17th of February, 1547, created Earl of Warwick, and made Great Chamberlain of England; and soon after he had confiderable grants from the Crown, particularly Warwick castle and manor.

Henry VIII. had earnestly recommended it to his executors, to effectuate, if possible, the design which he had formed, of uniteing the two kingdoms of England and Scotland, by a marriage between his fon Edward and the young Queen of Scotland. We have seen, in the Life of Cardinal Beaton, that a treaty for this purpose was ratified by the Regent and Parliament of Scotland; but that the Scots afterwards renounced this treaty, and entered into a strict confederacy with the Court of France. In

Vel. II. 9. resentment

resentment of this treatment, and in order to compel the Scots to agree to the proposed marriage, Henry had entered into a war with that nation (o). And with the same view the Protector Somerset assembled an army of eighteen thousand men, with which he marched into Scotland, accompanied by our Earl of Warwick, in quality of his Lieutenant-General. The Protector, on his arrival in Scotland, published a manifesto, in which he urged many reasons to induce the Scots to consent to the proposed marriage; but this having no effect, hostilities commenced.

Before any action of importance occurred, the Earl of Warwick escaped a very imminent danger, of which the following relation is given by Sir John Hayward. " As the English (fays " he) directed their way towards the place where they under-" flood the Scots assembled, they came to a river called Lynne, crossed with a bridge of stone. The horsemen and carriages " passed through the water, the footmen over the bridge, which " because it was narrow, the army was long in setting over-"The avaunt guard marched forth, and the battail followed; but as the rear was passing over, a very thick mist did arise. "The Earl of Warwick having before espied certain plumps of "Scottish horsemen ranging the field, returned towards the rear, to prevent such danger as the thickness of the mist, the " nearness of the enemy, and the disarray occasioned by the nar-" rowness of the bridge might cast upon them. The Scots " conjecturing (as it was) that some personage of honour staid to " have a view of the rear, called to the English to know if any "Nobleman were near; for that one whom they named (well " known to be of honourable condition) would present himself " to the General, in case he might safely be conducted. Certain young foldiers, not used to such trains, made rash and " fudden answer, that the Earl of Warwick was near, under whose protection he might be assured. Hereupon they passed the water, placed two hundred of their prickers behind a ie hillock, and with forty more cast about to find the Earl. Now the Earl espying fix or seven of them scattered near the army, " and taking them to be of the English, fent one to command "them to their array; and to that end himself rode an easy of pace towards them, followed only with ten or twelve on " horseback. He that had been sent before was so heedless either to observe, or to advertise what they were, that the Earl did not discover them to be enemies, until he was in the " midst among them. Certainly a Commander should not " carelessly cast himself into danger; but when either upon st necessity, or misadventure, he falleth into it, it much advanceth both his reputation and enterprize, if bravely he be-" have himself. Now the Earl espying where he was, gave so erwards renounced this treaty, and into a first confederacy with the Court of France. In

" rude a charge upon a Captain of the Scots, named Dandy " Care, that he forced him to turn, and chased him above 46 twelve score at the lance's point. Herewith the residue re-" tired deceitfully towards the place of their ambush, from "whence issued about fixty more. Then the Earl gathered his small company about him, and with good countenance " maintained the fight. But the enemy in the end, whether " perceiving some succours advancing from the army where " the alarm was then taken, or whether intending to draw the " English further into their ambush, turned away an easy pace. "The Earl forbad his men from following, fearing a greater 46 ambush behind the hill, as in truth there was. At his return " he was received with great applause by the English soldiers, so for that he did so well acquit himself in the danger, where-" into, by error, and not by rathness, he had been carried. One " of his men was flain; another hurt in the buttock; a third, " named Vane, so grievously hewn, that many thousands have died of less than half his hurts, whereof, notwithstanding, he was cured afterwards. Of the Scots, three were taken pri-" foners, and presented to the General by the Earl, of whom 46 one had received many great entertainments and courtefies " in England ( p )."

The Regent of Scotland had summoned together the whole force of that kingdom to oppose the English army. The Scottish army was double the number of the English. However, on the 10th of September, the two armies came to a decifive engagement, in which the Scottish army was totally defeated (q). There fell not two hundred of the English; and according to the most moderate computation, there perished above ten thoufand of the Scots (r). Fifteen hundred were taken prisoners, among whom was the Earl of Huntley, and five hundred gentlemen; and all the Scottish artillery was taken. In this engagement the Earl of Warwick behaved with the utmost gal-lantry; and greatly contributed to the defeat of the enemy by his conduct and valour. This action is by fome Writers stiled the battle of Musselburgh, and by others the battle of Pinkey.

3 E 2

a cannon ball from one of the English ships killed the Lord Grame's eldest son, and twenty-five men more; which put the Earl of Argyle's

(p) Sir John Hayward's Life and Angus, in which the English lost Reign of K. Edward the Sixth, 4to. fome few men, the Scots gave Edit. 1630. P. 20, 21, 22.

(4) Burnet says, "The English that, and breaking in furiously upon that the advantage of the ground. them, the Scots threw down their And in the beginning of the action, arms, and fled. The English purground; and the English observing arms, and fled. The English pur-fued hard, and slew them without mercy."-Hift, Reform, Vol. II,

P. 34. (r) Hume's Hift. Vol. IV. P. 327. Highlanders into such a fright, that 8vo. Edit. Sir John Hayward says, they could not be held in order. But that, after the action, "the dead after a charge given by the Earl of bodies lay all the way scattered so

After this victory, the Protector, having burnt Edinburgh, and taken Leith, the castles of Hume, Dunglass, Eymouth, Fastcaftle, Roxborough, and fome other fmall places; and having received the submission of some counties on the borders, he retired out of Scotland. Had he profecuted the advantages which his victory had given him, he might have imposed what terms he pleased on the Scottish nation. But he was impatient to return to England, where he heard some of the Council, and even his own brother, the Admiral, were carrying on cabals against his authority (s). The Regent of Scotland defired leave to fend Commissioners in order to treat of a peace; and the Protector, having appointed Berwick for the place of meeting, left the Earl of Warwick with full powers to negociate. But no Commissioners from Scotland ever appeared: for this overture of the Scots was only an artifice to gain time, till fuccours should arrive from France. The Earl of Warwick, there. fore, returned to London, having acquired great honour in this expedition against the Scots (t).

The unhappy quarrels which at this time arose between the Protector Somerfet, and his brother Thomas Seymour, Baron Sudley, and Lord High Admiral, were of very bad consequence to the nation, and did in the end prove the ruin of both the brothers. According to some Writers, the divisions between them were first occasioned by their wives (u): however, the Admiral appears to have been a very ambitious, and a very bad man, though superior to his brother, both in courage and abi-And the Earl of Warwick is faid to have endeavoured to encrease the animosity between the Protector and the Admiral, with a view of aggrandizing himself by the ruin of both. The Protector appears to have been upon the whole a man of probity

thick, as a man may fee theep grazing rished therein might almost be faid to in a well stored pasture, most slain in the head or neck, for that the horsemen could not well touch lower with their fwords; and fcarce credible it is how foon they were stripped and laid naked upon the ground. But then again the eyes of all men were fastened upon them with pity and admiration, to behold so many na-ked bodies, as for tallness of stature, whiteness of skin, largeness and due proportion of limbs, could hardly be equalled in any one country. The ground where their feveral battalions first brake, lay strewed with pikes, fo thick as a floor is usually strewed with rushes, whereby the places could hardly be passed over either by horse or by foot: the river Eske ran red with blood, so as they who pe-

be drowned in their fellows blood," Life and Reign of Ed. VI. P. 35.

(s) Burnet, after observing that the Protector " might easily have made an end of the war now at once, if he had followed his fuccefs vigoroufly;" adds, " the Earl of Warwick, who had a great share in the honour of the victory, but knew that the errors in conduct would much diminish the Protector's glory, which had been otherwise raised to an unmeafurable height, was not difpleased at it."-Hift, Reform. Vol. II.

P. 34.
(t) Burnet, Vol. II. P. 34, 35, 55. Hume, Vol. IV. P. 327.
(u) The Duke of Somerfet had ward Stanhope. Of this Lady, Hayward

and moderation; however, the defigns and practices of his brother the Admiral against him at length appeared so dangerous, that Sudley was deprived of the office of Admiral, and committed to the Tower. The Admiral had fet himfelf at the head of a party against the Protector, and it is said that he had even gone so far as to coin money, and raise troops, threatening to take the King and the Government out of his brother's hands. However, Lord Sudley was attainted in Parliament, without being heard in his own defence, according to a common, but very unjust practice of that age and accordingly he was soon after beheaded on Tower Hill. It is said, that the Earl of Warwick stimulated the Protector to consent to the execution of his bro-

In 1549, there were several very dangerous insurrections in different parts of England, some of which were excited by the Popish Clergy. One of the most alarming of these insurrections was that in Norfolk, which rose to a great height, and was attended with great violences. Among the things chiefly complained of by the people who had affociated themselves together on this occasion, was the inclosing of commons, and the oppressions of the gentry. Their numbers continued to encrease till they amounted to fixteen thousand men; and they had for their leader one Robert Ket, a tanner, who exercised

Hayward gives the following un-favourable character. She was (fays he) " a woman for many imperfecttions intolerable, but for pride monftrous; the was both exceeding fubile and violent in accomplishing her ends, for which the fourned over all respects both of conscience and of fhame." P. 82. The Lord Admiral married Queen Catherine Parr, widow of King Henry VIII. David Lloyd, speaking of the Protestor, and his brother the Admiral, says, "Very great was the animosities betwixt their wives; the Dutchess refusing to bear the Queen's train, and in effect justled with her for precedence: fo that what betwixt the train of the Queen, and long gown of the Dutchess, they raised so much dust at the Court, as at last put out the eyes of both their husbands, and occasioned their executions." In another place the same Writer says, " Interest and blood united these brothers fo strongly, that there was no dividing of them, but by practifing on their wives, whose humours were above their interest, and fancy above their relation. Their prece- Mr. Whitworth's Edition, 1766,

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dence is made a question at Court, where it bred first a distance, and upon an interview contrived in this Lord's house, (the Earl of Warwick's) a difference; that difference is improved to an animofity, (he can do little that cannot blow up a fpark in a woman's breaft to a flame) that animofity to malice, and malice can-not dwell long in those weaker breafts without a mischief: mischief they cannot do themselves: (the ivy cleaves to the oak, and these women to their husbands; though both ruin the thing they cling to :) what fuggestions! what infinuations! what petty fears and jealousies! little tales and passions! yet continual droppings wear a ftone: the women's discords drive themselves into the husbands hearts, until the Admiral falls, and leaves the Protector to his own integrity: whose large trust and infinite bufiness could not but bewray him to some error, as his great power did to much envy, that first divested him of that power, and then of his life." State Worthies, Vol. I. P. 189, 300, 301.

his authority in a very outrageous manner. Having taken pos-fession of Moushold Hill, near Norwich, he erected his tribunal under an old oak, which was from thence called the Oak of Reformation; and there summoning the Gentry to appear before him, he gave such decrees as he thought proper. The Marquis of Northampton was first sent against him, with fifteen hundred horse, and a small body of Italian soldiers; but was repulsed by the malecontents in an action, in which Lord Sheffield was killed. The Protector then fent the Earl of Warwick against the insurgents, at the head of fix thousand foot, and fifteen hundred horse, who had been levied for the Scottish war. It was, however, with some difficulty that Warwick made himfelf master of Norwich; but after some skirmishes with the re-bels, he at last made a general attack upon them. They fought with great bravery; and both in drawing up their men, and in the course of the action, behaved much better than might have been expected from fuch undisciplined soldiers. They were, however, defeated by the Earl of Warwick, upwards of two thousand of them being killed in the action (w). But notwithstanding this defeat, great numbers of them were collected about the ordnance, who intrenched themselves with their carts and carriages, and boldly stood on their defence. Upon this, the Earl of Warwick marched immediately towards them; but before he attacked them, he fent them a message, by Norroy, King at Arms, importing, "That he was forry to see so much \* courage exerted in fo bad a cause; but that, notwithstanding what had passed, they should have his Majesty's pardon, if 46 they would lay down their arms: otherwise they must expect nothing but death." Their answer was, " That they did expect nothing but death; but they were free-born Enget lishmen, and therefore they disdained a dishonourable and " ignominious death. They rather chose, they said, to fall in the field, like men, and like soldiers, than to be induced to furrender themselves by deceitful promises, and then be put to death like dogs." Having received this answer, the Earl again prepared to attack them; but before he gave the fignal for the onset, he once more sent to them, to know if they would accept the pardon which was offered them, in case he himself came to them in person, and assured them of it. To this they returned answer, " That they had so much confidence in the Earl of Warwick's honour, that if they might have the affurance of pardon from his own mouth, they were willing to fubmit." The Earl accordingly went in among them, and caufed their pardon to be read, upon which they immediately laid down their arms. Ket, their leader, was taken the next day,

<sup>(</sup>w) In King Edward's Journal, flain; but Speed fays, the number published in Burnet, it is faid that killed in the action and pursuit were two shouland of the rebels were three thouland five hundred.

and hanged some time after at Norwich castle; and nine of his principal followers, who were also taken prisoners, were hanged

on the boughs of the Oak of Reformation (x).

The capacity of the Protector Somerfet was not equal either to his high station, or to his ambition; and as he had created himself enemies among the Nobility, and the Members of the Council, by treating them with too little respect, the errors in his conduct gave them some handle against him. All this was observed by the Earl of Warwick, who now began to entertain very ambitious views, and was desirous of raising his own for-tunes upon the ruin of those of Somerset. He, therefore, asso-ciated himself with such Members of the Council as were discontented with the Protector, and formed a very strong party against him. "The Earl of Warwick (fays Hayward) drew about eighteen of the Privy Council to knit with him against " the Lord Protector. These he did so wind up to his purpose, that they withdrew from the Court, fell to fecret confultations, and walked in the city with many fervants weaponed, and in new liveries, the causes whereof many conjectured, but few knew. They were all defirous that the Protector's greatness should be taken lower, but none conceived that the

Earl's malice did extend unto death ( y )."

The discontented Lords now assembled at Ely House, where Warwick usually resided; and there they assumed to themselves the whole power of the Council, and began to act independently of the Protector, whom they represented as the author of every public grievance. Somerset sent Secretary Petre to them, to know the cause of their meetings; but the Secretary, instead of returning to the Protector, continued with Warwick and his affociates; who, on the 8th of October, 1549, went into the city, where, having acquainted the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council, that they had no other views than for the fafety of the King's person, the redress of grievances, and the restoring the peace of the kingdom, the city testified its approbation of their measures. The Protector had removed the King from Hampton Court to Windsor; and the discontented Lords there sent reprefentations to his Majesty against his uncle. Somerset discovered so little firmness and magnanimity on this occasion, that it encouraged his enemies to proceed the more vigorously against him; and he having submitted himself to the Council, they removed him from the King's presence (2), and on the 28th of October he was committed to the Tower.

The

<sup>(\*)</sup> Vid. Hayward's Life and after this, divers of the Council rode Reign of Edward IV. P. 73-78. from London to the King at Windams Speed's Hift. of Gr. Britain, for; "but the Earl of Warwick

P. 1095, 1096. Edit. 1632.

(y) Hift. of Edw. VI. P. 85, 86.

(z) Hayward fays, that the day well learned to put others before

The Earl of Warwick had prevailed on feveral of the Popish party to join with him in his proceedings against Somerset, and in particular Wriothesley, the late Lord Chancellor. Indeed, the Papists in general were much pleased with the removal of the Protector from the Government, and they entertained hopes that the Catholic cause would receive considerable advantages from this event. But the Earl of Warwick appears to have been, in reality, very indifferent about any religious matters: only "finding (as Burnet says) the King so zealously addicted to the carrying on of the Reformation, that nothing could recommend any one so much to him, as the promoting it further would do, he soon for sook the Popish party, and was seemingly the most earnest on a further Reformation that was pos-

fible (a).

The Earl of Warwick was now again constituted Lord High Admiral, by the King's letters patents, with very extensive powers; and he very much ingratiated himself with the young King, and by his influence and intrigues had the chief management of the public affairs. As to the Duke of Somerset, articles of accusation had been exhibited against him (b), and which he had been prevailed on to confess before the Council; in consequence of which he was deprived of his Protectorship, and all his other offices, and fined in two thousand pounds a year of land. However, the prosecution against him was carried no further; but his fine was remitted by the King, and he recovered his liberty. And shortly after, a treaty of marriage was set on foot between Lord L'Isle, eldest son of the Earl of Warwick, and the Lady Anne Seymour, daughter to the Duke of Somerset; and which was at length concluded, being solemnized on the third of June, 1550, in the presence of the King, who expressed great joy at this alliance (c).

About

him in dangerous actions, and in matters of mischief to be seen to do least, when in very deed all moved

from him." P. 96.

(a) Hift. Reform. Vol. II. P. 139.
(b) Amongst the articles against him, were the following: "That he faid, the Lords of the Parliament were loth to reform inclosures, and other things, therefore the people had a good cause to reform them themfelves.—That in time of rebellion he said, That he liked well the actions of the rebels, and that the avarice of gentlemen gave occasion for the people to rise, and that it was better for them to die than to perish for want. That divers times he openly said, That the Nobility and Gentry were the only cause of dearth. Whereupon the people rose to reform matters of themselves," Hayward, P. 99.

"Great clamour was raised against the Duke (says the ingenious Mr. Horace Walpole) for a merit of the most beautiful nature. This was, his setting up a Court of Requess within his own house, "to bear the petitions and suits of poor men, and upon the compassion he took of their oppressions, if he ended not their businesses, he would fend his letters to Chancery in their favour."—Strype, Vol. II. P. 183. "In times when almost every act of State was an act of tyranny, how amiable does this illegal jurisdiction appear!"—Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, Vol. I. P. 113.

(c) Notwithstanding this alliance between the families of Somerset and Warwick, Haward observes, that "many doubted whether

About this time the Earl of Warwick refigned the office of High Chamberlain, which was bestowed on the Marquis of Northampton; but the King appointed Warwick Lord Steward of his Houshold; and in April, 1551, he was also constituted Earl Marshal of England. On the 15th of August following, Sir Robert Dudley, one of the Earl's younger sons, was sworn one of the fix ordinary Gentlemen of the Chamber (d); a short time afterwards the Earl of Warwick was made Lord Warden of the Northern Marches (e); and, on the eleventh of October the same year, he was advanced to the dignity of

Duke of Northumberland (f).

The new Duke of Northumberland, notwithstanding his alliance with the family of Somerset, was still meditating that Nobleman's ruin; who, though deprived of the Protectorship, still enjoyed some influence, and a considerable share of popularity. Northumberland fecretly gained many of the friends and fer-vants of Somerfet; he fometimes terrified him by the appearance of danger; and fometimes provoked him by ill usage and contempt: in hopes by this behaviour to excite Somerset to some imprudent action, which might enable him to effectuate his destruction (g). Accordingly the unguarded Somerset fometimes broke out into threatening expressions against Northumberland; and at other times he formed rash projects, which he immediately abandoned; whilft his treacherous confidents carried to his enemy every passionate word which dropped from him, and revealed the schemes which had been suggested by Vol. II. 9. 3 F

the Earl retained not some secret offence against the Düke, which if he did, it was most cunningly suppressed; doubtless of all his virtues he made best vice of diffimulation. And as this frieadship was drawn together by fear on both sides, so it was not like to be more durable than was the fear." P. 102.

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(d) The Earl of Warwick "joins himself by alliance to the best families, and advanceth his children by employments to the greatest trusts; particularly (what Sir Richard Baker saith had been better if it had never been) his son Robert (afterwards Earl of Leicester) was sworn one of the fix ordinary Gentlemen of the King's Chamber: upon which particular the foresaid Historian observeth, That after his coming into a place so near him, the King enoyed his bealth but a while." Lloyd's State Worthies, Vol. I. P. 301, 302.

Vol. I. P. 301, 302. Hayward fays, "Sir Robert Dudley, one of the Duke of Northum-

berland's fons, a true heir both of his hate against persons of Nobility, and of his cunning to distemble the same, was sworn one of the fix or dinary Gentlemen.—After his entertainment into a place of so near service, the King enjoyed his health not long." P. 128, 129.

(2) We are informed by Haya

(2) We are informed by Haya ward, that the Earl of Warwick had also "one thousand marks land granted to him, and one hundred horsemen of the King's charge."

(f) Biograph. Britan.
(g) "The Protector (lays Lloyd) was free fpirited, opens hearted, humble, hard to distruft, easy to forgive. The Earl (Warwick) was proud, subtil, close, cruel, and implacable; and therefore it was impar congressus, an unequal contest between them, almost with as much disadvantage as between a naked and armed person." State Worthies, Vol. 1, P. 301,

themselves (b). At length, the designs of Northumberland being ripe for execution, the Duke of Somerfet was committed to the Tower, as was also his Dutchess, and several others, the following day (i). On the first of December, he was brought to his trial before the Marquis of Winchester, who acted as High Steward, and twenty-seven Peers, (amongst whom was the Duke of Northumberland), being charged with high treason, in forming a defign to excite infurrections against the Government, and also with felony, in forming a design to murder Privy Counsellors. He was acquitted of the treason, but found guilty of the felony (k), for which he was beheaded on Tower-Hill on the 22d of January, 1552, his death being greatly lamented by the generality of the people (1).

After the death of the Duke of Somerfet, Northumberland having gained a very great ascendancy over the young King, obtained estates and Lordships from him to a prodigious amount.

(b) Hume, Vol. IV. P. 377. (i) "The Duke of Somerfet (fays Speed) not well advised, and yielding too much unto sycophant flatteries, was put in fear of some studen attempt intended against him, and therefore counselled to wear under his garment a coat of defence, which he accordingly did; and being so armed, came unto the Council table, supposing no man had known of any such thing; but his bosom being opened, and the armour perceived, he was forthwith appre-thended, as intending the death of fome Counfellor, and by Northumberland fo vehemently taxed (who in Council was ever the principal man) that he was forthwith attached, and fent to the Tower, upon the fixteenth of October, with the Lord Grey of Wilton, Sir Michael Stanhope, Sir Thomas Arundel, Sir Ralph Vane, and Sir Miles Partridge." Hift, of

Great Britain, P. 1101.

(1) "Sir Thomas Palmer, who had all along acted the part of a fpy upon Somerfet, accused him of having formed a defign to raile an infurrection in the North, to attack the Gena d'Arms on a muster day, to secure the Tower, and to excite a rebellion in London s but what was the only probable accusation, he afferted that Somerfet had once laid a project for murdering Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, at a ban-quet, which was so be given them

by Lord Paget, Crane and his wife confirmed Palmer's testimony with regard to this last design; and it ap-pears that some rash scheme of that nature had been mentioned, though no regular conspiracy had been formed, nor means prepared for its execution." Hume, Vol. IV. P. 377,

37%.
The people interested themselves greatly in Somerfet's behalf. "When he was discharged of treason, there was fo loud a short in Westminster Hall, as was heard to Long Acre; when condemned of felony, there was a filence and amazement for three hours." State Worthies, Vol. I.

P. 200.

(1) "The people (fays Burnet)
were generally much affected with
this execution; and many threw
handkerchiefs into the Duke of
Somerfet's blood, to preferve it in
remembrance of him. One Lady,
that met the Duke of Northumberland when he was led through the land when he was led through the city in Queen Mary's time, shaking one of these bloody handkerchiefs, said, Behold the blood of that worthy man, that good uncle of that excel-lent King, which was shed by thy malicious practice, doth now begin apparently to revenge itself on thee. Sure it is, that Northumberland, as having maliciously contrived this, was ever after hated by the people." Hist, Reform. Vol. II, P. 136,

and governed the public affairs almost entirely at his own pleafure; and he had with fuch dexterity brought the Nobility into his interests, or humbled and depressed those who made any opposition to him, that he seemed to have all things to hope, and little to sear. And he now began to execute a project which he had planned, of a more dangerous nature than any in which he had been hitherto concerned. As a preliminary step to this design, he found means to conclude a marriage between his fourth fon, Lord Guilford Dudley, and the Lady Jane Grey, eldest daughter of the Duke of Suffolk. The Dutchess, the Lady Jane's mother, was, by King Henry's will, the next heir to the Crown, after the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth. Northumberland, therefore, having married his fon to the Lady Jane, and the King's health declining very fast, the Duke advised the settlement of the succession. He represented to the young King, in the strongest terms, the great evils which would befal the nation, and the imminent danger which the Protestant religion would be in, if the Princess Mary should succeed him. This made a great impression upon Edward, so that he acknowledged the necessity of excluding Mary from the succession; and was prevailed on to agree to fettle the Crown by his letters patent on the Lady Jane Grey. "How they prevailed with "him to pass by his fister Elizabeth, (fays Burnet), who had been always much in his favour, I do not so well under- frand (m). But the King being wrought over to this, the Dutches of Suffolk, who was next in King Henry's will, was " ready to devolve her right on her daughter, even though she " should come afterwards to have sons."

The Duke having thus far succeeded in his views, and procured the King's confent to the settlement of the Crown upon Lady Jane, the next point was to procure a proper instrument for this purpose to be drawn by the Judges. But in this he met with considerable difficulty; the Judges representing, in the strongest terms, that the design was treasonable, and that all would be guilty of treason, who should be concerned in it. opposition greatly exasperated Northumberland; he threatened all the Judges'; and gave to Sir Edward Montague, Chief Juftice of the Common Pleas, the appellation of traitor; and declared, that he would fight in his shirt with any man who should oppose the Lady Jane's succession. The Judges, however, still maintained their opinion; but at length, by threats, by promises, and by intrigues of every kind, Northumberland pre-vailed; and by the King's letters patent, signed by the Mem-3 F 2

( m) Though the King " bere a fuade him, that he could not exclude

tender affection to the Lady Elizathe one fifter, on account of illegitibeth, (fays Mr. Hume) who was
liable to no such objection, (that of fion to the other." religion) means were found to per-

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bers of the Council, and most of the Judges, the Lady Jane Grey was made successor to King Edward (\*).

The young King died upon the fixth of July, 1553. The Duke of Northumberland endeavoured to conceal Edward's death for some time, in hopes of getting the Princess Mary into his hands, before her brother's death was known; but finding this impracticable, he carried his daughter-in-law, the Lady Jane, from Durham-House to the Tower, for greater security, and on the 10th of July proclaimed her Queen. The Council also wrote to Lady Mary, requiring her submission; but they were soon informed, that she was retired into Norfolk, where many of the Nobility, and multitudes of people, reforted to her. It was then refolved to fend forces against her under the command of the Duke of Suffolk; but Queen Jane, as she was then stiled, was very much averse to parting with her father; and the Council earnessly pressed the Duke of Northumberland to go in person against Mary, to which he was but little in-clined, being apprehensive of some cabals among the Members of the Council in his absence. However, they assured him in the strongest terms of their attachment; and on the 14th of July he set out, accompanied by the Marquis of Northampton and the Lord Grey, with two thousand horse, and fix thousand foot: but the difaffection of the people was so apparent, that Northumberland could not help remarking it; and as they passed through Shoreditch, he said to Lord Grey, "Many come out to look at us, but I find not one who cries, GOD speed " you." From this time Northumberland's activity and courage, for which he had been hitherto fo famous, feems to have deserted him. He advanced, indeed, to St. Edmonds-bury in Suffolk; but as he found his army diminish, the people little affected towards him, and no supplies coming from London, tho' he had written to the Lords for that purpole in the most pressing terms, he retired back again to Cambridge. In the mean time, the Council had caused Queen Mary to be proclaimed at London; and Northumberland having received information of this, caused her to be likewise proclaimed at Cambridge, himself throwing up his cap, and crying, "GOD fave Queen Mary!" with how much joy and fincerity may be eafily conceived.

(#) "After this fettlement was made, with fo many inaufpicious circumftances, Edward declined vifibly every day in his health; and fmall hopes were entertained of his recovery. To make the matter worse, his Physicians were dismissed by Northumberland's advice, and by an order of Council; and he was put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook, in a little

time, to reftore him to his former ftate of health. After the use of her medicines, all the bad symptoms encreased to the most violent degree: he selt a difficulty of speech and breathing; his pulse failed, his legs swelled, his colour became livid; and many other symptoms appeared of his approaching end,"—Hume, Vel. IV. P. 391.

Northumberland's

Northumberland's affected loyalty was, however, of no fervice to him. He was arrested by the Queen's command, brought to his trial for high treason, and being condemned by his Peers, received fentence of death. Northumberland's behaviour in his present circumstances, displayed in the strongest manner the debasing nature of conscious guilt. He had great constitutional courage; had in repeated instances shewn in the field the utmost intrepidity; and had been undaunted at the greatest dangers. But the consciousness of accumulated crimes, made him dread the approach of death, and caused him to behave in the most abject manner. When he was arrested by the Earl of Arundel, he fell on his knees to that Nobleman, to beg his interest with the Queen in his favour. And he also, in the most mean manner, intreated Gardiner's interest to save his life. We are told, that Northumberland asked that Prelate, " If there " were no hope at all for him to live, and to do some penance " the rest of his days for his fins past. Alas! (said he) let me " live a little longer, though it be but in a mouse-hole." Gardiner replied, " That he wished to GOD any thing could have " contented his Grace, but a kingdom, when he was at liberty, " and in prosperity. And even at that present he wished it lay in his power to give him that mouse-hole: for he would allow " him the best palace he had in the world for that mouse-hole. "And did moreover then offer to do for him what he could pof-"fible. But because his offence (he said) was great, and sen-" tence passed against him, and his adversaries many, it would " be best for him to provide for the worst: and especially that he " flood well with GOD, in matter of conscience and reli-" gion. For to speak plainly, it was most likely that he must " die ( p )."

The twenty-first of August, 1553, was the day appointed for the Duke of Northumberland's execution: when a great concourse of people assembled upon Tower-Hill, where a scaffold was erected, and all the usual preparations made, and the executioner ready; but, after waiting some hours, the people were ordered to depart. This delay was to afford time for his making an open shew of the change of his religion, since that very day, in the presence of the Mayor and Aldermen, and some of the Members of the Privy Council, he heard mass in the Tower. But the next day he was actually brought out to suffer death, on the same scaffold, where he made a speech to the people, in which he acknowledged that he justly merited death for his treason against the Queen, in taking up arms against her; he declared that he died in the Roman Catholic faith; he said, that he had been missed by others; he called the new preachers feditious and lewd; and exhorted the people, if they would avoid ruin, to return back again to the old religion. It is intimated,

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that he was induced to hear mass the preceding day, and to speak in this manner on the scaffold, by a promise that was made him, "That if he would recant and hear mass, he should "have his pardon, yea, though his head were upon the block (q)." However this be, having ended his speech to the people, he kneeled down and prayed; after which, the executioner asking him forgiveness, he replied, "I forgive thee with all my heart; do thy part without fear." Then bowing towards the block, he said, "I have deserved a thousand deaths:" after which, laying his head on the block, the executioner severed his head from his body. He was buried in the Tower, in St. Peter's church, nigh the body of Edward, Duke of Somerset.

Thus defervedly fell JOHN DUDLEY, Duke of Northumberland. He was a man of great abilities and great courage, and eminently diffinguished for his military talents. But his ambition was boundless; he possessed the most profound diffimulation, was unjust and rapacious (r), and seems to have scrupled no crimes that would advance his purposes. It is said, that his private life was dissolute, and that he difregarded even

common decency.

He married Jane Guilford, daughter and heir of Sir Edward Guilford, Marshal of Calais, Lord-Warden of the Cinque Ports, and Master of the Ordnance under King Henry VIII. She is said to have been a Lady of great piety and virtue. She had been thirty years married to the Duke of Northumberland when he was executed; at which time her condition was truly deplorable, she being, in the strict sense of the words, turned out of doors, all her furniture seized, left without fortune, without friends, and without necessaries. And besides the loss of her husband, her calamity was also heightened by having one of her sons soon as-

(9) Vid. Strype's Life of Cranmer, P. 315, and Hift of the Reform. Vol. II. P. 244. and Biograph. Britan.

(r) He treated John, Baron of Dudley, who was his near relation, and the head of his family, in a mean and barbarous manner. That Nobleman's eftate being entangled by usurers, the Duke of Northumberland, by purchasing affignments of mortgages, drew the estate by degrees entirely into his own hands, so as at last to compass what he had for many years desired, the possession of the antient castle of Dudley; which he thoroughly repaired, and added to it a noble structure, and also adorned all parts of the castle with the arms of the noble families from which, by his mother's side, he was descended, that, in succeeding times, it might

not be taken for an acquisition, but the patrimony of his family. Northumberland, having thus despoiled his poor cousin of his castle and estates, thrust the titles of Dudley and Somerie amongst his other Baronies, leaving his unhappy kinsman a new and strange title in their stead; for living, as well as he could, amongst the great samilies in Staffordshire and Warwickshire, who pitied his missortunes, he went there currently by the name of Lord Quondam, till, by a sudden revolution, he became master of Dudley castle again, and his son obtained, out of the forseitures of the Duke of Northumberland, an ample fortune, free from all incumbrances, with a clear title.—Biogr. Brit. from Dugdale.

### The Life of Dudley, Duke of Northumberland, 415

ter also lose his life on the scaffold. Considering her age, her quality, and the manner in which she had spent her days, her condition may now be reasonably supposed to have been very miserable: however, by degrees things grew better with her, more particularly after the marriage of Queen Mary to King Philip, when the Spanish Lords and Ladies of his Court employed their interest in her favour (s). The Dutchess died at her house at Chelsea, on the 22d of January, 1555, and was buried with great funeral folemnity in the church there, where an

handsome monument was erected to her memory.

By this Lady the Duke of Northumberland had thirteen children, eight fons, and five daughters. His eldest fon, Henry; was killed at the fiege of Boulogne, at the age of nineteen. His fecond fon, Thomas, died when he was two years old. His third fon, John, who had the title of Earl of Warwick in his father's life-time, was, at the coronation of King Edward VI. made one of the Knights of the Bath; and, in the fixth year of that Prince's reign, he was made Master of the Horse. This young Nobleman was condemned with his father, but afterwards reprieved and released out of the Tower with his uncle, Sir Andrew Dudley. He then went to his brother's house at Penshurst in Kent, where he died in two days after, in the twenty-fourth year of his age. He is faid to have been very religious and

learned, and well skilled in military affairs.

The Duke's fourth son, Ambrose Dudley, attended his father into Norfolk against the rebels in 1549, where he distinguished himself, and obtained the honour of Knighthood. He was always very high in King Edward's favour: but being afterwards concerned in the cause of Lady Jane, he was attainted, received fentence of death, and remained a close prisoner till the 18th of October, 1554, when he received his pardon, and was discharged out of the Tower. In 1557, in company with both his brothers, Robert and Henry, he engaged in an expedition to the Low Countries, and joined the Spanish army, that lay then be-fore St. Quintin's. He had his share in the samous victory over the French, who came to the relief of that place, and was likewise present during the remainder of the siege, which after the battle was resumed. He had there the missortune to lose his younger brother; and their services being represented to Queen Mary, she consented to restore the whole family in blood, and accordingly an act was passed this year for that purpose. On the accession of Queen Elizabeth, he became immediately one of the most distinguished persons at her Court; and was called, as in the days of her brother, Lord Ambrose Dudley. In the fourth year of her reign, he was created Baron L'Isle, and Earl

interceffion of the Spanish Courtiers nand; and for his gallant behaviour in the Dutchess of Northumberland's in war, had the arms of the kingdom behalf, is, that her uncle Henry of Granada granted him, as an augmentation of his paternal coat.

<sup>( : )</sup> The reason affigned for the and was knighted by King Ferdi-

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of Warwick. He was also advanced to several high places, and distinguished by numerous honours; and we find him in most of the great and public services during this active and busy reign. In the last years of his life, he endured great pain and misery from a wound received in his leg when he defended New Haven against the French, in the year 1562; and this bringing him very low, he at last submitted to an amputation, which however proved fatal to him, for he died upon the 20th of February, 1589. He was thrice married, but had no issue. He was a man of great sweetness of temper, and of an unexceptionable character, fo that he was beloved by all parties, and hated by none: and was generally called, "The good Earl of Warwick."

The Duke's fifth fon was Robert, afterwards Earl of Leicester, of whom we shall treat more at large hereafter. His sixth son, Guilford Dudley, married the Lady Jane Grey in May, 1553, and on the 12th of February following, lost his life, together with his unfortunate Lady, upon the Scaffold. His seventh son, Henry, was killed by a shot in the last assault at the siege of St. Quintin's, as he was stooping to draw his stocking over his knee, that it might not incommode him in scaling.

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LADY JANE GREY.

# The Life of the Lady JANE GREY.

HIS amiable and celebrated, though unfortunate Lady, was very nobly descended by both parents. Her father was Henry Grey, Marquis of Dorset, who was descended in a direct line from Sir Thomas Grey, Knight of the Garter, created Marquis of Dorset by Edward the Fourth, who married his mother. And her mother was the Lady Frances Brandon, the eldest of the two surviving daughters of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, Queen Dowager of France, youngest daughter of King Henry VII. and sister to King Henry VIII. Lady Jane very early gave assonishing proofs of the pregnancy of her parts. Her form was extremely pleasing, but the beauties of her mind were still more engaging. "She seemed, we are told, to have been born with those attractions, which seat a Sovereignty in the face of most beautiful persons; yet was her mind endued with more excellent charms than the attractions of her face; modest and mild of disposition, courteous of carriage, and of such assable deportment, as might intitle her to the name of Queen of Hearts, before she was designed for Queen over any subjects (t)."

Female accomplishments were probably the first part of her education, and her genius appeared in the works of her needle, and then in the beautiful character which she wrote, commended by all who had seen it. She played admirably on various instruments of music, and accompanied them with a voice exquisitely sweet in itself, and affished by all the graces that art could

bestow.

Her father, the Marquis of Dorset, had himself a tincture of letters, and was a patron of learned men. He had two Chaplains, Harding and Aylmer, both men of distinguished learning, whom he employed as tutors to his daughter; and under their instructions, and especially that of Aylmer, she made a most extraordinary proficiency. She spoke and wrote her own language with peculiar accuracy; and it is said that the French, Italian, and Latin tongues, and especially Greek, were as natural to her as her own; for she not only understood them Vol. II. 9.

perfectly, but spoke and wrote them with the greatest freedom (u). She was likewise versed in Hebrew, Chaldee, and Arabic: and all this while a mere child. She had also a sedateness of temper, a quickness of apprehension, and a solidity of judgment, that enabled her not only to become the mistress of languages, but of sciences; so that she thought, spoke, and reasoned, upon fubjects of the greatest importance, in a manner that greatly furprized even men of the best judgment and abilities. And she was in no respect elated by these extraordinary Endowments, but remarkably mild, humble, and modest in her demeanour.

Her parents, as appears from her own testimony, were both of them somewhat austere in their behaviour to her; and as she was naturally very fond of literature, that fondness was much heightened, as well by the severity of her parents in the seminine part of her education, as by the gentleness with which her tutor Aylmer instructed her in learning of an higher kind. And when mortified and confounded by the unmerited chidings of her parents, she returned with double pleasure to the lessons of the latter, and fought in Demosthenes and Plato, who were her favourite Authors, that delight which was denied her in all the other scenes of life, in which she mingled but little, and sel-

dom with any fatisfaction. Her alliance with the Crown, as well as the great favour in which the Marquis of Dorfet her father stood with Edward VI. did, however, necessarily bring her sometimes to Court; and she received particular marks of the young King's attention, who was nearly of the same age with herself, and took great delight in her conversation; but nevertheless, she seems to have continued for the most part at her father's feat at Broadgate in Leicestershire, where she was with her beloved books in 1550, when the famous Roger Ascham paid her a visit, as we learn from himself. "Before I went into Germany, (says he) I came " to Broadgate in Leicestershire, to take my leave of that no-" ble Lady, Jane Grey, to whom I was exceedingly much be" holden. Her parents, the Duke and the Dutchels, with all " the houshold, gentlemen and gentlewomen, were hunting in " the park; I found her in her chamber, reading the Phoedo of er Plato in Greek, and that with as much delight as some gen-" tlemen would read a merry tale in Boccace. After falutation, " and duty done, with some other talk, I asked her, Why she " would lofe fuch a pastime in the park ? Smiling, she an-" fwered me, I know all their sport in the park is but a snapow " to that I find in Plato: alas! good folk, they never felt what true pleasure meant. And how came you, Madam, quoth " I, to this deep knowledge, and what did chiefly allure you " unto it, feeing not many women, but very few men, have at-

<sup>(</sup> u ) Biograph, Britan, New and Gen. Dict. Svo. Harleian Mifc. Vol. I. P. 392.

tained thereunto? I will tell you, faith she, and tell you a " truth, which perchance you will marvel at. One of the greatest benefits, that ever GOD gave me, is, that he sent me " so sharp and severe parents, and so gentle a school-master. For, " when I am in presence either of my father or mother, whether I speak, keep silence, sit, stand, or go; eat, drink, be " merry, or fad; be fewing, playing, dancing, or doing any " thing else, I must do it, as it were, in such weight, measure, " and number, even so perfectly, as GOD made the world; or " else I am so sharply taunted, so cruelly threatened, yea pre-" fently fometimes, with pinches, nips, and bobs, and other " ways (which I will not name, for the honour I bear them) for " without measure misordered, that I think myself in Hell, till the time come, that I must go to Mr. Aylmer; who teacheth me fo gently, fo pleasantly, with such fair allurements to learning, that I think all the time nothing, whilst I am with And when I am called from him, I fall to weeping, beet cause whatsoever I do else, but learning, is full of grief, trouble, fear, and whole misliking unto me. And thus my book " hath been so much my pleasure, and bringeth daily to me more pleasure and more, that in respect of it, all other pleasure. " fures, in very deed, be but trifles and troubles unto me." " I remember (adds Mr. Afcham) this talk gladly, both because it is so worthy of memory, and because also it was the last talk that ever I had, and the last time that ever I saw that noble and worthy Lady (w)."

Mr. Ascham was so much delighted with this interview with the Lady Jane, that in a letter to her dated the 18th of January, 1551, he speaks of it in rapture, and by a beautiful apostrophe, addressing himself to Mr. Aylmer, selicitates him on his having so ingenious a scholar. He also reminded Lady Jane of the Greek epistle which she had promised to write to him, and desired her likewise to write another to his friend Sturmius, that what he had said of her wherever he came, might be ren-

dered credible by fuch authentic evidence.

The Lady Jane was early instructed in the principles of the reformed religion, which she seriously and attentively studied, and for which she was extremely zealous; and this, together with her other excellent and amiable accomplishments, greatly endeared her to King Edward. She was once on a visit to the Princess Mary at New-hall in Essex; and whilst she was there, she went to take a walk with the Lady Anne Wharton, and they happening to pass by the chapel, Lady Anne made a low curtesy to the host, at which Lady Jane testified some surprize, and asked whether the Princess Mary were there? Lady Anne answered, No; but I made my curtesy to him that made us all." "Why, so (replied Lady Jane), how can that which hath been made by a G 2

" the baker, be him that made us all?" This incident being related to the Princess Mary, it gave her a dislike to the Lady

Jane, which she retained ever after (x).

In May, 1553, the Lady Jane was married to the Lord Guilford Dudley, fourth fon to the Duke of Northumberland. Their nuptials were celebrated with great pomp; and this match was fo much to the fatisfaction of the King, that he contributed bountifully to the expence of it from the Royal Wardrobe. Lord Guilford Dudley appears to have been a deferving young Nobleman, and is faid of all the Duke of Northumberland's fons to have been the least like his father. However, it was a very unfortunate marriage to the Lady Jane; it was brought about by the Duke of Northumberland to promote his own ambitious designs; which did in the end prove fatal not only to him, but to this amiable Lady, as well as to her husband.

In what manner, and with what views, the Lady Jane was appointed successor to King Edward, to the exclusion of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth, we have had occasion to relate in the Life of the Duke of Northumberland; we shall not therefore repeat it here. It is sufficient to observe, that she was altogether uninfluenced by any ambitious views, and that this settlement of the succession was in no respect agreeable to her. Indeed, it does not appear, that she was at all consulted about it, either by her father, who had now been some time created Duke of Suffolk, or by the Duke of Northumberland; nor does she seem even to have been acquainted with it till after

the death of Edward.

The Duke of Northumberland endeavoured for some time to keep the death of King Edward (which happened on the 6th of July, 1553), secret; but on Monday the tenth of July, in the forenoon, he repaired, together with the Duke of Suffolk, whom he had brought into his views, to Durham-House, where the Lady Jane refided with her husband as part of Northumberland's family. There the Duke of Suffolk, with much folemnity, explained to his daughter the disposition the late King had made of his Crown by letters patents; the clear sense the Privy Council had of her right; and the confent of the Magistrates and citizens of London; and in conclusion, himself and Northumberland fell on their knees, and paid their homage to her as Queen of England. The poor Lady, somewhat astonished at their behaviour and discourse, but in no respect moved by their reasons, or in the least elevated by such unexpected honours, anfwered them, " That the laws of the kingdom, and natural right, " standing for the King's fisters, she would beware of burthen-" ing her weak conscience with a yoke which did belong to " them; that she understood the infamy of those who had per-

mitted the violation of right to gain a scepter; that it were to mock

<sup>(</sup>x) Val. Fox's Acts and Monuments, Vol. III. P. 992. Edit, 1641.

" mock GOD, and deride justice, to scruple at the stealing of a " shilling, and not at the usurpation of a Crown. Besides (faid she) I am not so young, nor so little read in the guiles " of fortune, to fuffer myself to be taken by them. If she en-" rich any, it is but to make them the subject of her spoil; if " she raise others, it is but to pleasure herself with their ruins ; " what she adored but yesterday, is to-day her pastime. And if "I now permit her to adorn and crown me, I must to-morrow " fuffer her to crush and tear me in pieces .--- But in case it " should not prove fatal unto me, and that all its venom were " confumed, if fortune should give me warranties of her con-" stancy, should I be well advised to take upon me these thorns " which would dilacerate, though not kill me outright; to " burthen myself with a yoke which would not fail to torment " me, though I were affured not to be strangled with it? my " liberty is better than the chain you profer me, with what pre-" cious stones soever it be adorned, or of what gold soever " framed. I will not exchange my peace for honourable and " precious jealousies, for magnificent and glorious fetters. And if you love me fincerely, and in good earnest, you will rather " wish me a secure and quiet fortune, though mean, than an " exalted condition, exposed to the wind, and followed by some " difmal fall."

All the moving eloquence of this speech had no effect either upon the Duke of Northumberland, or her father: and the Lady Jane was at length prevailed on, or rather compelled, by the exhortations of her father, the intercession of her mother, the artful persuasions of Northumberland, and above all, the earnest defires of her husband, whom she tenderly loved, to comply with what was proposed to her. And thus, with an heavy heart, she fuffered herself to be conveyed by water to the Tower, where she entered with all the state of a Queen, attended by the principal Nobility. It is very remarkable, that her train was sup-ported by the Dutchess of Suffolk, her mother, in whom, if in any of this line, the right of succession remained: but the Dutchess had agreed to give up all her pretensions in favour of her daughter. About fix o'clock in the afternoon, the Lady Jane was proclaimed Queen with all due folemnity in the city, the same day she assumed the regal title, and proceeded to exercife some acts of sovereignty. The royalty of this unfortunate Lady was, however, but of short duration; for on the 19th of the same month the Princess Mary was proclaimed Queen in Cheapfide; fo that the reign of Jane continued only about nine days (y). As

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The following incident has been related to shew the suddenness of the revolution, which reduced Queen Jane to the condition of a private person.

<sup>(</sup>y) It has been faid, that it was the short reign of Queen Jane, which gave birth to the common proverb of a nine days wonder.

As foon as the Duke of Suffolk, who now refided with his daughter in the Tower, was informed that Queen Mary had been proclaimed in Cheapfide, he went to his daughter's apartment, and in the foftest terms he could, acquainted her, that matters were so situated, that, laying aside the state and dignity of a Queen, she must again return to the condition of a private person. To which, with a composed and serene countenance, she made this answer: "Sir, I better brook this message, than "my former advancement to royalty: out of obedience to you, and my mother, I have grievously sinned, and offered violence to myself. Now I do willingly, and as obeying the motions of my soul, relinquish the Crown, and endeavour to falve those faults committed by others, (if at least so great a fault can be salved), by a willing relinquishment and ingenuous acknowledgment of them."

The Lady Jane was now confined as a prisoner in the Tower; and her misfortunes were increased by seeing the father of her husband, with all his family, and many of the Nobility and Gentry, brought prisoners to the Tower for supporting her claim to the Crown; and her grief must have received some increase from her father-in-law, Northumberland, being soon after brought to the block. Before the end of the month, she had also the mortification of seeing her own father, the Duke of Suffolk, in the same circumstances with herself; but her mother, the Dutches, not only remained exempt from all punishment, but had such an interest with the Queen, as to procure the Duke

his liberty on the last day of that month.

Lady Jane, and her husband the Lord Guilford Dudley, were, however, still continued in confinement; and, on the third of November, they were carried from the Tower to Guildhall, and with Archbishop Cranmer, and others, arraigned and convicted

person. There was one Mr. Edward Underhill, descended from a good family in Warwickshire, who for his services in the army had been taken into the band of gentlemen, pensioners, in which he remained during the reign of Edward, and was now about Queen Jane, to whom he was known, and by whom he was well esteemed. It happened that while he was upon duty at the Tower, his wise was brought to bed of a son; and at the christening of this child, which was fixed for the 19th of July, 1553, the Duke of Suffolk and the Earl of Pembroke were godfathers by proxy, and Queen Jane was godmother, and as a further mark of her favour, directed that the child should be named Guil-

ford, after her husband. The person sent to represent the Queen, was Lady Throckmorton, the wite of Sir Nicholas Throckmorton, who at the time she left the Tower, in order to be present at the ceremony, received the commands of Queen Jane, in a manner suitable to that rank, and carried them to Mr. Underhill's. But on her return to the Tower, when the creemony of christening the child was over, she found, to her great amazement, the canopy of state removed, with all the other ensigns of royalty; and she was informed by one of the new Officers, that her Lady, the late Queen, was a prisoner for high treason, and that she must attend her under the like circumstances.—Vid. Biogr. Brit.

of high treason before Judge Morgan, who pronounced on them fentence of death. However, the strictness of their confinement was mitigated in December by a permission to take the air in the Queen's garden, and other little indulgences; and it has been supposed, that if Wiat's rebellion had not happened, the Queen would have spared their lives. It is at least evident, that this rebellion, in which the Lady Jane's father had engaged, hastened their deaths.

The day first appointed for the execution of the Lady Jane, was Friday the 9th of February, 1554. This news she had long expected; and the innocence of her life, as well as the misfortunes to which she had been hitherto exposed, rendered it the less unwelcome to her. And the Queen sent Dr. Feckenham ( z ) to attend her, in order to prepare her for death, and

(z) JOHN DE FECKENHAM to dispute on the chief points contro-was so called, because he was born verted between the Protestants and of poor parents in a cottage near the Papists. The first disputation he enforest of Feckenham, in Worcesterfhire, his right name being HOW-MAN. He discovered in his youth very good parts, and a ftrong propenfity to learning; whereupon the Priest of the parish took him under his care, and instructed him for some years, and afterwards got him ad. mitted into Evesham Monastery. At eighteen years of age, he was fent by his Abbot to Gloucester College in Oxford, where there was an apartment particularly appropriated to the use of the young Monks of Evenham Monastery. After he had sufficiently improved himself in academical learning at Oxford, he was recalled to his Abbey; which being diffolved in November, 1535, he had an yearly pention of an hundred florins allowed him for his life. Upon this he returned to Gloucester College, where he further profecuted his studies for fome years; and, in 1539, took the degree of Batchelor of Divinity, being about that time Chaplain to Dr. John Bell, Bahop of Worcefter. But that Prelate refigning his See in 1543, Feckenham became Chaplain to Bonner, Bishop of London, with whom he continued till 1549, when Bonner was deprived of his Bi-Shopric; and Feckenham was about the same time committed to the Tower of London, but for what cause is not very certainly known. He was foon after taken from thence,

gaged in was at the Savoy, in the house of Francis Russel, Earl of Bedford: the second at Sir William Cecil's, in Channel-row; and the third at Sir John Cheke's, in White Friars. He was from thence carried down to Worcestershire, where he full held a Benefice; and had four folemn disputations with John Hooper, Bishop of that Diocese, He was afterwards remanded to the Tower, where he continued till Queen Mary's accession to the Crown, in 1553; but was then re-leafed, and made Chaplain to the Queen. He also again became Chaplain to Bonner, and was made Pre bendary of St. Paul's, then Dean of St. Paul's, then Rector of Finchley in Middlefex, which he held only a few months, and then Rector of Greenford, in the fame county, In April, 1554, he was one of the difputants at Oxford against Cranmer, Latimer, and Ridley; but he faid very little against them. During Queen Mary's reign, he was con-flantly employed in doing good offices to the afflicted Protestants, from the highest to the lowest. When the Princess Elizabeth was in confinement, he interceded with Queen Mary in her behalf, and that with fo much warmth and earnestness, that the Queen was for some time difple fed with him on that account. In May, 1556, he was complimented to endeavour to prevail on her to be reconciled to the Church of Rome. And it is certain that he was a very proper person for this purpose; for he had an acute wit, a very plausible manner of speaking, and much tenderness in his nature. Lady Jane received him with great civility, and behaved towards him with so much calmness and sweetness of temper, that he could not help being overcome with her distress; so that either mistaking, or pretending to mistake her meaning, he procured a respite of her execution till the 12th. When he acquainted her with it, she told him, "That he had entirely misunderstood her sense of her situation; that far from desiring her death might be de- layed, she expected and wished for it as the period of her mi- feries, and her entrance into eternal happiness." Neither did he gain any thing upon her in regard to Popery; for though she heard him patiently, yet she continued to the last stedsfast in

by the University of Oxford with the degree of Doctor in Divinity; being then in universal esteem for his learning, piety, humility, moderation, and charity. The September following, he was made Abbot of Westminster-Abbey, which was then restored by Queen Mary; and fourteen Benedictine Monks placed there under his government, with episcopal

Dower.

Upon the death of Queen Mary, in 1558, her successor Elizabeth, being not unmindful of her obligations to Dr. Feckenham, fent for him before her Coronation, to confult and reward him; and it is intimated by some Writers, that the Queen offered him the Archbishopric of Canterbury, provided he would conform to the laws, which he refused. He ap-peared in her first Parliament, taking the lowest place on the Bishop's form; and was the last mitred Abbot that fat in the House of Peers. During his attendance there, he spoke and protested against every thing tending towards the Reformation; and the strong opposition which he could not be reftrained from making, occasioned his commitment to the Tower in 1560. He continued there till 1563, when he was taken from thence, and committed to the custody of Horne, Bishop of Winchester; but in 1564, he was again remanded to the Tower. He was afterwards removed to the Marshalfea; but being discharged from thence, he lived for some time in Holborn, where he

built an aqueduct. In 1571, he attended Dr. John Story before his execution. In 1578, we find him in free custody with Cox, Bishop of Ely, whom the Queen had put upon using his endeavours to bring Feckenham to acknowledge her supremacy, and come over to the Church: and he was at length induced to do the former, though he could never be brought to a thorough conformity. Soon after the restless spirit of many of the Roman Catholics, and their frequent attempts upon the Queen's life, obliged her to imprison the most confiderable of them; upon which Feckenham was imprisoned, with some others, in Wisbich castle, in the isle of Ely, where he continued during the remainder of his life, which he spent in great piety and devotion, and in works of charity and beneficence. He died in 1585, and was buried in Wisbich church.

Dr. FECKENHAM was of a middle fize, fomewhat fat, round faced, handfome, and of a pleafant and agreeable afpect. He was a learned, pious, generous, and benevolent man, and very ready to do kind and friendly offices to those whose religious fentiments were different from his own. He wrote Commentaries on the Pfalms, and a Treatise on the Eucharist; but they were never published. Some small Pices of his have been printed.— Vid. Biograph, Britan. New and Gen. Biogr. Dict. 8vo. and Wood's Athen. Oxon.

the belief of the Protestant doctrines. And she answered his arguments " with that calmness of mind, (says Burnet) and clearness of reason, that it was an assonishing thing to hear so young a person, of her sex and quality, look on death, so near her, with so little disorder, and talk so sensibly, both of faith and holiness, of the Sacrament, the Scriptures, and the authority of the Church (a)."

Before the day appointed for her execution arrived, the Lady Jane wrote the following letter to her unhappy father, who she heard was more disturbed with the thoughts of being the author

of her death, than with the apprehensions of his own.

" FATHER, " Although it hath pleased GOD to hasten my death by you, " by whom my life should rather have been lengthened; yet " can I fo patiently take it, as I yield GOD more hearty thanks of for shortening my woeful days, than if all the world had been given into my possession, with life lengthened at my " own will: and albeit I am well affured of your impatient doof lors, redoubled many ways, both in bewailing your own woe, and especially, as I hear, my unfortunate state; yet my dear " father, if I may without offence rejoice in my mishaps, methinks in this I may account myself blessed; that washing my hands with the innocency of my fact, my guiltless blood may cry before the LORD, Mercy to the innocent; and tho 4 I must needs acknowledge, that being constrained, and as you " well know, continually affayed, in taking the Crown upon me, I feemed to confent, and therein grievously offended the " Queen and her laws; yet do I affuredly truft, that this my of-44 fence towards GOD is so much the less, in that being in so or royal an estate as I was, mine enforced honour never mixed " with my innocent heart. And thus, good father, I have opened my state to you, whose death at hand, although to you perhaps it may feem right woeful, to me there is nothing that can be more welcome, than from this vale of mi-. fery to aspire to that heavenly Throne of all joy and pleasure, Vol. II. 9. 3 H

ewsen Dr. Feckenham and the Lady Jane, was as follows:

Feck. Why? what do you receive in that facrament? [viz. the Lord's supper.]. Do you not receive the body and blood of Christ?

L. Jane. No surely, I do not so believe. I think that at the Supper I neither receive flesh nor blood, but bread and wine: which bread when it is broken, and the wine when it is

(a) Part of the conversation be- on the cross; and with that bread and wine I receive the benefits that came by the breaking of his body, and thedding of his blood, for our fins on the crofs.

Feek. Why? doth not Christ speak these words, Take, eat, this is my body? Require you any plainer w Doth he not fay it is his body?

L. Jane. I grant he faith fo : and fo he faith, I am the Vine, I am the Door; but he is never the more the drunken, putteth me in remembrance Door, nor the Vine. Doth not St. Paul how that for my fine the body of fay, He callet things that are not as Christ was broken, and his blood shed shough they were? God forbid that I " with CHRIST our SAVIOUR. In whose stedfast faith, (if it " may be lawful for the daughter fo to write to her father) the " LORD, that hitherto hath strengthened you, so continue you, " that at last we may meet in Heaven, with the Father, Son, " and Holy Ghost. Amen (b)."

The night before her execution, she likewise wrote the following letter, on the blank leaves at the end of a Greek Testament,

which she bequeathed as a legacy to her fister, the Lady Katha-

rine Grey (c). "I have here fent you, my dear fister Katharine, a book, " which although it be not outwardly trimmed with gold, yet " inwardly it is more worth than all the precious mines which the vast world can boast of. It is the book, my only best and " best beloved fister, of the Law of the LORD : it is the testament " and last will which he bequeathed unto us wretches and " wretched finners, which shall lead you to the path of eternal " joy : and if you with a good mind read it, and with an " earnest desire follow it, no doubt it shall bring you to an im-" mortal and everlasting life. It will teach you to live, and " learn you to die. It shall win you more, and endow you with " greater felicity, than you should have gained by the possession of our woeful father's lands. For, as if GOD had prof-" pered him, you should have inherited his honours and ma-" nors; so if you apply diligently this book, seeking to direct " your life according to the rule of the same, you shall be an " inheritor

ral body and blood of Christ: for then either I should pluck away my redemption, or else there were two bodies, or two Christs. One body was tormented on the crofs; and if they did eat another body, then had he two bodies: or if his body were eaten, then was it not broken upon the crofs: or if it were broken upon the cross, it was not eaten of his disciples.

Feck. Why, is it not as possible, that Christ by his power could make his body both to be eaten and broken, as to be born of a woman without the feed of man, and to walk on the fea, having a body, and other fuch like miracles as he wrought by his

power only?

L. Jane. Yes verily, if God would have done at his supper a miracle, he might have done so; but I say he minded no work, or miracle, but only to break his body, and fhed his blood on the crofs for our fins. But I pray you answer me to this one question, Where was Christ when he said, Take, eat, this is my Body? Was not he at

should say, that I eat the very natu- the table when he said so? He was at that time alive, and suffered not till the next day. Well, what took he, but bread? And what brake he, but bread? And what gave he, but bread? What he took, he brake; and what he brake, he gave; and what he gave, that did they eat; and yet all this while, he himself was at supper before his disciples, or else they were deceived.

An account of this conference between the Lady Jane and Dr. Fecken-ham is preferved by Fox, in his Acts and Monuments; and also in the Harleian Miscellany, Vol. III. P. 113, 114. and in the fecond volume of the Phœnix.

(b) Acts and Monuments, Vol. III. P. 32, 33, edit. 1641.
(c) Lady Katharine Grey is said to have been a learned lady, as well as her fifter; and, according to feveral writers, the original of the above letter was written in Greek, and that which is now preferved, and which we have given above, is only a trans"inheritor of such riches, as neither the covetous shall with"draw from you, neither the thief shall steal, neither yet the
"moths corrupt. Desire with David, my best sister, to understand the Law of the Lord your GOD. Live still to die,
that you by death may purchase eternal life. And trust not
that the tenderness of your age shall lengthen your life: for
unto GOD, when he calleth, all hours, times, and seasons,
are alike. And blessed are they whose lamps are surnished
when he cometh: for as soon will the Lord be glorished in

" the young as in the old. " My good fifter, once again let me intreat thee to learn to " die; deny the world, defy the Devil, and despise the flesh, " and delight yourself only in the LORD; be penitent for your " fins, and yet despair not; be strong in faith, yet presume " not; and defire with St. Paul, to be diffolved and to be with " CHRIST, with whom even in death there is life. Be like the " good servant, and even at midnight be waking, lest when "death cometh and stealeth upon you like a thief in the night,
you be with the servants of dark es found sleeping; and lest " for lack of oil, you be found like the five foolish virgins, or " like him that had not on the wedding garment, and then you " be cast into darkness, or banished from the marriage. Re-" joice in CHRIST, as I trust you do; and seeing you have the " name of a Christian, as near as you can follow the steps, and " be a true imitator, of your Master CHRIST JESUS; and " take up your cross, lay your fins on his back, and always em-" brace him. Now as touching my death; rejoice as I do, my " dearest fister, that I shall be delivered of this corruption, and " put on incorruption; for I am affured that I shall for losing of " a mortal life, win one that is immortal, joyful, and everlaft-" ing; the which I pray GOD grant you in his most blessed "hour, and fend you his all-saving grace to live in his fear, and to die in the true Christian faith. From which, in " GOD's name, I exhort you, that you never swerve, neither for " hope of life, nor fear of death. For if you will deny his " truth, to give length to a weary and corrupt breath, GOD " himself will deny you, and by vengeance make short what you by your soul's loss would prolong; but if you will cleave to him, he will firetch forth your days to an uncircumscribed comfort, and to his own glory. To the which glory GOD " bring me now, and you hereafter, when it shall please him to " call you. Farewell once again, my beloved fifter, and put " your only trust in GOD, who only must help you. Amen.

Your loving Sister,

JANE DUDLEY."

The reader, after perufing these letters ( d ), and being informed that the Lady Jane was not more than seventeen years of of age at the time of her death, will easily be induced to be-lieve, that the liberal encomiums which have been bestowed upon her, were not unmerited. The day finally appointed for her execution, as well as that of her husband, Lord Guilford Dudley, was the twelfth of February, 1554. It had been in-tended to execute them together on the same scaffold at Tower-Hill; but the Council, dreading the effects of the people's compassion for their youth, beauty, innocence, and noble birth, gave orders that the thould be beheaded within the Tower, and that he only should be executed on Tower-Hill.

The Lord Guilford earnestly defired the Officers, that he might take his last farewell of her, which they readily consented to; but the Lady Jane declined the interview; alledging, that the tenderness of their parting would overcome the fortitude of both, and would too much unbend their minds from that conflancy, which their approaching end required of them. She hoped, the faid, that their feparation would be only for a moment; and that they flould foon meet each other again in an happier flate, where their affections would be for ever united, and where death, disappointment, and misfortunes, could no longer have access to them, or disturb their felicity (e).

She expressed great tenderness, when she saw her husband led but to execution; but the foon recovered herself (f), and bade him farewell out of a window. She also faw his headless body carried back in a cart; and found herfelf more confirmed, by the reports which the heard of the conflancy of his end, than maken by to tender and melancholy a spectacle. After this affecting fight, the wrote three thort fentences in her table-book, one in Greek, another in Latin, and a third in English. The sense of the Greek sentence was, " If his stain body shall give testimony against me before men, his most blessed foul shall render an eternal proof of my innocence in the prefence of " GOD." The Latin was to this effect : " The justice of men took away his body, but the Divine mercy has preferved his foul." And the English ran thus: "If my fault deserved punishment, my youth at feath, and my imprudence, were worthy of excuse: GOD and posterity will shew me favour (g)."

About

(d) Befides the above, the allowrore a long letter to Harding, her father's chaplain, on his apostalizing to Popery, which is inserted in the third volume of the Harleian Miscellany, P. 109—112. and also in the fecond volume of the Phoenix. There are likewise three Latin epistles, written by her to Bullinger, printed in a book entitled, Epistolæ ab Ecelesiæ

Helvetice reformatoribus vel ad ess fripte, &c. Piguri, 1742, 800. Somu other small pieces are likewise attri. buted to her.

(e) Hume's Hift. of England, Vol. IV. P. 420. Svo. edit.

(f) Burnet, Vol. II. P. 272. (g) Sir John Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, defired the Lady Jane, on the scaffold, to bestow some memorial

About an hour after the death of her husband, she was led out by the Lieutenant to a scaffold that was erected upon the green, opposite the White Tower. She was attended to and upon the scaffold by Dr. Feckenham; but she was observed not to give much attention to his discourses, keeping her eyes deadily fixed on a book of prayers which she had in her hand. After some short recollection, she saluted those who were present with a serene countenance; and then took leave of Feckenham, faying, " GOD will abundantly requite you, good Sir, for your huma-" nity to me, though your discourses gave me more uneafiness "than all the terrors of my approaching death." She then addressed herself in a short speech to the spectators, in which she said, that her offence was not the having laid her hand upon the Crown, but the not rejecting it with sufficient constancy; that the had not erred through ambition, but from her reverence to those, whom she had been taught to respect and obey. declared, that she died a true Christian, and hoped for salvation only from the mercy of GOD, in the blood of CHRIST. She faid, that she had loved herself and the world too much, on which account that punishment had justly come to her from GOD: but she blessed him, that he had made it a means to lead her to repentance. Then, having defired the people's prayers, the kneeled down, and repeated the fifty-first Psalm; after which she stood up, and gave her gloves and her handkerchief to her women. When she untied her gown, the executioner offered to affift her, but the defired him to let her alone; and turning to her women, they undressed her, and gave her an handkerchief to bind about her eyes. The executioner kneeling, defired her pardon; to which the answered, " Most willingly." He defiring her to stand upon the straw, which brought her near the block, she said, " I pray dispatch me quickly." The handkerchief being then bound close over her eyes, she began to feel for the block, to which she was guided by one of the spectators. When the felt it, the stretched herfelf forward, and faid,

had written the above fentences, as an acknowledgment of his civility.

In the place of her confinement, the following veries were also found "Et non juvante, nil juvat labor written, and, as some say, with a "gravis."

"Non aliena putes homini que ob- If Heaven protect, Hell's malice can-" tingere poffunt :

Sand not secure, who stand in mortal state.

mortal upon bim; upon which the What's mine to-day, firall next day give him her rable-book, in which the be thy fate.

"Deo juvante nil nocet hvor ma-

" Poft tenebras, fpero lucem.

sors hodierna mihr, cras erat illi By Heaven deferted, peace can ne'er be found.

Thefe hadows paft, I hope for light.

LORD, into thy hands I commend my spirit;" and immediately, at one stroke, the executioner severed her head from her

body.

Thus fell, in the bloom of youth, this amiable, accomplished, and noble Lady; an innocent victim to the ambition of others! She was illustrious for her birth, but still more illustrious for her virtue, her piety, and the extraordinary endowments of her mind; which made her the object of universal admiration, and rendered her the ornament of her age, of her sex, and of her country (i).

The consideration of the amiable character, and extraordinary endowments, of the Lady JANE GREY, induces us, before we conclude, to add a word or two to our fair readers. At a time of life when the generality of modern Ladies have learned nothing but a few trifling, superficial accomplishments, with the arts of dress, and of figuring away in every scene of polite dissipation, this excellent Lady had acquired such a variety of the most valuable knowledge, as not only qualified her for the conversation, and entitled her to the esteem, of the wisest and most learned men of that age, but also rendered her an object of their admiration. And these extraordinary endowments of her mind

(i) On the twenty-first of the fame month in which the Lady Jane was executed, her father, the Duke of Suffolk, also lost his head upon Tower Hill. The Durchess of Suffolk survived the Duke her husband many years, and accepted for a second husband, Adrian Stokes, a gentleman in low circumstances, one of her demession. She died in 1662.

her domestics. She died in 1563.

The Lady Katharine Grey, sister to the Lady Jane, being deserted by him who had been intended for her hessand whilst her family was in prosperous circumstances, (who presently after espoused another Katharine, daughter to the Earl of Shrewsoury), lamented for some years her own distresses, and those of her family. She was ever looked upon with jealousy in the Court of Elizabeth, more especially after it was discovered that the Spaniards, in 1559, had formed a design of stealing her away. About two years after this, she privately married the Earl of Hertsord's eldest son, by whom proving with child, the Queen treated this as an affair of State, and com-

m'tted both the parties. A fuit was also commenced, and being brought before a court of Delegates, where the Archbishop of Canterbury fat as Chief, a definitive fentence was pronounced, that their cohabitation was unlawful, and that for their incontinence, they both deferved to be panished; but notwithstanding this, he procuring access to her in the Tower, the became again with child, and brought him another fon. Upon this he was charged in the Star-Chamber, with having seduced a virgin of the Blood Royal in the Queen's palace, with breaking prison, and with abusing her a second time; and for these crimes he was fined five thousand pounds, and condemned to nine years imprisonment. Lady Katharine remained in the Tower to the time of her decease, which happened in 1567. But in the fol-lowing reign, the validity of her marriage was brought to the decision of a Jury, who, upon the oath of the Minister that married them, and other circumstances, found it to be mind were graced by the most engaging modesty, and the utmost sweetness of manners; and rendered still more estimable by the most exemplary piety and virtue. How much is it to be wished, that our fair countrywomen would copy so bright, so amiable an example! Women are undoubtedly capable of making very confiderable intellectual acquifitions: every age has produced instances of it: and our own country, and the present age, have been adorned by a LENNOX, a CARTER, and a MACAULAY. And though it should be admitted, that the fludy of dead languages, and abstrufe sciences, is not, in general, a proper part of female education, nor well calculated to fit them for those relations and duties of life to which they are naturally called; there are, however, many branches of knowledge, in which they may certainly be instructed with great advantage, both to themselves, and to those with whom they are connected. Would not our English Ladies be infinitely better employed in learning Geography and History, particularly that of their own country, and in perufing the best Authors in their own language, and thereby cultivating their understandings, than in fpending fo many hours in that infipid, though fashionable amusement, CARDS? an amusement which so naturally puts a stop to all rational conversation, and which is so destructive of what a reasonable creature ought to set the highest value on, TIME. Is it not degrading themselves below the rank of reafonable Beings, to pay fo little attention to the cultivation of their minds, and so much to the decoration of their bodies? and to cherish scargely any other ideas, but those of dress, or of play? Can such of the fair sex as are of this character, think themselves qualified for the proper discharge of the important duties of daughters, wives, and mothers? can they ever expect to be agreeable companions to men of sense and resection? can they ever hope to secure the esteem of wise and worthy men, whilst by their own behaviour they seem scarcely to know what it is to think ? they may, perhaps, for a time, be careffed and flattered by men who are not much wifer than themselves; but whilft their minds are uncultivated and unadorned, and they are destitute of internal worth, they will never secure the esteem of persons of real merit and understanding, though they deck themselves out in all the pride and flutter of gaudy infignificance. - We would not, however, be too severe with our fair countrywomen: we wish to promote their honour and their felicity; and would therefore warmly recommend to them, that they would endeavour to add to those charms which nature hath fo liberally bestowed on their persons, the more estimable and more lasting beauties of the mind; that they would not waste too much of their time in frivolous and trifling amusements; that they would labour to render themselves really worthy of that respect with which they wish to be treated; that they would endeavour deavour to act up to the dignity of rational and immortal Beings; and cultivate and cherish those qualities and dispositions, which will enable them to fill in a becoming and suitable manner their important rank in the Creation, and render them worthy of the approbation, not only of Beings imperfect like themselves, but of the SUPREME CREATOR and PARENT of the whole human race.





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